CAESAR

DE BELLO GALLICO

BOOKS I–VII

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CAESAR

DE BELLO GALLICO

BOOKS I—VII

ACCORDING TO THE TEXT

OF

EMANUEL HOFFMANN

(VIENNA, 1890)

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

ST. GEORGE STOCK

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INTRODUCTION

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PREFACE

THE main object of this book is to treat Caesar as an historian. The text is that which I found prescribed by the University. I know that I am expressing the sentiments of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press in thanking Professor Emanuel Hoffmann, of Vienna, for the ready courtesy with which he responded to their request that I might be allowed to avail myself of his labours. The previous editions of which most use has been made are those of Long, Moberly, Kraner, Dinter, and the American work by Allen and Greenough, with notes on the Roman military art by H. P. Judson. The neat little work by the last-named writer, on the Roman army in Caesar's time, has also been consulted.

The source, however, to which I am conscious of the largest debt is Desjardins' Géographie de la Gaule Romaine, a work of exhaustive learning and sound judgement.

On the campaigns of Caesar the late Emperor Napoleon has probably made the largest contribution to knowledge. No expositor of Caesar is likely to arise again with the same combination of intellectual ability and command of material resources. The Emperor and his coadjutors have carried their researches in this

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department up to the limits of human possibility—and beyond them.

An English work deserving of very respectful mention is Bunbury's History of Ancient Geography, which I have to thank Professor Case for lending me.

Besides these works, Camden's Britannia, Warde Fowler's Julius Caesar, Elton's Origins of English History, Rhys's Celtic Britain, Furneaux's Germania of Tacitus, D'Arbois de Jubainville's Les noms celtiques chez César et Hirtius, Marquardt's Staats-Verwaltung, and Purser's article on Exercitus in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities have all been used with advantage. But after due acknowledgements have been made to the moderns, my main debt is still to the ancients, whom I have in every case studied at first hand.

Having indicated the published sources on which I have drawn most freely, I now wish to return thanks for private kindness. Mr. Evelyn Abbott, Mr. Warde Fowler, the Rev. Henry Furneaux, and Professor Pelham have been at the pains of revising large portions of the introduction while still in manuscript, and their suggestions have proved of the greatest value. I have further to thank Mr. Evelyn Abbott for the loan of books bearing on Caesar, one of which, namely the Caesar-Dictionary of Dr. Otto Eichert, has been especially serviceable. Professor Rhys has both supplied me with direct information on Celtic philology and also lent me the work of M. D'Arbois de Jubainville. Mr. E. W. Johnson of my own college, who is now Professor of English at Cheshunt College, has given me the use of the Emperor Napoleon's work, together with the magnificent maps and plans which add so much to its value, and Mr. Herbert Awdry of Wellington College

has done me a similar service with respect to Kampen's maps and plans.

I might go on to mention the kindness that has been shown to me by French scholars, were I vain enough to think that this utterance would be heard across the Channel. But I cannot forbear to mention the name of Monsieur Max Bonnet, Professor of Latin at Montpellier, who left nothing undone to render my visit to France as instructive as it was delightful.

I have had before to make acknowledgements to Mr. C. S. Jerram for his kindness in correcting proofs for me. It is no slight testimony of friendship that he has revised every proof from the beginning of the work to the end. To come nearer home still, I am indebted to my wife for the arrangement of the grammatical index. Here it might seem natural to stop, did not justice suggest that there is one acknowledgement which has been omitted, and that is to the Reader at the Clarendon Press, a person—if he be indeed a person, and not a principle of exactitude—of concealed identity, but of manifest attainments.

8 Museum Road, Oxford,
March 22, 1898.

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LIST OF SOME ABBREVIATIONS

Af. = Bellum Africanum. Ed. Hoffmann, 1890.
Al. = Bellum Alexandrinum. Ed. Hoffmann, 1890.
A. M. or Amm. Marc. = Ammianus Marcellinus. Ed. Eyssenhardt.
Ap. or App. = Appianus. Ed. Schweighaüser.
Athen. = Athenaeus. Ed. Dindorf.
C. = Caesar de Bello Civili. Ed. Hoffmann, 1890.
Cic. Q. = Cicero pro Quinctio. Ed. Baiter and Kayser.
Cic. T. D. = Tusculan Disputations. Ed. Baiter and Kayser.
D. C. = Dio Cassius. Ed. Melber.
D. S. Diodorus Siculus. Ed. Bekker-Dindorf-Vogel.
Eutr. = Eutropius.
Flor. = Florus.
H. = Bellum Hispaniense. Ed. Hoffmann, 1890.
Hdt. = Herodotus.
Liv. Epit. = The Epitomes of Livy.
Philo Q. O. P. L. = Philo's treatise 'Quod omnis probus liber.'
Plin. N. H. = Pliny's Natural History. Ed. Detlefsen, to the sections in which the references are given
Str. = Strabo. Ed. Siebenkees-Tzschucke.
Suet. J. C. = Suetonius Julius Caesar.
Tac. A. = Annals of Tacitus. Ed. Furneaux.
Tac. Agr. = Agricola of Tacitus.
Tac. H. = Histories of Tacitus. Ed. Spooner.
Tac. G. = The Germania of Tacitus. Ed. Furneaux.
Val. Max. = Valerius Maximus. Ed. Kempf.
Varro L. L. = Varro de Lingua Latina. Ed. Müller.
V. P. = Velleius Paterculus. Tauchnitz.

CAESAR

DE BELLO GALLICO

BOOKS I–VII

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE COMMENTARIES

We do not always bear in mind that Caesar stands first in the brief, but brilliant, roll of extant Roman historians. And as he is the earliest in time, so also does he surpass the rest in point of authenticity. Nowhere else have we history so directly at first hand—from the man who made it. For indeed the subsequent course of the western world lay in a manner latent and potential in Caesar. It was he who gave a cosmopolitan turn to the hitherto narrow and parochial patriotism of the Romans. And though Caesar himself fell, and his ambitions seemed to be wiped out in blood, yet his ideas and his works lived after him. A Romanised Gaul, a world-wide franchise, an Imperial Rome, all testified to the triumph of Caesarism. Importance of the work.

The last century of the Roman Republic was prolific in great men; but among many famous names there are two that stand out from the rest, those of Caesar and of Cicero, the one the greatest man of action, the other, the greatest man of letters that Rome, or perhaps the world, has ever seen. Each trenched on the other's domain. For Cicero was not a mere man of letters, but a statesman too, who strove always to keep Caesar and Cicero.

a high ideal before him, and who occasionally rose to greatness; while as for Caesar, no man ever wielded the two weapons of the sword and the pen so effectually as he.

Caesar's oratory.

Of his oratory Quintilian says that, if he had had leisure to devote himself solely to the forum, no other name would have been mentioned against Cicero's but his. 'There is such a force about him,' that author goes on to say, 'such penetration and such energy, that it is plain that he spoke with the same spirit with which he waged war; while at the same time it is all set off with a marvellous elegance of diction, of which he made a special study' (x. 1, § 114). This high encomium from the greatest of all professors of rhetoric is pronounced upon the speeches of Caesar, which have not come down to us. The Commentaries do not aim at eloquence, unless it be eloquence, as in a sense it is, to state one's meaning in the clearest and simplest manner that human language admits of: but that other merit of 'elegance' is apparent enough even in a work so unpretending.

Military interest of the Commentaries.

The value which once attached to the Commentaries as 'the breviary of every warrior' tends to vanish under the altered conditions of modern warfare. Montaigne (ii. 34) informs us that Caesar was the favourite author of Marshal Strozzi, just as Homer was of Alexander, Xenophon of Scipio Africanus, Polybius of Marcus Brutus, and Philippe de Comines of Charles V. The last-mentioned sovereign, however, found time to bestow upon Caesar as well, for he left behind him a copy of the Commentaries annotated with his own hand. Indeed Caesar has always had a peculiar fascination for princes. Not only did Charles V study him, but that monarch's contemporary, the Sultan Suleiman II, had him translated into Turkish for his own daily reading, after first ordering a collation to be made from several copies. Three kings of France [1] have amused their royal leisure with partial

[1] Henri IV, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV. Jules César, vol. ii. Publisher's note.

translations of the Commentaries, which have either been printed or published. Christina, Queen of Sweden, composed *Reflexions on the Life and Actions of Caesar*, which she does not seem to have given to the world. Louis Philippe had a map made to illustrate Caesar's Campaigns in Gaul. Lastly the two Napoleons made the Commentaries the object of their special care. Napoleon I, at St. Helena, dictated a 'Précis des Guerres de César' to Comte Marchand, and his nephew, Napoleon III, applied all the resources of his power and of an acute intellect to the elucidation of this single author.

Historical interest.

But if the military interest attaching to the Commentaries tends to diminish as time goes on, its historical value does not. The Gallic War may be regarded as the first chapter of modern history; and it is difficult to overrate the importance of a work in which France, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, and Britain all make their début on the world's stage, whereon they have since played their parts with so much applause.

Caesar the main authority for the Gallic War.

In writing the Gallic War Caesar enjoyed one great advantage: he is his own sole historian. Where else shall we look for an important war of which the one authentic narrative is that of the general who conducted it? The nearest parallel to be found is in the Anabasis of Xenophon. That work, like Caesar's, has attained to immortality, and largely on account of the same merit, that of simplicity. But the parallel is not a close one. For though the expedition of the Ten Thousand is an interesting passage of history, since it revealed the weakness of the Persian Empire, and pointed the way to the conquests of Alexander, yet in direct importance it is by no means to be compared with the conquest of Gaul. Moreover, the expedition was not personal and peculiar to Xenophon, who joined it at first only as a volunteer, and was never the sole or even the chief commander. Even the authenticity of the work might plausibly be questioned, since Xenophon (Hell. iii. 1, § 2) has himself chosen to mislead

us by attributing it to another writer. Lastly, for some at least of the events narrated, Xenophon is not the sole original authority, for an account was given of the battle of Cunaxa and of many incidents relating to Clearchus by Ctesias the Greek physician of Artaxerxes (Xen. Anab. i. 8, § 26: Plut. Artox. 11).

Another partial parallel that might be adduced is the account by Josephus of the Jewish War, and especially of the siege of Jotapata, the defence of which he conducted in person; but that did not pass unchallenged in his own time, as he shows by his acrimonious references to the rival historian, Justus of Tiberias.

This unique advantage possessed by Caesar has been used by him with an admirable discretion. It is difficult, in any case, to read a story without sympathizing with the hero. But in this particular case the story is told with such an air of truthfulness, and with such a winning grace and modesty, that our admiration for Caesar is far more enhanced than if he had exhausted all the resources of rhetoric, as Cicero would have done in his place, in trumpeting his own praises.

Paucity of extraneous evidence.

But what was Caesar's advantage is our disability in seeking to form a critical estimate of the truth of his narrative. We have hardly any means of getting behind his statements or of bringing independent evidence to bear upon them. The most detailed account that we have of the Gallic War, other than Caesar's own, is contained in certain chapters of Dio Cassius, books xxxviii–xl[1]. But then, when did Dio Cassius live? He wrote in the reign of Severus (xxxix. 50 ad fin.),

Dio Cassius.

[1] xxxviii. 31–50, the campaign against the Helvetians and Ariovistus; xxxix. 1–5, the campaign against the Belgae; 40–53, the campaigns against the Veneti and the Aquitanians, the passage of the Rhine, and the first invasion of Britain, xl. 1–11, the second invasion of Britain, the destruction of Cotta and Sabinus, the defence of his camp by Quintus Cicero, and the success of Labienus against the Treviri; 31–43, the pursuit of Ambiorix and the suppression of the great revolt in Gaul.

and his birth is put at about 155 A. D., that is to say, just two centuries after Caesar's first landing in Britain.

Plutarch's account of the Gallic War (Caesar 18–27), though briefer than that of Dio Cassius, is perhaps more important. Plutarch speaks of himself (De E apud Delphos, 385 B) as being a young man when Nero visited Greece, which was in A. D. 66–7. A person of his omnivorous reading can hardly be expected to be accurate; and he makes some exaggerated statements, which might easily have been corrected by a glance at Caesar's own writings. In the main he is manifestly following Caesar himself, but there are some points in which he seems to be drawing upon independent evidence. Thus he tells us emphatically that it was not Caesar in person, but Labienus acting under his orders, who achieved the first success in the Helvetian War by cutting to pieces the Tigurini. We should certainly never have gathered this from the Commentaries (i. 12): but the statement is repeated in two fragments of Appian (Lib. iv. De Reb. Gall. 3 and 15), and we cannot lightly set it aside. Plutarch.

Again, in the matter of the Usipetes and Tencteri Plutarch, after quoting the rather suspicious account given by Caesar in his Commentaries [1], of his negotiations with those unfortunate barbarians, goes on to tell us, on the authority of a lost writer, that when the Senate was voting a supplication (cp. B. G. iv. 38, § 5) in honour of Caesar's victories, Cato proposed that he should be surrendered to the enemy in atonement for the violation of the truce. The writer quoted by Plutarch appears in his text as *Τανύσιος*. He has been identified with the Tanusius Geminus, whose Historia is quoted by Suetonius (J. C. 9) as one of the authorities for Caesar's period. This Tanusius it has been thought may be the same as the Tamusius, of whose Annales Seneca (Epist. xciii. ad fin.) expresses so low an opinion as a tedious and worthless production.

[1] iv. 12, 13. Plutarch's expression is *ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσι*. Cp. Appian iv. 18, *ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀναγραφαῖς τῶν ἐφημέρων ἔργων*.

Plutarch's statement is echoed by Appian (iv. 18, Ἐκλογὴ περὶ πρεσβείων) and reinforced by Suetonius (J. C. 24), who says that the unscrupulous measures adopted by Caesar made the Senate at one time think of sending a commission to inquire into the state of Gaul, and that some went so far as to vote that he should be surrendered to the enemy. But, apart from authority, the fact is intrinsically probable. Caesar states unblushingly that he seized ambassadors; and knowing what Cato was and what were his relations with Caesar, we might surmise with confidence that this would be the line which Cato would adopt.

There is yet one other slight indication of independent evidence possessed by Plutarch. He gives us a detail relative to the siege of Alesia which is not mentioned by Caesar, saying that the Romans, who were guarding the countervallation, were first apprised of the success of their countrymen against the relieving force by hearing the lamentations of the Gauls in Alesia, when from their mountain-height they saw the spoils of their countrymen being carried into the Roman camp. Plutarch also had access to the writings of C. Oppius, to whom in Suetonius' time the authorship of the Alexandrine, African, and Spanish Wars was ascribed by some (Suet. J. C. 56). The writings to which Plutarch alludes are distinct from those that have been just mentioned, but they hardly come under the category of independent evidence, as Plutarch himself declares elsewhere (Pomp. 10) that the partiality of Oppius for Caesar was such as to make his statements require to be received with caution when they related either to Caesar's friends or foes. Oppius was one of those who, like Matius and Balbus, had fallen under the personal magnetism of Caesar, and were true to their friend in death as in life. One of his books was written to prove that Caesarion was not the son of Caesar, as Cleopatra claimed (Suet. J. C. 52).

Seutonius. Suetonius is a later writer than Plutarch. He speaks of himself (Nero 57) as being a young man twenty years after

the death of Nero, which took place in A. D. 68. Like Plutarch he had read widely, but he adds nothing to our knowledge of the Gallic campaign. His assertion that Caesar reconnoitred the harbours of Britain *in person* before landing his troops is at variance with Caesar's own account, and his story of Caesar penetrating, in the disguise of a Gaul, into his camp when besieged in Germany (J. C. 58) must be absolutely rejected.

Velleius Paterculus is much nearer to Caesar's time, as he wrote his history in A. D. 30, but he compresses what he has to say about Caesar in Gaul into a single section of a chapter. Velleius Paterculus.

Florus has given us a sketch of Roman history from Romulus to Augustus, in a spirited style, but deformed by a turgid and bombastic rhetoric. His date is quite unknown except that he mentions Trajan. In his account of the Gallic War he has certainly made some statements that are not based on Caesar, but the reader will be able to judge of their value from a few specimens. He says that the ships of the Veneti were so ill-constructed that they sank at the first touch from the beaks of the Roman galleys (cp. B. G. iii. 13, § 8); that the attack of Indutiomarus was repulsed by Dolabella, and the head of that chieftain brought back into his camp (cp. B. G. v. 58, §§ 4–6); that Caesar pursued the Caledonians into their woods, and captured one of their kings; that the war was brought to a close by the surrender of Vercingetorix at Gergovia! Florus.

The work of Florus professes to be an abridgement of Livy. Of far more value are the epitomes which have come down to us of the lost books of the great historian. For aught we know to the contrary they may have been composed by Livy himself. So far as they go they entirely corroborate Caesar. Livy.

Our review then of the sources has not tended in any way to impugn Caesar's veracity. With respect to Labienus Caesar was within his rights in not thinking it necessary to mention the name of an officer who had merely executed a manœuvre which had been planned by himself. Whenever Labienus is Veracity of Caesar.

acting at a distance from his superior Caesar takes care to give him full credit for his achievements, as he does to all the officers who acted under him. In the matter of the Usipetes and Tencteri Caesar has not mis-stated or concealed the facts. What he has done is to seek to palliate his own conduct by attributing a treacherous motive to his antagonists. Of this we have no proof but Caesar's bare assertion, and it appears extremely improbable from the facts as related by himself.

Ethnographical and geographical notices.

When we turn from the actual history of Caesar's campaigns to the ethnographical and geographical notices which lend so much charm to his writings, we find ourselves much better supplied with extraneous information.

Diodorus Siculus.

The author nearest to Caesar's own time is Diodorus Siculus. He is supposed to have written after the year A.D. 8, but his life overlapped that of Caesar, as he speaks of having been alive himself when Caesar built the bridge across the Rhine (v. 25, § 4). His 'Historical Library,' which has come down to us only in part, seems to have stopped short of Caesar's Gallic War. We may surmise that the work was interrupted by death, as he twice expresses the intention to treat of Caesar's invasion of Britain (v. 21, § 2; 22, § 1). But in the fifth book, which is extant, and which deals mainly with islands, he has left us an account of Britain and of its trade in tin (chs. 22, 23). Fortunately for us also he has thought it suitable to his design to throw in an account of Gaul and its inhabitants (chs. 24–32).

Strabo.

Strabo's birth is put at about B.C. 66, so that his life also overlapped that of Caesar. But he wrote during the early years of the reign of Tiberius, as is evident from many allusions[1]. His treatise on geography is by far the most valuable work of the kind that has come down to us from antiquity. The first four chapters of the fourth book are devoted to Transalpine Gaul;

[1] See for instance iv. 1, § 5, p. 181; 3, § 4, p. 194; 6, § 9, p. 206, where we are able to fix the exact date as the sixth year of the reign of Tiberius, A.D. 19: vii. 1, § 4, p. 291, where he relates the triumph of Germanicus, A.D. 17.

the fifth contains what he has to tell us about Britain and Ireland; in the first two chapters of the seventh book he treats of Germany and its inhabitants.

The value of Strabo is both direct and indirect. Born himself at Amasia in Pontus (xii. 3, § 39, p. 561) he had extended his travels westward to Etruria, and southward to the borders of Ethiopia (ii. p. 117). But no man in those days could hope to see the whole world for himself, and the best geographer was he who could make the best use of the materials supplied him by others. Just as the several senses give their report of a certain figure, colour, size, smell, feel and taste, while the mind combines them into the notion of an apple, so the intellect of men of learning—it is Strabo's own illustration—employing the senses of individual observers, had to piece out a notion of the world as a whole. Accordingly Strabo travelled in books even more than in countries. In his account of Transalpine Gaul he makes use of Caesar, of Aristotle and Posidonius, of the historians Ephorus, Timaeus, Polybius, Timagenes, and Asinius Pollio, of the travellers Pytheas and Artemidorus, not to mention quotations from Aeschylus and Euripides. Of these, apart from Caesar, the authority upon whom he relied most is Posidonius. That philosopher had himself visited Gaul and studied the manners of the inhabitants. He died about B.C. 51.

After Strabo we have Pomponius Mela, who composed Mela. a brief but lively sketch in three books of the geography of the world as known in his day. He appears in one passage (iii. 6, § 49) to be referring to the triumph of Claudius over Britain (see Suet. Claud. 17) as an event which was just about to take place. If this be so, it would fix the date of composition as A.D. 44; but his latest editor sees reason to suppose that the allusion is rather to the fantastic freaks of Caligula (Suet. Calig. 47). Pomponius Mela is mentioned by Pliny among the authorities for the three books of his great work which deal with geography.

From Pliny himself (A.D. 24–79) we gain very little informa- Pliny. tion. His Naturalis Historia was published about A.D. 77, only

a couple of years before his death. Books iii–vi of this encyclopaedic treatise are devoted to a survey of the different countries of the globe, but he does not profess to give more than a bare list of names[1].

Tacitus. For this dryness of the elder Pliny we are compensated in the next generation by the delightful works of Tacitus, whose Germania and Agricola are too well known to justify their being dwelt on here.

Ptolemy. Ptolemy, who is said to have flourished in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), but to have survived Antoninus Pius, who died in A.D. 161, is intrinsically of the utmost importance, but he has little or no interest for the student of Caesar. His work is more scientific in form than that of any of his predecessors, giving the latitude and longitude of the places mentioned; but he reduced geography to its lowest terms, excluding all that comes under history or anthropology.

Appian. Appian of Alexandria wrote his great work on the wars of the Romans about 900 years after the founding of the city, A.D. 146 (Praef. 9). His fourth book, which dealt with the wars of the Romans with the Gauls, has unfortunately perished. We possess only an abstract made by a careless epitomizer, together with extracts from Suidas and other sources.

Ammianus Marcellinus. The account of Gaul given by so late a writer as Ammianus Marcellinus (about 400 A.D.) would not much concern us, were it not for the fact that it is professedly based on Timagenes (Amm. Marc. xv. 9, § 2, Eyssenhardt), who is quoted also by Strabo as an authority on Gaul. In one part of his description of Gaul and its inhabitants (xv. 11, §§ 1–4) Ammianus closely follows Caesar.

No statement of Caesar's challenged. In none of these authors do we find a single statement of Caesar's challenged. Whenever he is mentioned it is with profound respect. Tacitus (Germ. 28) expressly calls him *summus auctorum*. Of course we have to bear in mind that the veneration shown for him is not due entirely to his merits

[1] iii. § 2 'locorum nuda nomina et quanta dabitur brevitate ponentur.'

as an author. For no sooner was Caesar murdered than he was made a God[1], but then even Gods we know cannot escape Momus. Had these writers found out that any of Caesar's statements were wrong, they would have been pretty sure to have set him right in spite of his divinity.

Adverse criticism of Pollio.

The only whisper of adverse criticism that reaches us from any quarter comes from Caesar's own friend Asinius Pollio[2], who charges him with a want of accuracy, if not of veracity. But then we must remember that Pollio was a rival author, who had himself composed a history of the Civil Wars. Moreover, the patron of Vergil and Horace was a peculiarly exacting critic. He wrote a book in which he censured Sallust for his archaisms (Suet. de Illust. Gram. 10); he was fond of pointing out the faults of style in Cicero (Quint. xii. 1, § 22); and he was the famous discoverer of the Patavinities in Livy (Quint. i. 5, § 56). Caesar can afford to be criticized in such good company without much damage to his reputation. We may fairly infer that these strictures of Pollio's relate rather to Caesar's account of the Civil than of the Gallic War, since Pollio had no personal knowledge of the one, but played a prominent part in the other, being present with Caesar when he crossed the Rubicon, at Pharsalus, and afterwards in Africa (Plut. Caes. 32, 46, 52). But the trustworthiness of Caesar's Civil War stands even less in need of confirmation than that of the treatise with which we have immediately to do. For the events that are there recorded were transacted in the full daylight of the Roman world instead of in the remote twilight of Gaul and Britain. In the latter case

[1] Plut. Caes. 67. Diodorus Siculus calls him in one place (v. 21, § 2) Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ διὰ τὰς πράξεις ἐπονομασθεὶς θεός, and in another (v. 25, § 4) Καῖσαρ ὁ κληθεὶς θεός; to Strabo he is always frankly ὁ θεὸς Καῖσαρ or Καῖσαρ ὁ θεός, while Tacitus calls him *divus Iulius*.

[2] Suet. J. C. 56. 'Pollio Asinius parum diligenter parumque integra veritate compositos putat, quum Caesar pleraque, et quae per alios erant gesta, temere crediderit, et, quae per se, vel consulto vel etiam memoria lapsus, perperam ediderit: existimatque rescripturum et correcturum fuisse.'

Caesar might have lied with comparative impunity, had he been so minded; in the former he could not, and we infer that he did not, since no single statement in the Civil War has been controverted by his countrymen, the only demurrer that has reached us being this vague growl of Pollio's, which is unsubstantiated by details.

Caesar's natural history unreliable.

There is one point, however, which we must concede to our critic, namely, that on questions of natural history Caesar showed himself of too confiding a disposition. Some of the beasts with which he has peopled the Hercynian Forest (B. G. vi. 25–8) had certainly not fallen under his own observation. But a charge like this is not special to Caesar, but common to the writers of antiquity, and tells with tenfold force against others. In those days the world was young, and either Nature was more erratic then than now or her course had not been so definitely ascertained. Within the range of their immediate experience men looked for uniformity: beyond that everything was possible. There is something of the same spirit left among ourselves. No one expects Mahatmas in Cheapside, but we are willing to accept them in Thibet.

His general trustworthiness.

On the whole then our review of the writers as nearly contemporaneous to Caesar as possible tends only to strengthen our confidence in his statements. He had the veracity which Aristotle tells us is characteristic of the man of great soul. We may feel pretty sure that the way of truth for us lies in squaring our theories with Caesar's statements, not in the converse process.

The name 'Commentaries.'

Why did Caesar call his work 'Commentaries'? The word is not one that quite carries its meaning on the surface, especially after it has been overlaid with associations foreign to its primary sense. It is employed both in the masculine and in the neuter gender. In the one case we may supply *volumen*, in the other *liber*, as Aulus Gellius does for us[1].

[1] xiii. 20, § 17 'librum commentarium de familia Porcia.'

It is applied to any short composition which is intended rather for use than for show, such as a skeleton speech [1], a lecture note-book (Quint. ii. 11, § 7), official memoranda (Liv. vi. 1, § 2: Quint. viii. 2, § 12), or a biographical memoir (Suet. Tib. 61). We have the express authority of Hirtius (B. G. viii. Prooem. § 2; 30, § 1; 48, § 10) for its application to Caesar's books on the Gallic War as well as that of Cicero (Brut. § 262). It was also the name given by Gaius to his four books of Institutes. It corresponds in part to the Greek *ἐφημερίς* and in part to *ὑπόμνημα* (Cic. ad Att. ii. 1, § 2), and may be rendered by our 'sketch,' 'jottings,' 'memoranda,' or 'memoirs.'

Caesar then, by the title which he has conferred upon his work, modestly intimates that he does not regard himself as writing history, but only as supplying materials for others to work up. But, as Cicero has finely said in the Brutus (§ 262) 'in wishing that others who meant to write history might have matter at hand to take from, he has perhaps conferred a favour upon fools, who may try to crimp and curl the bare beauty of his style; but he has deterred men of sense from writing; for there is nothing more delightful in historical composition than a plain and luminous brevity [2].'

The speeches in Caesar.

In one respect the plan of writing, even in the Commentaries, gives some scope for the display of that force which Quintilian dwells upon as characteristic of Caesar's oratory (Inst. Or. i. 7, § 34: x. 1, § 114; 2, § 25: xii. 10, § 11), and that is in the speeches. The speeches in ancient writers are not supposed to be genuine. They constitute the dramatic element in history. Their merit is not to say what was actually said, but to say what was appropriate to the occasion. Thackeray, I think, remarks somewhere that he would have made a most

[1] Cic. Brut. § 164 'non est oratio, sed quasi capita rerum et orationis commentarium paulo plenius.'

[2] Cp. what Hirtius says in his preface—'Qui (sc. Commentarii) sunt editi, ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus desit, adeoque probantur omnium iudicio, ut praerepta, non praebita facultas scriptoribus videatur.'

effective after-dinner speaker, if only he could have got out on the spur of the moment the things that occurred to him afterwards when he was going home in his cab. This great advantage is possessed by all the characters of antiquity, down to the merest savages, that they are credited with having said impromptu whatever could be devised for them by the most brilliant writer in his study. For the speeches were the field in which the historian displayed his wit or the want of it, and in which he let it be seen how much he had profited by those rhetorical exercises which formed the staple of education among the Ancients. If there happened to be a basis of recorded speech to go upon, the writer might as well derive a happy sentiment from that source as from another; but the direct aim in these compositions was not historic truth but dramatic propriety, or what the writer, if he were a dull man, mistook for the latter. Dio Cassius had before him the brief but vigorous speech which Caesar records himself to have addressed to his officers before the engagement with Ariovistus (B. G. i. 40); nevertheless he thinks proper to put into his mouth an interminable harangue (xxxviii. 36–46) which, with its review of the wars of Rome and its imitations of Demosthenes, bears not the slightest resemblance to the original, except the touch about the tenth legion at the end.

The speeches in Caesar are almost entirely in the oblique oration, a form of composition which, while detracting from their vividness, imparts at the same time an air of verisimilitude, as though they were reports of what had actually been said, as no doubt they to some extent were. The only important speech which is given in the direct oration is that of Critognatus (B. G. vii. 77), during the siege of Alesia, which Caesar could not pretend to have heard. Other small bits of direct oration are introduced for liveliness, as in v. 30; 44 § 3: vi. 8, §§ 3, 4; 35, §§ 8, 9: vii. 20, §§ 8, 12; 38, §§ 2, 3, 7, 8; 50, §§ 4, 6. It will be noticed that they all come in the later books, as though the repression which Caesar had originally imposed upon him-

self had been found too severe [1]. Besides the vigour of thought and expression which stamps the speeches in Caesar, we may admire the art with which he contrives to convey a favourable impression of himself and his actions through the medium of the speakers, as when he makes Divitiacus (ii. 14, § 5) and the Bellovaci (ii. 31, § 4) refer to his well-known clemency, when Labienus calls upon the soldiers to display the same valour under him as they had often done under the commander-in-chief, and to imagine that the latter was looking on at their exploits (vi. 8, §§ 3, 4), and again when Ambiorix (v. 27, § 2) and Convictolitavis (vii. 37, § 4) admit, in passing, Caesar's benefits to them. It is all done so naturally as not to arouse our suspicion. The puppets of course speak with the voice of the showman, but the illusion is so successful that they appear to be speaking with their own.

Date of publication.

As regards the date of publication of the Commentaries on the Gallic War we have no external authority to guide us beyond the fact that they are referred to as well known in Cicero's Brutus, which was published in B.C. 46. It may be inferred that they were published as a whole, and not book by book. For in i. 28, § 5 it is said that the Aedui afterwards admitted the Boii to a full equality of rights with themselves, whereas in vii. 10, § 1 the Boii are spoken of as tributaries (*stipendiarii*) of the Aedui. The passage in the first book must therefore have been inserted after the one in the seventh was written.

Manner of composition.

The conclusion just indicated would seem to point to some revision of the work before publication. But on the whole the Gallic War has the air of being written piecemeal and shortly after the events recorded, which are viewed through the medium of contemporary feeling. We can well believe that the passage in which Caesar exults over the defeat of the

[1] Trogus Pompeius censured Livy and Sallust for the employment of the direct oration in speeches, considering that the oblique was proper to history. See Justin. xxxviii. 3, § 11.

Tigurini (i. 12, § 7) was penned while the glow of his honeymoon with Calpurnia was still fresh, and in the first flush of his alliance with the house of Piso. The friendly and complimentary language also in which he speaks of Pompeius (vi. 1, §§ 2, 4: vii. 6, § 1) is such as to indicate that, at the time of writing, there had been no open rupture between them. Moreover some statements are made in the earlier books which do not quite tally with those in the later, as when in ii. 28, § 1 we are told that the Nervii were reduced almost to extinction, whereas in v. 38, § 4 we find them quite ready to take up arms again. Small discrepancies of this kind might easily have been set right, had Caesar been anxious to adjust his earlier to his later impressions. They serve rather to increase than diminish our confidence in him as a writer.

Although fastidious in his choice of words, as became one who was the great grammatical authority of his day[1], Caesar was nevertheless a quick writer. Hirtius (B. G. viii. prooem. § 6) says that his own admiration for the Commentaries was greater than that of the rest of the world; for that other people only knew how well and correctly they were written, but that he knew how easily and quickly.

It is now time to turn from the book to the man who wrote it.

[1] Cicero is alluding to the De Analogia of Caesar when he says (Brut. § 261) 'Caesar autem rationem adhibens consuetudinem vitiosam et corruptam pura et incorrupta consuetudine emendat.' His usage in grammar is quoted with respect by Quintilian i. 5, § 63; and Aulus Gellius iv. 16, § 8 calls him 'gravis auctor linguae Latinae.'

CHAPTER II

CHARACTER OF CAESAR

In the marble room at the British Museum there is a beautiful statue which the reader has seen or may see. If you approach it from the side you will perhaps say to yourself, 'Who is this refined and benign-looking sage?' But if you approach it from the front, and realise the ominous breadth of the skull, you are more likely to exclaim, 'This is the head of a murderer.' It is, however, only the head of a Roman, and that Roman is Julius Caesar.

Personal appearance of Caesar.

In person he is reported to have been tall and of a fair complexion, with shapely limbs, a rather wide mouth, and black and piercing eyes. In oratorical delivery his voice was high, and his movements and gestures fiery and not without grace. His whole air in speaking betokened the man of birth and breeding (Suet. J. C. 55; Cic. Brut. § 261).

Like Aristotle and some other great men, Caesar was a bit of a dandy. He was scrupulous in the care of his person, too much so indeed for the sterner spirits among his countrymen. His broad-striped senatorial gown was fringed at the sleeves, and he wore it with an affected looseness. In youth the arrangement of his hair was something wonderful, and the baldness from which he suffered in advancing years was a sore subject with him. He combed his hair forward to hide it. No honour paid to him by the Senate pleased him more than the privilege of always wearing a laurel wreath. He loved to surround

Dandyism.

himself with works of art and objects of beauty generally, and spared no expense in procuring them.

Physical energy.

Despite his semblance of effeminacy, 'the loosely-girt lad,' as Sulla called him, had a physical energy equal to his mental. His body seemed to be made of iron and to be incapable of feeling fatigue. His skill in arms was remarkable. He could ride a horse with his hands behind his back, and could swim rivers when they came in his way. He would travel by post as much as a hundred miles a day, taking his sleep in the vehicle. He reached the Rhône from Rome in a week, and Further Spain from Rome in twenty-four days. It was on one of his hurried journeys across the Alps, after holding the assizes in Cisalpine Gaul, that his treatise on grammar was composed (Suet. J. C. 56, 7 : Plut. Caes. 17). His health was not naturally good, as he was liable to epilepsy, a disease from which he suffered first at Corduba, and by which he was twice interrupted in the transaction of business. But this morbid tendency was fought down by his tremendous physical activity, which left him no time to be ill. It was only after his triumph was accomplished that his health gave way, when he suffered from fainting fits and nightmare[1].

Lavishness.

Of money Caesar took the right view as a means to an end. But the manner of his using it will hardly commend itself to the moralist. He was lavish and unconscientious. Overwhelmed with debt himself, he had half his countrymen in debt to him. He never scrupled to buy support, whether by extravagant outlay or by direct bribery. The wonder is where all the money came from that he squandered. His Cisalpine province, when he was there, was a very cave of Adullam, where every social outcast and bankrupt debtor was sure to find a welcome and assistance. While he used his countrymen to conquer the Gauls, he was at the same time using the spoils of the Gauls, as Plutarch epigrammatically puts it, to conquer his countrymen.

[1] Suet. J. C. 45 'tempore extremo repente animo linqui, atque etiam per somnum exterreri solebat.'

Caesar was a victim to two passions, love and ambition; but in him ambition overmastered love. He claimed descent from Venus, and he worshipped at the shrine of Minerva; but, for all that, if he had been Paris, the apple would have fallen to Juno. It is not necessary for us here to enter into the scandalous tattle of Suetonius on the subject of Caesar's amours. In other respects than this he is admitted even by his enemies to have been temperate. He did not warm his valour with wine like Alexander, and he was indifferent to the pleasures of the table. Cato bitterly said of him that 'he alone came sober to the overthrow of the commonwealth' (Quint. viii. 2, § 9; Suet. J. C. 53). Caesar was in fact the most deliberately ambitious man that ever lived. From the first he was determined to be second to none. It was this great vice that swamped his many virtues. He had ever in his mouth the lines of Euripides, which Cicero has thus rendered— Ambition.

> 'Nam si violandum est ius, regnandi gratia
> Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas[1].'

If you would only let Caesar be a despot, he would be as benevolent a despot as you could find, but a despot he must be. This was the aim and object of his life, and the good that he did was incidental. For this he was ready to scheme from his youth up, and to gain this end he ultimately deluged the world with blood. The stories told by Plutarch about the Alpine village and Caesar's tears over Alexander (Plut. Caes. 11; cp. Suet. J. C. 7) are typical, if not true. They sufficiently indicate the impression left by Caesar upon the age that followed him. So does the vast scheme of conquest which he is credited with having entertained before his death (Plut. Caes. 58), when the world of Rome was already at his feet. It was by playing upon his ambition that Decimus Brutus lured him to his doom (Plut. Caes. 64).

If we were treating of the Civil War, we should have much

[1] Eur. Phoen. 524, 5; Cic. Off. iii. § 82; Suet. J. C. 30.

Ruthlessness against Barbarians.

to say about Caesar's clemency. He set a glorious example to his countrymen, and one which they sorely needed, in the magnanimity which enabled him to forgive the most exasperating injuries and insults. In the matter of the Gallic War, however, it must be confessed that, if we were not told of Caesar's clemency, we should have difficulty in discovering it for ourselves. Barbarians perhaps, mere Gauls and Germans, were hardly to be counted as within the pale of humanity. The 6,000 Helvetii who attempted to escape after their surrender he had brought back, and, to use his own curt phrase, 'in hostium numero habuit.' Nothing more is said—for after that there was nothing more to say of them. The rest of the Helvetii he shepherded back to their own country, as Diodorus puts it, preferring their occupancy of it to that of the Germans, who were pretty sure to step into their place. The Veneti surrendered to him unconditionally. He put all their senate to death and sold the rest into slavery. This was a lesson to them, he tells us, to observe the rights of ambassadors (B. G. iii. 16, § 4; cp. 9, § 3). But the Veneti had not seized ambassadors, as Caesar himself did subsequently. Their offence was to have retained some of Caesar's officers who were sent to get corn, in the hope of thereby recovering their own hostages (iii. 7, § 3). 800 German cavalry had dispersed 5,000 of Caesar's while negotiations were going on. When the leaders of the Usipetes and Tencteri came in a body to apologize for this 'regrettable incident,' Caesar seized them, surprised their encampment, and sent his cavalry to cut down the women and children (iv. 14, § 5). It was his severity to Acco that was among the main causes of bringing about the great revolt of Gaul in B. C. 52 (cp. vi. 44, § 2, and vii. 1, § 4). At the capture of Avaricum his soldiers spared neither age nor sex (vii. 28, § 4; cp. 47, § 5). For this perhaps Caesar is hardly to be held responsible, for the men are not always as humane as their general, just as the hounds sometimes differ in their views from the huntsmen. Nor, though it does not exalt our idea of his humanity, is he perhaps to be blamed for

his treatment of the Mandubii. Expelled from their own city of Alesia by its Gallic defenders, those unfortunate non-combatants came to the Roman lines with their wives and children, and begged to be taken as slaves, if only they might be fed. But Caesar set guards and forbade them to be received (vii. 78. §§ 3–5). He could not be expected to help his enemies when he was engaged in a life or death struggle with them. Into the savage punishment inflicted upon Gutruatus he was driven, according to Hirtius (B. G. viii. 38, § 5), by the clamours of his soldiers: but there was no constraint put upon him, after the surrender of Uxellodunum, to hack off the right hands that had bravely defended their country (viii. 44, § 1). Nor can we discern a trace of generosity in his treatment of his great enemy Vercingetorix, who, on his voluntary self-surrender, was reserved for the victor's triumph and put to death after it (Plut. Caes. 27; D. C. xl. 41, § 3). Such were the manners of the times, and the man who behaved thus admittedly excelled his countrymen in 'clemency.'

Amiability.

In the private and personal relations of life no one could have been more amiable than Caesar. He would sleep in the cold to save a sick friend from doing so, and would eat bad oil at dinner rather than hurt the feelings of his host (Plut. Caes. 17; Suet. J. C. 53, 72). Unlike the Virros of Juvenal, he punished the baker who set other bread before his guests than what was served to himself (Suet. J. C. 48). When Labienus left him, preferring his country to his commander, he sent his luggage after him, doubtless with his compliments, for there was no one so urbane as Caesar (Plut. Caes. 34). But there was more than mere urbanity about him. He had a real fund of generosity and forbearance. No one of his countrymen ever injured him so deeply but that he was ready to hold out his hand to him on the first sign of a desire for reconciliation. Cato was a life-long enemy, but the only thing that Caesar could not forgive him was his refusal to be forgiven. Calvus and Catullus (Carm. 29) libelled him outrageously, but Caesar wrote a kind letter to the

one and invited the other to dinner. It is this side of his character, so eloquently celebrated by Sallust, even more than his magnificent abilities, that has thrown such a charm and glamour over the person of Caesar. Caesar could be swift and terrible in retribution, as when he kept his word to the pirates and hanged them every one; but he refused to cherish rancour himself, and disarmed rancour in others. Even the men with whose wives he was intriguing never seem to have borne him malice. Cicero distrusted and loved him; he exulted in his death, and in the same breath pronounced his panegyric. And the honourable men who, when his ambition became intolerable, formed a joint-stock company to assassinate him, solemnly plunged their daggers into his body on purely public grounds and with hardly a touch of animosity. Only one of his three and twenty wounds was declared by the surgeon to be mortal (Suet. J. C. 82). Nor does the charm of this most lovable of tyrants fail to affect us still. We may clearly perceive his utter absence of principle, we may refuse to bow the knee in that polite form of devil-worship which consists in the exaltation of strength over goodness, but we cannot help having a weakness for Caesar.

Use of religion.

The religious side of Caesar's character is not that which is uppermost in our minds as we think of him. But, be it remembered, that this man was the head of the Roman religion. In his childhood he had been a priest, a kind of boy-bishop; and his first great success in life was his being chosen Pontifex Maximus, the Pope of the period, so far as there could be a Pope in the years B.C. It is generally supposed that this Sovereign Pontiff was a follower of the Epicurean philosophy and a disbeliever in Divine Providence. He certainly dwells much in his own works on the power of fortune in war (see iv. 26, § 5 n), and ascribes the course of the world to that agency in the speech which is put into his mouth by Sallust (Cat. 51, § 25). But all the same, he refers in quite an edifying way to the finger of heaven as displayed in the chastisement of his

adversaries (B. G. i. 12, § 6; 14, § 5: v. 22, § 6). The writer of the Bellum Africanum speaks of the special favour of the Gods towards Caesar (74, § 3), and mentions divine service after the battle of Thapsus (86, § 4). But though Caesar was willing to be helped by religion, he was very unwilling to be thwarted by it. Like Claudius in the first Punic War and Flaminius in the second, he was not the man to be deterred by omens (Suet. J. C. 59, 77, 81), but, unlike those commanders, he succeeded in spite of them, until his day of doom came. As Caesar claimed to be descended from the Gods, he is hardly likely to have professed opinions that were derogatory to them. In his laudation on his aunt Julia, delivered in his quaestorship (Suet. J. C. 6), after pointing out that his family were descended on the mother's side from Ancus Martius and on the father's from Venus, he went on to say, 'There is therefore in her race the divinity of kings, whose power is greatest among men, and the holiness of the Gods, in whose power are kings themselves.' The motive of this language is pretty obvious, but the language itself is certainly not that of the Epicurean. Josephus (Ant. xviii. 1, § 4) tells us that when the Sadducees came into power they had to conform to the doctrines of the Pharisees, else the people would not have put up with them. In the same way we may suppose that the Epicurean philosophy would not have gone down with the multitude, who are generally more devout than their rulers.

Belief in his own fortune.

But whatever Caesar's religious convictions may have been, there is one thing in which he believed profoundly, and that is—himself. He was certainly gifted with more than his due share of that 'absurd presumption in their own good fortune,' of which Adam Smith speaks as characteristic of the greater part of men. He prided himself upon his 'felicitas' (see i. 40, § 13 n; 53, § 6: iv. 26, § 5), and looked upon success as a debt that was due to him. 'You are carrying Caesar and his fortune' hits off this feature of his character, though the anecdote is probably mythical (Plut. Caes. 38; Lucan. v. 577, &c.).

A good many people persuade themselves that they are Men of Destiny: it is the few who succeed who persuade others. In the evil fate which so shortly overtook his assassins by land and sea, Plutarch perceived the working even after death of Caesar's mighty 'daemon' (Suet. J. C. 89; Plut. Caes. 69).

Slight training in war.

It remains only to speak of Caesar as a general. Nothing is more remarkable about the 'lords of the world' than the way in which every Roman of distinction was assumed to be capable of commanding an army in the field without any previous training. They did not always justify this assumption, but as a rule they did. Cicero was one of the least warlike of men, but even he took the command against the robber tribes in his province, and acquitted himself with sufficient credit to be saluted by his soldiers as Imperator, so that we have letters extant from Caesar Imperator to Cicero Imperator. Caesar himself was over forty when he went to take the command in Gaul, and, though he had had some experience in war before, it did not amount to much. When quite a youth he had served his first campaign under M. Minucius Thermus in Asia, and was rewarded by him with a 'corona civica' for his gallantry at the siege of Mitylene (B. C. 80). Two years later he seems to have had a brush with the pirates under P. Servilius Isauricus (afterwards consul with Caesar in B. C. 48, the year of the battle of Pharsalia), but he hurried back to Rome on hearing of the death of Sulla (B. C. 78). In the following year he was himself captured by pirates off the island of Pharmacusa; no sooner however had they released him for a ransom of fifty talents, than he launched a fleet from Miletus and captured them. He had been on his way to attend the lectures of Apollonius Molo at Rhodes when this incident occurred; and he was again called away from his studies by the alarm of war with Mithridates. He crossed over into Asia, levied troops on his own authority, expelled a lieutenant of that monarch from the province, and confirmed the wavering faith of the cities (Suet. J. C. 4). His quaestorship in Further Spain was spent wholly in civil pursuits, and he left it before his time

had expired; but as pro-praetor in the same province he reduced the Lusitani and Gallaeci, advanced the Roman arms up to the Ocean, and merited a triumph which he was obliged to resign, as it clashed with his petition for the consulship.

Such were Caesar's prolusions for the great struggle that lay before him in Gaul. He had served under no great commander, but we may surmise that he had not neglected military history and the Greek tacticians, and was not like those 'preposterous persons,' of whom Marius complained (Sall. Jug. 85, § 12), who began to get up those subjects after they had been elected consuls.

Caesar's courage was unbounded, but he was not rash, or, if ever he was, his rashness was concealed by success. His was a cool and calculating daring, a courage of the reason rather than of the blood. He never spared himself in battle, when occasion called for it, and yet we never hear of his being wounded. More than once he turned a rout into a victory by his own unaided exertions, and fought his own soldiers to make them fight the foe (C. iii. 69, § 4; Suet. J. C. 62; Plut. Caes. 52, 56.) He is said to have engaged in action with his head uncovered, whether in sun or rain (Suet. J. C. 57), and he wore his purple paludamentum in order that his soldiers might the better recognise him (B. G. vii. 88, § 1). Courage.

It was by the amazing celerity of his movements more than by anything else that he disconcerted his foes. He was a very thunderbolt of war, that alighted first, and left the noise to come afterwards. The Belgae were reduced before they had time to draw breath. The Arvernians imagined themselves safe for a time, protected by the snows of the Cevennes, and with Caesar away in Italy, when all of a sudden Caesar descended upon them as from the clouds, and began scattering devastation far and wide (B. G. vii. 8). Then leaving Brutus in charge of the force, Caesar himself made off with all speed to Vienna on the Rhône, picked up there some cavalry that he had sent on previously, rode night and day until he reached the territory Celerity.

of the Lingones, and had his forces concentrated before the enemy were aware of his movements (B. G. vii. 9).

Caution.

Caesar's caution was no less marked than his courage. We never hear of his being taken by surprise or of his falling into an ambush. In the Gallic War this is the less surprising, as his opponents despised such methods (B. Af. 73, § 2), but he had plenty of experience against more wily adversaries. He prided himself on the care that he took of his soldiers, and checked their ardour when he did not consider that the object to be attained was worth the risk (B. G. vii. 19, §§ 4, 5; 52, § 2). We are told by Suetonius (J. C. 67) that after the disaster under Sabinus and Cotta, Caesar was so affected by the loss of his men that he let his hair and beard grow until he had avenged them.

Caesar's treatment of his soldiers.

The two qualities that Caesar demanded of his men were obedience and courage. Any disposition to criticize or question the plans of their general was put down by him at once (B. G. i. 40, §§ 10, 11). The fear which the army were beginning to feel of the Germans under Ariovistus was treated in drastic fashion by Caesar. Similarly in Africa, when his small army was getting nervous at the rumours of the strong reinforcements that Juba was bringing to Metellus Scipio, instead of minimizing the danger, he reassured his soldiers after this fashion—'You must know that in a few days the king will be here with ten legions, 30,000 cavalry, 100,000 light-armed, and 300 elephants. Wherefore let certain persons cease to inquire further or express their opinions, and let them believe me, who have procured information; or else indeed I will put them on board the craziest ship I can find, and bid them seek such shores as the wind may carry them to.' But while a stern exactor of discipline in war, Caesar was lax in peace. After a great victory he would sometimes give the rein to every indulgence, declaring that his soldiers could fight well, even when their hair was perfumed. He loved to see them looking spick and span, with their arms well polished and adorned with gold and silver. There was a stroke of policy in this, as he

thought that they would be less likely to throw them away. It was not without policy too that he ceased to call them 'milites,' and adopted the blander term 'commilitones[1].'

Their devotion to him.

It is well known how Caesar's soldiers loved him. More than any general before or after him he had the art of securing men's devotion. He inspired them indeed with a superhuman courage, and they were ready to dare all and die for him. And this not only on the field when his eyes were upon them, but when in the Civil War his veterans fell into the power of his adversaries, it was in vain that they were offered their lives on condition of fighting against him: they preferred to be butchered in cold blood[2]. Caesar has himself celebrated the gallantry of many brave men who fought under him, such as P. Sextius Baculus, of whom he speaks in three places, the eagle-bearer of the tenth legion, who headed the landing in Britain (iv. 25, §§ 3–6), Titus Balventius (v. 35, § 6), Titus Pulio and Lucius Vorenus (v. 44), Lucius Fabius (vii. 47, § 7; 50, § 3), Marcus Petronius (vii. 50, §§ 4–6), Cassius Scaeva at Dyrrhacium, whose shield was pierced in 120 places[3], the eagle-bearer of the ninth legion (C. iii. 64, §§ 3, 4), Crastinus, an 'evocatus' of the tenth (C. iii. 91, 99). All these were centurions. But Plutarch and Suetonius combine in recording the name of a common soldier, C. Acilius, who emulated the courage of Cynaegirus, the brother of Aeschylus, and having his right hand cut off in the attempt to board a vessel in the sea-fight at Massilia, nevertheless jumped on board and drove the enemy before him with the boss of his shield[4]. One

[1] Suet. J. C. 67; cp. Tac. Agr. 33. See C. iii. 71, § 4 for Labienus' brutal allusion to this appellation.

[2] See Ap. 44–6, and cp. Suet. J. C. 68 'plerique capti concessam sibi sub conditione vitam, si militare adversus eum vellent, recusarunt.' See also the story of Granius Petro in Plut. Caes. 16, who stabbed himself after saying that Caesar's soldiers were wont to grant mercy but not to take it.

[3] C. iii. 53, §§ 4–6. Cp. Val. Max. iii. 2, § 23; Plut. Caes. 16; Suet. J. C. 68; Flor. ii. 13, § 40, who calls him Scaevola.

[4] See also Val. Max. iii. 2, §§ 22, who calls him C. Atilius, and says that he belonged to the tenth legion.

other hero of the ranks must be mentioned here, because his exploit supplies a missing incident in Caesar's campaign in Britain. Some centurions who were leading the van had got into a morass, when they were suddenly attacked by the enemy. A private seeing their danger leapt to the rescue, and after performing prodigies of valour, dispersed the foe and saved the centurions. He had then to get himself out of the marsh, which he did with great difficulty, partly by swimming and partly by walking. He was met on his landing with shouts of applause. But he himself, with a downcast air and with tears in his eyes, threw himself at Caesar's feet, and asked forgiveness for having lost his shield [1]. Something of the secret of Caesar's influence is revealed to us in the words of one who had himself served under him, who says that when things were looking blackest in Africa, the soldiers could find comfort nowhere, 'save in the general's own glance, vigour, and marvellous gaiety, which told of a high and lofty spirit. In him his men found rest, and in his skill and wisdom all trusted to find all things easy to them' (Af. 10, §§ 4, 5).

In addition to his other qualifications as a general, Caesar possessed an aptitude for engineering. Montaigne has remarked that there is nothing on which he dwells with so much zest as on the subtlety of his own mechanical contrivances. This remark is illustrated by the famous chapter on the bridge over the Rhine (iv. 17), his account of which is so clear, despite the difficulty of the subject, that General de Reffye was able to construct a model of it [2]. It is illustrated also by the way in which he enlarges on the character of his works at Alesia (vii. 72, 73). The Gallic method of building (iv. 23) had also a peculiar interest for him, and he admired the Gauls for their

[1] Perhaps this is only another version of the story told by Val. Max. iii. 2, § 23 of the gallantry displayed by Cassius, or, as he calls him, Caesius Scaeva, during the landing of the Romans in Britain.

[2] To be seen in the French Museum of National Antiquities at Saint-Germain, Salle xiii. Vitrine 25.

readiness in adopting hints of this kind from others (iv. 22). Schoolboys have had reason to lament this turn of mind of Caesar's, as the passages in which he dilates on such subjects are the only ones in which his work ever becomes difficult. But to Caesar himself this skill in engineering was of considerable use in impressing his enemies: witness the surprise of the Helvetians when he crossed the Saône in one day, whereas the passage had cost them a good twenty (i. 13, §§ 1, 2), and the consternation of the Aduatuci when they saw the wheeled tower moving up to their walls (ii. 30, 31).

Impression produced by Caesar's victories.

A profound impression was produced upon the minds of his countrymen by Caesar's victories in Gaul. Cicero, who indirectly owed to him his exile, and who bore such a ferocious grudge against his father-in-law Piso, exclaimed in the Senate, 'Can I be at enmity with one by whose despatches, fame, messengers, my ears are daily being filled with new names of nations, tribes, places?' He went on to assure the Conscript Fathers that the ardent feelings of patriotism, with which they all knew him to be inspired, made it impossible for him not to be a friend to any one who deserved well of the commonwealth. Cicero no doubt had his reasons for this outburst, delivered in the year 56 B.C.; for he was just then trimming his sails to catch something of that strong wind of fortune, which he had long seen to be filling Caesar's[1]. But in so speaking he was the mouthpiece of public opinion like the 'Times' newspaper. The whispers of misgiving on the part of Caesar's enemies about the justice of his proceedings were drowned in the blare of trumpets. At the close of the second year of Caesar's campaigns, the Senate had decreed to him the hitherto unheard-of honour of a fifteen days' supplication (ii. 35, § 4). Five days had been thought enough for Marius when he saved Rome from the Teutons (Cic. Prov. Cons. §§ 26, 27). That number

[1] In B.C. 60 he had written to Atticus (ii. 1, § 6 'Quid si etiam Caesarem, cuius nunc venti valde sunt secundi, reddo meliorem, num tantum obsum reipublicae?'

had been doubled in honour of Pompeius at the close of the war with Mithridates. This was done in Cicero's consulship and on his proposal. But ten days were not thought enough for Caesar. Cicero voted for fifteen for him, and Pompeius assented to a higher honour than had ever been bestowed upon himself. The same number of days was again accorded to Caesar at the end of the year 55 (iv. 38, § 5), and after the defeat of Vercingetorix the number was raised to twenty!

Now why were these unparalleled honours heaped on Caesar? Partly no doubt because he was the popular idol, partly because he had bribed pretty nearly everybody in one way or another, but partly also because he was really considered to have done a greater work than any one before him, and to be the greatest general that Rome ever produced. The historians of Rome, whether they wrote in Latin or Greek, are all agreed about this. However unfavourable they may be to him in other respects, his achievements in the field lose nothing in their telling. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 47) declares that his exploits at Alesia were such as a man would scarcely dare, and hardly any but a God could accomplish. Plutarch (Caes. 15) tells us that in less than ten years he took more than 800 towns by storm, subdued 300 tribes, engaged at different times with three millions of men, of whom he slew one million, and took captive another. Appian (iv. 2) raises the number of men against whom he fought to over four millions, and the number of tribes to 400. 'And amid so many successes,' adds Suetonius (J. C. 25), 'he encountered only three disasters—in Britain, when his fleet was almost destroyed by a tempest; in Gaul, when a legion was routed at Gergovia; and on the borders of Germany, when his lieutenants, Titurius and Aurunculeius, were slain by an ambush.' We have Caesar's own narrative with which to compare these statements. They are quoted here only as showing what was thought of Caesar in antiquity.

Up to the time of Caesar's Gallic War, Pompeius had been

the great hero of the Romans. He had eclipsed his predecessors, the Luculli; he had dimmed the fame of Marius and Sulla; he had thrown into the shade the worthies of old, the Fabii, the Scipios, and the Metelli (Plut. Caes. 15); he had coped with Sertorius; he had swept the sea of pirates; he had vanquished Mithridates; he had added provinces to the empire and filled the coffers of the State; he had culled laurels from the three continents; he had penetrated into Iberia; he had gazed upon the Caucasus; he had stood in the Holy of Holies in the famous temple of the Jewish Jehovah[1]—he was an altogether astounding and miraculous man. But he was no longer the rising sun. A new day-star had dawned—this time in the West—and the glories of Pompeius paled before it.

Eclipse of Pompeius.

We who live westward regard the East as the land of wonders, so far as there is any wonder left in the world. But if we would realise the feelings of Caesar's contemporaries, we must reverse this idea. Under the Roman Republic the East was far better known than the West. It had been opened up to the Greeks by the conquests of Alexander, and what was known to the Greeks was known to the Romans. It was the West that was to them the land of wonders, the land of mystery, the land in which all things were possible. In the eyes of his countrymen there hung about Caesar the same glamour of romance that attached to a 'conquistador' in the days of Pizarro and Cortés. Of France beyond the Cevennes the Romans knew only that it was seething with fierce tribes, which it was enough for them to keep at bay; Germany was a land of giants and of vast forests, whereof no man knew the end; as to Britain, its very existence was denied by some writers (Plut. Caes. 23), and, if it existed, it was debated whether

The West the land of romance.

[1] D. C. xxxvii. 17—*νεὼν μέγιστον καὶ περικαλλέστατον*: Flor. i. 40, § 30 'Hierosolyma defendere temptavere Iudaei: verum haec quoque et intravit et vidit illud grande impiae gentis arcanum patens, sub aurea vite cillum (=*κίλλον*).'

it were an island or another continent[1]. For Caesar to reach it was like Ulysses sailing to the land of the Cimmerians, for it lay beyond the all-encompassing Ocean-stream.

Formidableness of the foe against whom Caesar fought.

One cause then why Caesar's achievements were held to outshine even the dazzling exploits of Pompeius lay in the peculiar fascination exercised at that time over men's imagination by the West. But there was another, and more valid, reason, which we have yet to examine. Caesar's genius for war was displayed in Gaul, but it was tested and proved on other fields; for he was pitted against no great general until he met his son-in-law in arms. Now Mithridates, with whom Pompeius coped, was the most formidable antagonist that Rome had encountered since Hannibal. Compared with him Vercingetorix was only a blundering barbarian. Montaigne has pertinently asked why he shut himself up in Alesia; and the question, so far as I know, has not been answered. For, granting the necessity of holding the place or of securing his force from attack, why not stay outside himself, and throw his own energy into the rousing of Gaul for its relief? In the case of the Gauls there was more valour than discretion. But Mithridates' execution fell short of his design because of the quality of the men he worked with. When Cicero is trying to evade Cato's sneer that the war with Mithridates was waged with women (Cic. Mur. § 31), he is obliged to fall back upon the greatness of the commander. Caesar envied the good fortune of Pompeius in having won fame from such foes when he demolished the army of Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, at Zela. It was from this field that he penned that brief and pregnant epistle—'Veni, vidi, vici[2].' It was in the quality then of the men against whom Caesar fought that the peculiar glory of his victories lay. His special claim to greatness is that he

[1] This dispute was not set at rest until A.D. 84, when Agricola's fleet sailed round it. Tac. Agr. 38: D. C. xxxix. 50, § 4: Quint. vii. 4, § 2.

[2] Plut. Caes. 50. Suet. J. C. 37 says that these words were blazoned on his Pontic triumph.

defeated the ancestors of the men of to-day—of the French, Germans, and Britons. Of the French in particular, for neither Caesar nor his countrymen ever claimed that his operations in Germany and Britain were anything more than demonstrations [1]. We will, therefore, now leave Caesar, and turn our attention for a while to his opponents.

[1] See the moderate statements in Liv. Epit. 105; Tac. Agr. 13: cp. Strab. ii. 5, § 3, p. 200; Plut. Caes. 23.

CHAPTER III

WARS WITH THE GAULS

Renown of the Gauls in war.

The Gauls had won for themselves a renown in war which surpassed even that of the Romans[1]. Cicero declared in the Senate that no one had ever taken a statesmanlike view of the Roman Empire since its foundation without coming to the conclusion that the Gauls were the enemy most to be dreaded. He added that it was only the barrier of the Alps, which nature had erected, not without Divine Providence, that had shielded Rome in its infancy, and made its empire possible at all (Prov. Cons. §§ 33, 4). Even that barrier served only as a partial protection against the inflow of Gauls into Italy.

Their first passage into Italy.

When the twilight of history first dawns upon Gaul, the country whose population is now stationary or declining was already full to overflowing, like England at the present moment, and seeking opportunities of expansion. The time of which we are speaking was somewhere about six centuries before Christ, when Tarquinius Priscus (616–578) was reigning at Rome. The supremacy among the tribes of Celtic Gaul then lay with the Bituriges, whose king Ambigatus in his old age began to find the abundant population unmanageable. So he ordered two vigorous youths, the sons of his sister, Bellovesus and Segovesus by name, to take with them men enough to make their advent irresistible to any people, and to set forth to such abodes as the Gods should assign them by augury. To Segovesus fell the gloomy wilds of the Hercynian forest; to

[1] Sall. Cat. 53, § 3 'facundia Graecos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse.'

Bellovesus the smiling plains of Italy. Thither he set out with the redundant manhood of six tribes of Gaul—the Bituriges, Arverni, Aedui, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci. But when they came within sight of the Alps, of which history records no previous crossing, unless we are to regard Hercules as historical, it is no wonder if these men of the plains were inclined at first to regard their sky-clad summits as inaccessible. Just then they heard that there was war between the Salyes and some strangers who had descended on their coast from far-off Phocaea, seeking land whereon to found a city. Struck by the coincidence with their own fate, they espoused the cause of the strangers, who were thus enabled to build the ancient city of Marseille. After this they found their way themselves over the Alps, and descended into the plains of Northern Italy near Turin. The Etruscans then occupied these regions, but the Gauls defeated their army on the Ticinus, where Hannibal some four centuries later defeated the Romans. Then learning that the country in which they then were was called that of the Insubres, they hailed the omen—for this was the name of one of the cantons of the Aedui—and themselves founded there another famous city, the Milan of to-day: to the Gauls it was Mediolanum, having the same name as a town in the country of the Santoni. Close on the heels of this first band of invaders came another with the consent of Bellovesus. These were the Cenomani, under their leader Etitovius, who occupied the parts where Brixia and Verona afterwards stood[1]. After this there was an immigration of Libui[2] and of Salluvii, the latter the same as the Salyes already mentioned, who established themselves on the banks of the Ticinus, near the Laevi, another tribe of Ligurian origin. These were followed, but at what interval of time we do not know, by the Boii and Lingones, who struck

[1] The Brixiani Galli of Liv. xxi. 25, § 14 are the same as the Cenomani of 55, § 4: cp. xxxii. 30 'in vicos Cenomanorum, Brixiamque, quod caput gentis erat.'

[2] Cp. Liv. xxi. 38, § 7 'Libuos Gallos.'

out a new road for themselves, coming over the Poenine Alps or the Great St. Bernard. Finding the Transpadane territory already fully occupied, they crossed the Padus in boats, and expelled not only the Etruscans but also the Umbrians from their homes. They did not, however, come south of the Apennines. Last of all the Senones arrived and established themselves on the coast of the Adriatic, from the river Utens on the north to the Aesis, which bounded them from Picenum, on the south.

Such is Livy's account of the passage of the Gauls into Italy (v. 34, 35). It has been attacked of course—what is there that has not?—but if we reject it, there is nothing better to put in its place.

Destruction of Rome by the Senones.

Meanwhile Rome, which had now been in existence for more than three centuries and a half, had been busy in fighting with her immediate neighbours, and had never made acquaintance with the Gauls. She had just emerged triumphant from her long struggle with Veii, the Carthage of her cradle, when a thunderbolt fell out of a clear sky. The story runs however that it was not without warning from the Gods. For a humble citizen, named Caedicius, who lived in the New Road, heard at dead of night a voice which bade him, in more than mortal tones, go tell the magistrates 'The Gauls are coming.' But the warning, proceeding from so obscure a source, was neglected, insomuch that Camillus, the one general of the time, was allowed to be sent into exile on some charge relating to the spoils of Veii.

The Senones, who were the latest comers among the Gauls, were induced for some reason to attack Clusium[1]. That city had held aloof from helping her sister Veii, and for this merit she now in her distress implored the aid of the Romans. The latter, instead of granting assistance, sent ambassadors to the Gauls, to divert them, if possible, by peaceful means from their

[1] Appian iv. 2 ἐκλ. assumes that the Senones were fresh from Transalpine Gaul when this event took place, but Livy gives us no clue to the date of their arrival in Italy, unless v. 37, § 2 be regarded as such.

purpose. Unfortunately the ambassadors chosen were three hot-headed scions of a noble house, the sons of M. Fabius Ambustus. Finding the Gauls not amenable to reason, they fought against them contrary to the law of nations, and one of them, Quintus, slew a Gallic chief before the Etruscan lines, and was recognised by the barbarians as he gathered the spoils. The more fiery spirits among the Gauls wished to march on Rome at once, but the elders insisted that ambassadors should first be sent. The king, Brennus, took care that these should be the finest and most commanding men he could select. The ambassadors demanded the surrender of the Fabii, and the Romans so far acknowledged their faults as to offer pecuniary compensation, which was rejected; but the influence of the powerful Fabian house was too strong for justice. The Senate transferred their responsibility to the people, and the people selected the three Fabii 'tribuni militum,' along with three others, for the ensuing year (390 B.C.), informing the Gallic ambassadors that they could not take any measures against their magistrates, and that they must come next year, if they still felt angry about the matter. The Gauls however came before that, so that the Romans had scarcely time to meet them eleven miles off, near the spot where the Alia flows into the Tiber. At their first onset the Romans fled like deer, and, neglecting in their panic the defence of the city, found a nearer refuge, most of them, at Veii. Only those who had formed the right wing made for Rome, where they threw themselves into the Capitol. The Gauls next day marched into the undefended city through the open Colline Gate. We need not pursue the well-known tale. It can be read with all its romantic adjuncts in the picturesque pages of Livy. Suffice it to say that Rome was sacked and burnt to the ground. The cackle of a goose then determined the course of history. For if the Capitol had been taken in that night-attack which was foiled by Manlius, Rome would never have arisen from its ashes; and if there had been no Rome, what would Europe have been like to-day? Perhaps we might

now be having a purely Celtic civilization in place of a Graeco-Roman-Jewish one—that is, if we were civilised at all.

Camillus. The exiled Camillus, we are told, appeared on the scene in time to save Rome from the last degradation of paying her ransom in gold. With the aid of the men of Ardea and of the Romans who had fled to Veii, he defeated the Gauls amid the ruins of the city, and on the following day, eight miles off, on the road to Gabii. But their numbers had already been decimated by disease contracted during their long stay under the burning sun of Rome amid the stifling ashes of a ruined city. They had got tired of burying their dead singly, and had come at last to heaping them together in what was afterwards known as the Busta Gallica (Liv. v. 48, § 3: xxii. 14, § 11). First impressions count for much; and this rude experience which the Romans had of the Gauls inspired them with an enduring terror of these formidable adversaries, who, with their giant limbs and huge weapons, seemed created for the destruction of men and the devastation of cities (Flor. i. 7, § 4). The word 'tumultus,' which was especially used of danger from the Gauls, is explained by Cicero (Phil. viii. § 3; cp. Serv. on Verg. Aen. viii. 1) to be a contraction from 'timor multus.' The derivation is no more successful than those of the Ancients generally, but it serves to illustrate our point. When a 'tumultus' was proclaimed, no exemptions from service were allowed to hold good[1], but all who wished their country to be safe were bound to follow their general. This proclamation was only made in the case of an Italian or Gallic foe.

After the disappearance of the Senones, Rome had rest from the Gauls for twenty-three years: but in 367 B.C. they appeared again, and Camillus was appointed to his fifth dictatorship to cope with them. This he did successfully, and the enemy were dispersed into Apulia. The veteran general triumphed at the age of eighty, and died two years later (Liv. vi. 42: vii. 1, § 8; App. iv. 1).

[1] 'Vacationes non valebant,' Cic. Phil. viii. § 3: cp. v. § 31.

At the beginning of the next year (366 B.C.) news reached Rome that the scattered Gauls were gathered in Apulia: but they did not actually make their appearance till five years later (361 B.C.), when T. Quinctius Pennus was appointed dictator (Liv. vii. 9; App. iv. 1). This, according to the bulk of authorities, was the year in which the famous fight took place between T. Manlius Torquatus and the Gallic champion[1]. The Gauls were perilously near Rome, having pitched their camp only three miles off, on the Salaria Via, beyond the bridge over the Anio. Neither of the armies would break down the bridge, lest the action should be construed as a sign of fear, but neither could hold it permanently against the other. Then a gigantic Gaul stepped forth upon the bridge, and with insulting gestures defied the bravest of the Romans to meet him in arms. The David to encounter this new Goliath was found in young Titus Manlius, a kinsman of the saviour of the Capitol, who was now to add the laurels of victory to the credit which he had already won for his filial piety towards a severe father. By leave of the dictator he undertook to champion the Roman cause. Protected by a foot-soldier's shield, and girt with a short Spanish sword fit for combat at close quarters, he advanced to meet his huge antagonist, who stood howling and dancing on the bridge. The Gaul, dressed in a tartan-plaid ('versicolori veste') and with arms embossed with gold, swung his claymore down with a vast clatter on his opponent's shield, but the nimble youth slipped in under his adversary's targe, and stabbed him in the stomach till he brought him prostrate to the ground. Then he despoiled him of his golden torques, and handed down the name of Torquatus to his posterity. That night the Gauls fell back on Tibur, and, after concluding an alliance with the men of Tibur, retired into Campania.

Combat between T. Manlius Torquatus and a Gaul.

So next year (B.C. 360) the consul Poetelius Balbus led his army against Tibur. This brought up the Gauls to the assistance

Battle near the Colline Gate.

[1] To make Livy consistent with himself we ought to read 'septem' for 'decem' in vi. 42, § 6.

of their allies. A dictator, Q. Servilius Ahala, was appointed, and the Romans fought their savage foes near the Colline Gate under the eyes of their wives and children. The Gauls were defeated, and took refuge in Tibur (Liv. vii. 11; App. iv. 9).

Defeat of the Boii by C. Sulpicius.

Two years later (B.C. 358) an army of Gauls came to Praeneste, and then pitched their camp near Pedum. We are told by Appian that these were Boii, whom he describes as the most brutish race among the Celts[1]. The dictator, C. Sulpicius, sought to wear them out by Fabian tactics until his own soldiers grew impatient at the length of time they were being kept away from their homes. Forced at last to fight, he still supplemented valour by stratagem. He dressed up mules and muleteers as cavalry, as Caesar did at Gergovia (vii. 45, § 2), making them appear at an opportune moment in the combat; and he further bade each rank, after discharging its javelins together, sit down and let those behind fire over its head, so that the enemy might be overpowered by a shower of weapons. The result was a great victory, second only to that of Camillus in renown.

Repulse of the Gauls by M. Popillius Laenas.

After this we have an interval of eight years before the Romans are again disturbed by the Gauls. A plebeian consul, M. Popillius Laenas, had just been appointed in 350, when it was announced that a large army of Gauls had pitched their camp in Latium. The illness of his patrician colleague, L. Scipio (Liv. vii. 23: App. iv. 2), made it necessary to entrust the plebeian with the defence of his country. He proceeded cautiously, and began to fortify his camp on rising ground. The impetuosity of the Gauls led them to charge uphill. But the 'triarii' continued their task of digging, while the 'hastati' and 'principes' drove back the enemy to the plain. Here, however, the Gauls made a stand, and the battle was going against the Romans until the consul, who had had his shoulder almost run through with a pike, returned to the charge, reminding his men that they were not fighting against Italians who might become their allies, but with wild beasts that must slay or be slain. Then the Roman wedge

[1] iv. 1—Κελτικὸν ἔθνος θηριωδέστατον.

penetrated the ranks of the enemy, and the Gauls fled for refuge to the Alban hills. From here these human wolves were driven down by the cold of the succeeding winter (B.C. 349), and began to prowl about the plains and coasts. Those were hard times for the inhabitants of Italy. Not only were they vexed by these marauders by land, but their seaboard was swept by a buccaneering fleet of Greeks, supposed by Livy (vii. 26, § 15) to have come from Sicily, since the attention of Greece proper was then occupied with the doings of Philip of Macedon. It must have been a satisfaction to the owners of the soil when the sea-robbers and the land-robbers met in equal contest, until they retired, the one to their ships and the other to their camp, not knowing whether they were beaten or victorious.

Italy laid waste by Gallic marauders and Greek pirates.

A son of the great Camillus was consul this year, and the omen of his name prevented the Senate from appointing a dictator over him. He encamped in the 'Pomptinus ager,' thinking that the best way to deal with the Gauls was to prevent them from obtaining supplies. It was here that that other celebrated single combat took place between a Roman and a Gaul, in which the young patrician, M. Valerius, helped, as the story runs, by a raven, won for himself the surname of Corvus or Corvinus[1]. The duel led on to a general engagement, in which the Gauls were defeated, and after which they retired to Apulia and the shores of the Adriatic.

Combat between M. Valerius and a Gaul.

For a long time we hear no more of them. Without actually saying so, Livy gives us to understand through a speech of Valerius that the Gauls had taken flight by sea (vii. 32, § 9). In 332 and again in 329 there was a false alarm of a Gallic tumult. In the former year a dictator was appointed; in the latter, though this was not done, so stringent a levy was held that even the mechanics were called out. These incidents illustrate the abiding dread of the Gauls entertained by the Romans, which is well brought out in a passage of Livy (ix. 29, § 2),

Roman dread of the Gauls.

[1] 'Corvus,' Liv. vii. 26, § 12; 'Corvinus,' vii. 32, § 15. Cp. App. iv. 1 (ii) and 10; Flor. i. 8.

where he says that '*next to the Gallic tumults* there was no race so formidable to the Romans as the Etruscans.' This latter power, finding their own territories invaded by the Gauls in 299, availed themselves of their wealth to procure the alliance of their invaders against the Romans. The Gauls pocketed a large sum and gladly accepted the alliance; but when it came to marching against Rome, they said that the payment they had already received was for sparing Etruria, but that if they were to fight with the Etruscans, they must be given land in their country, where they might at last rest from their wanderings. The Etruscans however had more Gallic neighbours than they cared for already. So the Gauls marched off with their gains.

The Etruscans try to hire the Gauls against Rome.

Combination against Rome got up by Gallius Egnatius.

Three years later, in 296, a formidable combination was got up against the Romans by the Samnite leader, Gallius Egnatius. He induced the Etruscans and Umbrians to make common cause with the Samnites, and Gallic mercenaries were also hired to aid them (Livy x. 18, § 2; 21, §§ 2, 11). To meet this emergency A. Fabius and P. Decius Mus were appointed consuls for the ensuing year (295). The first success in this struggle was scored by Gauls. The Senones, whom we have lost sight of, at least by name, since the sack of Rome nearly a century before, came in large numbers to Clusium, where L. Scipio as propraetor was in command of a Roman legion. Scipio, wishing to strengthen his position, drew his forces up a hill, but found the summit in possession of the foe, and was cut to pieces with all his men. The news of the disaster was brought to the consuls, who were already on their way to Clusium, by seeing the Gallic horsemen riding by triumphant with the heads of their enemies slung from their horses' chests or carried on their spears.

The united forces of the enemy assembled near Sentinum in Umbria, and thither the consuls followed them across the Apennines. They agreed to form two camps, one of the Samnites and Gauls, the other of the Etruscans and Umbrians. The Samnites and Gauls were to engage with the Romans, while the Etruscans and Umbrians were to assail their camp

during the conflict. But a movement, which was ordered by the consuls, of two pro-praetors upon Clusium recalled the Etruscans to the defence of their homes, and they seem to have taken the Umbrians with them. In this way the Samnites and Gauls were left to do battle alone against the Romans. Fabius, who commanded the right, preferred, with the wariness of his great descendant, to reserve his strength to the end, considering that the Romans had more staying powers than the Samnites, and that the Gauls were physically incapable of bearing toil and heat, so that while 'at the first onset they were more than men, at the last they were less than women.' Decius, however, who commanded the left, was younger and more impetuous. He attacked the Gauls with a fury like their own. But when the Gallic war-chariots came into play, the thunder of their wheels dismayed the horses of the Romans, and their panic-stricken stampede carried disorder among the legions. The battle was going against the Romans until Decius, with hereditary devotion, summoned the pontifex to consecrate himself and the enemy to Earth and the spirits of the dead. Then he rushed into the thickest of the foe, and found death and victory together.

Hereditary devotion of Decius.

In the year 289 a colony was sent out to Sena Gallica, in the country of the Senones, a sure sign that the Romans were getting the better of their former conquerors.

Colony sent to Sena Gallica.

The Senones seem now to have been nominally in alliance with the Romans. For we find six years later (B.C. 283) that when they had allowed themselves to be hired by the Etruscans as mercenaries, the Senate sent ambassadors to complain of their conduct. Their chief, Britomaris, whose father had been slain by the Romans when he was fighting for the Etruscans, was burning for revenge, and now saw an opportunity of obtaining it. He took the ambassadors in their sacred robes and with the symbols of their office, cut them to pieces, and flung out the fragments into the fields (App. iii. 6: iv. 11). The Romans naturally declared war against the Senones, but at first their efforts were not successful, for the praetor L. Caecilius,

Roman revenge on the Senones.

who had been consul in the preceding year, was slain by them along with his legions[1]. But Roman retribution was not long delayed. The consul P. Cornelius Dolabella, who had set out for Etruria, turned aside through the country of the Sabines and Picenum, and marched into the land of the Senones[2], from which the bulk of its natural defenders were absent. Here he slew all the adult males except Britomaris, who was reserved for triumph, enslaved the women and children, and so devastated the country as to render it for the time being uninhabitable. The Senones in Etruria, who were now homeless, were marching on Rome to take vengeance, when they fell in with Domitius, the colleague of Dolabella, who defeated them with great slaughter, so that the residue slew themselves in despair. So ended the Senones, the one people who could boast that they had captured Rome (App. iii. 6: iv. 11; cp. Flor. i. 8, § 21; Eutr. ii. 10).

Defeat of the Etruscans and Boii by Dolabella.

Aghast at the extermination of their neighbours, the Boii rushed to arms and joined their forces to the Etruscans. But both nations were defeated with great slaughter by Dolabella on the banks of the small lake of Vadimo, above the junction of the Nar with the Tiber. Finding themselves defeated again in the following year (B.C. 282), the Boii concluded a treaty on their own account with the Romans.

Turn in the tide of war.

The events which have just been related mark a turning-point in the age-long struggle between Latin and Celt. Never again do the Gauls march with a light heart upon Rome. Henceforth the struggle will be upon Gallic soil, and the Gauls will be the invaded, not the invaders. The founding of Ariminum in B.C. 268 (Eutr. ii. 16), just below the Rubicon, is a permanent sign of this turn of the tide. But there is a long lull in the contest before the Romans address themselves to the task of conquering the Cisalpine Gauls. The Gauls during this period were glad enough to be let alone, and the attention of the

[1] This is the order of the events according to Liv. Epit. 12 and St. Aug. C. D. iii. 17, though not according to Polybius.

[2] This was still called 'Italian Gaul' in the time of Appian (vii. 8, ad fin.).

Romans was distracted by foreign foes, first Pyrrhus (281–275 B.C.) and then the Carthaginians (264–241).

Operations of the Romans against the Gauls on the close of the first Punic War.

The very moment the first Punic War is over (B.C. 240) we find the Romans advancing their arms for the first time against the Ligurians. The Ligurians were not Gauls, but they appear to have been closely akin to them, and at all events they were connected with them for many a year in resistance to the Roman invader. The Gauls, who had refrained from molesting the Romans all the time that they were engaged with Pyrrhus and the Carthaginians, now began to tremble for their own safety. They summoned their countrymen from across the Alps to their assistance, but at first they fell out, and even came to blows, with the new-comers. This was in 236. In the following year the temple of Janus was closed for the first time since the reign of Numa. In 233 the famous Q. Fabius Maximus, who was then for the first time consul, celebrated a triumph over the Ligurians. At last, in 225, the Cisalpine Gauls accomplished their purpose of bringing a formidable army of their Transalpine brethren to assist them against the Romans. But Rome was now too strong for a Gallic tumult. A dictator was not appointed, though immense levies were made, insomuch that the historian Fabius, who himself served in that campaign, estimated the whole force that the Romans had ready for their defence at something like 800,000 men[1]. The Gauls achieved some successes, and were retiring with their booty when the consul Aemilius Papus inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. Then Aemilius overran the territory of the Boii and reduced them to submission. Not content with these successes, the Romans now attacked the Insubres. In 223 C. Flaminius, then in his first consulship, led a Roman army for the first time across the Po. In spite of the efforts of his aristocratic opponents to annul his consulship by means of

[1] Polyb. ii. 24; Eutr. iii. 5; Plin. N. H. iii. § 138. This statement includes the reserves. Livy Epit. 20 'Eo bello populus Romanus sui Latinique nominis trecenta millia armatorum habuisse dicitur.'

the auspices, he carried through a successful campaign and celebrated a triumph by sole grace of the people.

Marcellus gains the 'spolia opima.'

The following year (B.C. 222) is a noticeable one in the annals of the Gallo-Roman wars. The consul, Claudius Marcellus, slew with his own hand Viridomarus [1], the leader of the Insubrians, and afterwards dedicated the 'spolia opima,' which he carried in his triumph slung on a pole over his shoulder [2], to Romulus [3]. When the chief was dead, Mediolanum, the capital of the Insubres, fell by assault, an event which was followed by the submission of the whole tribe. But more important even than this was the founding in the same year of the two colonies of Placentia and Cremona, the latter of which was on the further bank of the Padus. The varying fortunes of these two outposts mark the rise and fall of the tide of Roman dominion in Cisalpine Gaul (Liv. Epit. 20; Vell. Pat. i. 14, § 8).

Foundation of Placentia and Cremona.

March of Hannibal into Italy.

We have now reached the period when Hannibal is on his march into Italy. The Gauls are on the tip-toe of expectation, hoping to find in him that salvation which they had in vain expected from their own countrymen beyond the Alps. In the disposition of their forces made by the Romans to receive him, we hear now of *the province of Gaul* (Liv. xxi. 17, § 9), to which the praetor Manlius was appointed with two Roman legions and a larger contingent of allies.

When the Roman ambassadors, who had been sent to Carthage after the fall of Saguntum, were on their way home to Italy, the reception they met with in Transalpine Gaul was not

[1] Viridomarus, Flor. i. 20: Virdomarus, Eutr. iii. 6: called by Plut. Marc. 8, Βριτόμαρτος.

[2] 'Ac triumphans Marcellus spolia Galli stipiti imposita humeris suis vexit,' Eutr. iii. 6.

[3] Verg. Aen. vi. 859 'tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.' Vergil is more exact here than the historians who talk of these arms as being dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, at least if we may trust Servius on Aen. vi. 859, who says that the spoils taken by Romulus were dedicated to Jupiter, those by Cossus to Mars, and these last by Marcellus to Quirinus; but they appear all to have been hung in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, cp. Liv. i. 10, §§ 6, 7.

encouraging. It was the custom of the barbarians to come armed into council. This might of itself be disconcerting to peaceful envoys; but when the ambassadors, dwelling on the greatness of the Roman Empire, proposed to the Gauls that they should refuse a passage to Hannibal, the request was met with peals of derisive laughter, which could hardly be quelled by the magistrates and elders. Were the Gauls to draw destruction on their own homes on behalf of a nation who were expelling men of their race from the soil of Italy, or else subjecting them to tribute and other indignities? It was not till they reached their allies at Massilia that the Roman ambassadors met with any sympathy. Here they were told that the minds of the Gauls had been preoccupied by Hannibal, but that *he* was not likely to find them very tractable, unless their chiefs were plied from time to time with gold (Liv. xxi. 20). Hannibal was himself aware of this, and bought a free passage from them, when they assembled at Ruscino to bar his way, saying that, if they would allow him, he would not draw the sword until he reached Italy. This promise he kept as well as he could. But if the Gauls had no cause to love the Romans, they had good reason to fear Hannibal, who had just been subduing their neighbours in Spain. Accordingly when he reached the Rhône he found the natural difficulties of crossing that rapid river increased by a crowd of howling barbarians on the far bank, who were dancing and shaking their shields over their heads with the left hand, and brandishing their weapons in the right. These were the Volcae Arecomici, who had despaired of holding their lands on the far side of the Rhône, but thought that with the aid of the stream they might make good the near one. They were dislodged however, being taken in the rear by Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, who had been sent to cross the river secretly at a point twenty-five miles higher up. After this, Hannibal met with no further opposition from Gauls, except among the wild tribes of the Alps. Shortly after crossing the Rhône he was met by envoys from the Boii, with their chief,

Magalus, who undertook to guide him over the Alps, and who exhorted him to reserve all his strength for Italy, instead of attacking Scipio, with whose cavalry—some of whom were themselves Gauls—he had just had a skirmish on the banks of the Rhône. Pursuing their advice, Hannibal marched inland until he came to the country of the Allobroges between the Rhône and the Isère. Here he was called upon to arbitrate in a dispute for the throne between two brothers, which he decided in favour of the elder, Brancus, who was the legitimate claimant, and was supported by the Senate and chiefs. In return for this service he was supplied by the Allobroges with provisions for his troops, and clothing, which was especially opportune in view of the cold journey before him.

Revolt of the Boii and Insubres.

Meanwhile the mere news that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro, which was brought to Italy by Massilian envoys, was enough to stir the Boii and Insubres to revolt, to whom Cremona and Placentia were as thorns in their side. Some Roman land-commissioners, or Roman ambassadors—it is not certain which—who had fled for refuge to Mutina, distrusting the strength of Placentia, were called out to a conference and treacherously seized by the Gauls. The praetor Manlius hastened to relieve Mutina and avenge this outrage, but indignation rendered him incautious, and he was very roughly handled on his way by the Gauls, who lay in ambush for him in the woods which then skirted the road.

It was with difficulty that he reached the village of Tannetum near the Padus, where, being able to obtain supplies by river and aided by the Brixian Gauls, he protected himself by a temporary fortification against a daily increasing multitude of the enemy. His position caused so much anxiety at Rome that a new levy was made by the consul, and a second praetor, C. Atilius, sent to his relief with one Roman legion and 5,000 of the allies, who reached Tannetum without misadventure. Shortly afterwards the two praetors were superseded in their command by the consul, P. Cornelius Scipio, who arrived at

Placentia just in time to prevent the Gauls in the valley of the Po from joining Hannibal in a body (Liv. xxi. 39, § 5). It was with this army of raw recruits that Scipio met Hannibal on the Ticinus.

Combat of Gauls displayed by Hannibal to his men.

Both Scipio and Hannibal encouraged their men before engaging in combat, but it is the mode of exhortation employed by the latter that alone concerns us here. Perhaps it was Hannibal's Semitic mind that made him address himself, after the manner of the old Hebrew prophets, to the eye before he appealed to the ear. Having called his army round him, he set in their midst some of the Gauls who had been taken in the mountains. Then he put to them the following proposal through an interpreter:—If they were given freedom and a freeman's arms, would they fight to the death against one another? Would they? These Irishmen of antiquity were only too pleased to fight for the sake of fighting, let alone the prizes, in case of victory, of liberty, arms and a horse. They jigged for joy as their lots fell out, and fought with a spirit and fury which imparted itself to the spectators. This was just what Hannibal had calculated on. After they had witnessed several matches, he explained to them that they had seen an image of their own condition, and that they too must conquer or die[1].

Disaffection of the Gauls to the Romans after the battle of Ticinus.

The effect of Scipio's ill-success on the Ticinus soon made itself felt among the Gauls. They had fought on his side in the battle: but when Hannibal pitched his camp six miles from Placentia, upon which Scipio had fallen back, the Gauls next night, to the number of 2,000 foot and 200 horse, cut down the guards at the gate and deserted to Hannibal. By him they were received with open arms, and sent to stir up their countrymen against the Romans. Scipio, regarding this desertion as a symptom of disaffection on the part of the whole race, fell back upon the river Trebia, where, encamped upon the spurs

[1] A similar story is told of Miltiades, with this difference, that it was a combat of 'galli gallinacei,' not of human Galli, that he set before the Athenians at the Panathenaica. See Philo ii. 466, Q. O. P. L. § 19.

of the Apennines, he would be less exposed to attack from cavalry.

The Gauls waver between Rome and Carthage.

The Gauls as a whole did join Hannibal, with the single exception of the Cenomani (Liv. xxi. 55, § 4), though those in the immediate neighbourhood of the Roman army, between the Trebia and the Padus, besought the assistance of the Romans against the foragers whom Hannibal was sending against them in impatience at their not coming over to him. But when the Gauls realised that the immediate effect of the presence of their new ally was, not that they should join, as they expected, in plunder, but that their own territories should be made the seat of war and be crushed by having to support the armies of both sides in their winter-quarters, their animosity was turned again from the Romans against Hannibal. The life of the Carthaginian commander was at this time in such danger that he had to have recourse to disguise in order to protect himself against assassination. But the inability to combine, which has always formed the weakness of the Celts, now proved of service to Hannibal; for, when one chieftain laid a plot against him, it would be betrayed to him by another. It was this profound dissatisfaction of the Gauls, whom it was Hannibal's policy to humour, that suggested his premature attempt to cross the Apennines and led to his retirement into Liguria after its failure.

Flaminius slain by Ducarius at Trasimene.

In the following year (B.C. 217) Flaminius on the fatal field of Trasimene paid the penalty for his victories over the Gauls. For in the press of battle an Insubrian knight, named Ducarius, recognising the consul, and shouting out 'Ho! here is the slayer of our countrymen!' put spurs to his horse, charged at him through the throng, and, after first cutting down his armour-bearer, pierced him with his lance.

Postumius and his army destroyed by the Boii.

But a more trenchant revenge was enjoyed soon afterwards by the Boii. The year of Cannae (B.C. 216) had not yet run out when Rome was stricken with the news of another disaster. L. Postumius Albinus had been assigned Gaul as his province,

and was still carrying on operations in the north of Italy, when he was elected consul in his absence for the year 215. The Gauls knowing that he was about to pass through a vast wood, the Silva Litana, had cut the trees on both sides of the way, so as just to leave them standing. Then when the army, which amounted to 25,000 men, including allies, had entered the wood, the lurking barbarians—so at least the story runs—gave a push to the outermost trees, which, communicating the impulse to the rest, brought destruction on man and beast. The Gauls then rushed in and despatched the survivors, so that scarcely ten men escaped. Postumius himself fell fighting desperately. His skull was chased with gold and deposited in the most holy temple of the Boii, whose priests thereafter poured their libations from it at high festivals, and drank out of the head of a Roman consul. The Senate deliberately postponed their vengeance until they were quit of the more formidable enemy, with whom Rome was now locked in a death-struggle.

Causes of the quiescence of the Gauls during the war with Hannibal.

This is the last that we hear of independent action on the part of the Gauls against the Romans during the war with Hannibal. Their quiescence may be accounted for by two causes, first, that so many of their fighting-men were away serving as mercenaries under the Carthaginians; secondly, that those who remained at home were overawed by the force which was kept in their country by the Romans. During all the long and desperate struggle with Hannibal the Roman grip on Gaul was never relaxed. A standing force of two Roman legions and a large body of allies was kept up in the country, and year by year a praetor was sent to Ariminum, which was the Roman basis of operations against Gaul (Liv. xxviii. 38, § 13).

Gauls serving in Spain against the Romans.

Meanwhile it was not only in Italy that the Romans found the ranks of their opponents swelled by Gauls. We read that in one of Cn. Scipio's many victories in Spain the spoils taken consisted chiefly of the golden necklaces and bracelets of the Gauls, and that two noted chieftains of their race, Moeniacoeptus and Vismarus, were left dead on the field (Liv. xxiv.

42, § 8). These were presumably Transalpine Gauls, who were serving the Carthaginians as mercenaries, as they had done during the first Punic War (App. v. 3; vi. 4).

Hasdrubal crosses the Alps.

As there had been a stir in the Gallic world when Hannibal passed into Italy, so there was again when his brother Hasdrubal followed in his footsteps. He came into France well provided with gold to procure auxiliaries among the greedy soldiers of fortune with whom the country was swarming. The Arverni and other tribes received him favourably, and many of them joined his standard. The Alpine tribes offered him no opposition, having learnt now, after twelve years' war between Rome and Carthage, that the Alps were a highway between the nations, and that it was not their own petty hamlets and rock-perched castles that were the objects of attack. He received no check anywhere until he attempted to storm the colony of Placentia, an enterprise in which Hannibal had failed before him after his victory at the Trebia. After abandoning the siege, he despatched four Gallic and two Numidian horsemen to his brother with a letter in which he arranged to meet him in Umbria. These adventurous riders travelled the whole length of Italy without arrest until they fell into the hands of the Romans near Tarentum.

His defeat and death.

The interception of their despatches inspired the consul Claudius Nero with a bold design. Leaving the army, with which he had been keeping Hannibal in check, the same in appearance as before, he withdrew secretly with the flower of his forces and threw himself into his colleague's camp at Sena. But Hasdrubal's wary eye perceived a worn look about some of the Roman shields, which he had not noticed before, and a leanness about the horses. When his suspicions of an increase of numbers had been confirmed by learning that the signal had been twice sounded in the consul's camp, he endeavoured to slip away from his enemies at night, but, losing his guides in the dark, he wandered in unknown ways, until the Romans brought crushing destruction upon his tired forces, which he himself disdained to survive. Never till now had Cannae been

properly avenged. But the victory was by no means a bloodless one to the Romans, who met with a stout resistance, especially from the Spaniards and Ligurians, but with very little from the Gauls, who are represented by the Ancients as being of all nations the least capable of bearing fatigue. So exhausted were the Romans themselves after the action that they suffered a body of Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians to escape, who might have been cut down by a single troop of horse. 'Let some survive,' said the consul Livius, 'to bring the news of the enemies' disaster and of our valour.' Claudius returned to the south with even greater speed than he had come, and broke the news to Hannibal by flinging down his brother's head before his camp.

Effect on the Gauls of the battle of Metaurus.

The battle of the Metaurus, of which we have just spoken, took place in B.C. 207. The effect of it, so far as our history is concerned, was made manifest the next year, when Q. Mamilius the praetor was ordered to lay waste the lands of the Gauls who had joined Hasdrubal (Livy xxviii. 10, § 12). Placentia and Cremona, though they had not been taken, had naturally suffered much during this second invasion of Italy. Their lands had been overrun by the Gauls, and many of the colonists had slipped back to Rome. These were now ordered by the consuls to return, and Mamilius was given directions to protect the colonies (xxviii. 11, §§ 10, 11).

Defeat of Mago in Cisalpine Gaul and his subsequent death.

After the loss of Hasdrubal his brother Mago was instructed to proceed to Italy by sea, and there hire as large an army of Gauls and Ligurians as he could, with whom he was to reinforce Hannibal. After spending the winter of 206–5 in the Balearic isles, Mago sailed for Italy and took Genua by surprise owing to the suddenness of his arrival. Having been well supplied with the sinews of war from Carthage, he then proclaimed himself a champion of liberty to the Gauls and Ligurians. The latter were willing enough to join him, if he would give them two months wherein to hold their levies. But discretion was beginning to mingle itself with the valour of the Gauls. There was

one Roman army in Etruria and another at Ariminum, and respect for these kept the Gauls from any overt acts of hostility, though they allowed secret levies to be held and assisted the Carthaginians with supplies (Liv. xxviii. 46, §§ 11, 12; xxix. 3, § 15; 5, §§ 5–9; App. vi. 37). During the time when Mago was making his levies the proconsul M. Livius and the praetor Sp. Lucretius joined their forces in Cisalpine Gaul. In the next year (B.C. 204) the same two generals were continued in their command against Mago (Liv. xxix. 13, § 4), but it was not until the following year, when M. Cornelius, the outgoing consul, and P. Quinctilius Varus, the praetor of Ariminum, were in command in Gaul (Liv. xxx. 1, §§ 7, 9), that a pitched battle was fought against Mago. The fight was long and obstinately contested, and victory might have turned against the Romans, had not Mago been wounded in the thigh and carried out of the field. This battle took place in the country of the Insubres. After it the Carthaginians retreated, as fast as their general's wound would allow them, into the territory of the Ingauni Ligures. Here Mago was met by ambassadors ordering his immediate return to Carthage, and announcing that Hannibal had been recalled too (Liv. xxx. 19, §§ 2, 3). Mago put to sea at once with his army, hoping that a sea voyage might facilitate his recovery, but he had scarcely got past Sardinia when he died of his wound.

A consul rescues his father from slavery.

A pathetic incident is recorded as having taken place in the same year (B.C. 203). The consul C. Servilius rescued his father, of whose fate he had been ignorant, from slavery among the Boii, by whom he had been captured sixteen years before at Tannetum (see p. 48).

Gauls and Ligurians at Zama.

The next year shows us Gauls and Ligurians taking part under Hannibal in his supreme effort at Zama. The Ligurians were promised the rich plains of Italy instead of their own barren mountains, and the Gauls had their long and deep-seated hatred to urge them to do battle against the Romans (Liv. xxx. 33, § 9).

In 201 B.C. peace was at last concluded with the Carthaginians. The Romans were now free to settle accounts with the Gauls and Ligurians at their leisure. The settlement was a very lengthy process indeed, but it was pursued by the Romans with that pertinacity in which their chief strength lay.

Close of the second Punic War

With the Ligurians we are not concerned, except in so far as they made common cause with the Cisalpine Gauls. They were a race of hardy mountaineers, but their strength in regular warfare was not great, and the difficulty was not so much to conquer as to catch them. Operations against them dribbled on from year to year until 190, when the proconsul Q. Minucius reported that the country was entirely subdued (Liv. xxxvii. 2). Minucius however was refused a triumph, and the sequel justified the Senate's estimate of his performances. For the very next year a praetor, L. Baebius, passing through the country to his province of Spain, was attacked by the Ligurians and his retinue slain or put to flight. He himself escaped to Massilia, where he died within three days from the wounds that he had received (Liv. xxxvii. 57). Two years later (B. C. 187), there being no more important campaign on hand, we find both consuls carrying on war in Liguria, which served the Romans as a training-ground to keep up their military discipline in periods when it might otherwise have lapsed[1]. The Ligurian tribes were again entirely subdued this year, and the consul Q. Marcius badly defeated by them the next. After this for seven years running (B.C. 185–179) both consuls were employed in Liguria. The Romans at last adopted a Persian policy, and removed the Apuani Ligures, a specially troublesome tribe, to some public lands in Samnium, while they compelled others of the Ligurians to descend from the mountains to the plains. Two years later the consul C. Claudius, having conquered the Istrians, transferred his army into Liguria and won a victory

Operations against the Ligurians.

[1] Liv. xxxix. 1: 'Is hostis velut natus ad continendam inter magnorum intervalla bellorum Romanis militarem disciplinam erat.'

there. But while he was celebrating a triumph over both nations at Rome these audacious mountaineers made a descent upon Mutina, and actually took it by assault. Claudius was sent back to his province, and recovered the colony in the following year (B.C. 176). The same summer witnessed a victory of the consul Petillius over the Ligurians, in which Petillius himself was killed. In 175 the consul M. Popillius attacked a perfectly unoffending Ligurian tribe, the Statelliates, and treated them with such cruelty on their surrender as to raise a storm of indignation against himself in the Senate. He repeated these outrages in the following year while the consuls delayed to supersede him. Such of his victims as survived were restored to liberty by the Senate and given lands across the Padus, but the offender eventually escaped justice. After this the Ligurians in Italy seem to have been 'pacified,' and the subsequent operations that we hear of were directed against the Alpine or Transalpine tribes.

Disturbances among the Gauls raised by a Carthaginian named Hamilcar.

To return however to the Gauls. It might have been supposed that on the withdrawal of their Carthaginian allies and paymasters the Gauls would have chosen to remain quiet. But there was still a stray tooth of the dragon embedded in Italian soil, and ready to spring up to a harvest of death. A Carthaginian officer named Hamilcar, a relict of the army of Hasdrubal or Mago, managed to rally the Gauls and Ligurians round his standard, just when the Romans were devoting their chief attention to King Philip, and expecting nothing less than a Gallic tumult. Placentia, which had managed to survive during the whole of the Punic war, was now at last sacked and burnt (B.C. 200). Cremona had just time to shut its gates against the invaders, and was able to hold its own until the praetor L. Furius Purpureo came to its relief from Ariminum. He won so considerable a victory that a three days' supplication was held at Rome. According to some authorities Hamilcar was slain in this battle; according to others he was taken alive three years later (Liv. xxxi. 21; xxxii. 30; xxxiii. 23). He had been

exiled by the Carthaginians and his goods confiscated in response to a Roman embassy (Liv. xxxi. 19).

This victory of Furius comes in between two defeats, one in 201, when C. Oppius, the praefect of the allies, was slain with 7,000 men on a foraging party in the country of the Boii (Liv. xxxi. 2), another in 199, when the praetor Cn. Baebius Tamphilus lost more than 6,600 men in the territory of the Insubres (Liv. xxxii. 7). The year following (B.C. 198) was chiefly taken up by the Romans in compelling their colonists to return to Placentia and Cremona (Liv. xxxii. 26). In 197 both consuls were assigned legions to carry on war against the Cisalpine Gauls (xxxii. 28) and Ligurians. Among the former we now find the Cenomani, at least the younger members of the tribe, ranged on the side of their countrymen. After this the war went on with varying fortunes, with now some feat of arms on the part of a Gallic chieftain, Corolamus or Dorulacus or Boiorix, and again a triumph or thanksgiving among the Romans, until the year 191, when it was terminated, as far as the Gauls were concerned, by the complete submission of the Boii, who were mulcted of about half their territory (xxxvi. 39): but the Ligurians, as we have already seen, carried on their resistance to a much later date. So intimately were they connected in the minds of the Romans with the Gauls that when Scipio Nasica claimed a triumph for his crushing defeat of the Boii, a tribune objected to it on the ground that the Gauls would never be quiet so long as the Ligurians were in arms, and that Scipio, instead of coming home to claim a triumph, ought at once to have brought aid to Q. Minucius, who had been for three years engaged in a doubtful struggle with the Ligurians (xxxvi. 39). The tribune however was compelled by the Senate to withdraw his opposition, and Nasica enjoyed a rich triumph, in which 1471 golden torques were carried in procession, as well as a quantity of gold and silver, both in the form of coin and bullion, and what are described as fairly artistic vessels of native workmanship (Liv. xxxvi. 40).

Operations against the Gauls.

Triumph of Nasica over the Boii.

This triumph marks the close of another chapter in the struggle between Roman and Celt. Hereafter there will be no serious war with the Cisalpine Gauls, only the suppression of an occasional revolt while the Romans are engaged in consolidating their conquests. But just at this point of time the Romans come into contact with another section of the widespread Celtic race in a different quarter of the globe. We must allow ourselves a brief digression from the main subject in order to see how it came to pass that the Romans encountered Gauls in Asia.

Digression on the Galatians, pp. 58–65.

Linguistic evidence of Gallic settlements outside Gaul.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that in the centuries before Christ the Gauls were confined to France and Italy. On the west they overflowed into Spain, and on the east they spread far along the valley of the Danube. Apart from the direct testimony of historians, the philologist can infer this extensive diffusion of the Celtic race from the ancient names of places. Just as we can argue to a Roman occupation of Britain in times past from the many names of places that end in -chester, -cester, and the other disguises of castra, so we can affirm that the Gauls must have resided for some considerable time in countries where we find place-names ending in -dunum, -briga, and other unmistakeably Celtic terminations. The broad fact of an occupation by Gauls of portions of eastern Europe is incontestable, but as to the exact how and when of their movements our evidence is confused and conflicting.

Expeditions of the Gauls against Thrace, Macedonia, and Illyria.

Pausanias, writing from the point of view of invasions of Greece, says that the first expedition made by the Celts beyond their own borders was under the leadership of Cambaules. He does not say where these borders were, and in one passage (x. 20, § 3) seems to imply that they were on the Ocean, but let us suppose them to have been somewhere in Pannonia, where we know that the Gauls were settled for a long time (Justin. xxiv. 4, §§ 3–5). In this first expedition they advanced as far as Thrace, but the smallness of their numbers made it advisable for them to return. This trial-trip however had whetted their appetite for plunder. So not long after they set out again

in three divisions. One under Cerethrius was directed against the Triballi and the Thracians; another under Brennus and Acichorius against Poeonia; a third under Bolgius or Belgius (Justin. xxiv. 5) against the Macedonians and Illyrians. The adventures of this third division are better known than those of the other two. Ptolemy Ceraunus was then on the throne of Macedonia. Belgius offered to let him buy peace. He rejected the offer, was defeated and slain, but the country was defended by a general of low birth named Sosthenes.

Invasion of Greece under Brennus.

After the return of the threefold expedition Brennus persuaded his countrymen to march against Greece, inflaming their cupidity by dwelling on the wealth of its treasuries and temples. Then the history of Xerxes was repeated again. The invading host, we are told by Pausanias, consisted of upwards of a million and a half of foot and 20,400 horse; or, if we allow for the fact that each Gallic knight had two squires to attend him in battle, who were quite capable of taking his place if he were slain, 61,200. The cavalry force arranged on this principle of substitution was called Trimarcisia, from 'marcan[1],' the Gallic word for a horse (Paus. x. 19, § 6). Justin, copying from Trogus Pompeius, gives us the more moderate estimate of 150,000 foot and 15,000 horse. Without going into numbers we may believe generally that the Gauls on this occasion were in great force. They ravaged all the lands of Macedonia, driving Sosthenes and his army to take refuge in the towns. Then they advanced southward into Thessaly. Fear and desperation drove the Greeks to unite in defence of their country, for they knew something of the manners and customs of the Gauls at this period. A large army of Greeks, of those at least who dwelt outside the Peloponnese, assembled at Thermopylae to guard the pass. The Athenians supplied a thousand heavy-armed men and all their triremes, which eventually proved of the greatest service. They were allowed the command out of compliment to their ancient

[1] The ν is perhaps only the Greek sign of the accusative. 'March' is the Welsh for a stallion, and the word occurs also in the cognate languages.

reputation, but it was the Aetolians who furnished the flower of the Greek forces[1]. The Gauls could not force the passage any more than their predecessors the Persians. They had only wooden shields to protect their half-naked bodies, and, apart from the opponents in front of them, they were raked with missiles from the Athenian galleys that lay moored in the muddy waters of the Malian gulf. Then Brennus, in order to detach the Aetolians from the main body, sent off a force into their country under the command of Orestorius and Combutis, names famous in the history of atrocities. Their treatment of Callium supplied the Greeks with too vivid a commentary on Homer's description of the Laestrygons and the Cyclopes. All the men were murdered, and all the women outraged, and the Gauls are declared to have battened on babies just fresh from their mothers' breasts. Brennus' object was achieved, for the Aetolians hurried to the rescue: but, more than that, the population of Aetolia turned out in a mass, women as well as men, and only about half the Gauls returned safe to Thermopylae. Here their efforts were still unavailing, until the Heracleotae and Aenianes, wishing to free their lands from these unwelcome guests, showed them the path over Mount Oeta by which Hydarnes had passed under the guidance of Ephialtes the traitor. The Phocians, who were guarding the path, were taken by surprise, as the mist was thick on the mountains; but they were able to bring warning to the Greeks in the pass, who escaped safely on the Athenian triremes.

Attack on Delphi.

Hereupon Brennus marched straight for Delphi, without waiting for Acichorius, his colleague in command. He considered—savage that he was—that the Gods who lavished all wealth upon men could not be in need of wealth themselves. We need not go minutely into the accounts of this expedition: they savour more of piety than veracity[2]. Suffice it to say that once more, as in the days of Xerxes, the unseen powers them-

[1] Τὸ γὰρ Αἰτωλικὸν προεῖχεν ἀκμῇ νεότητος τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον. Paus. i. 4, § 4.

[2] Timagenes evidently believed that the Gauls actually sacked Delphi; see Str. p. 188; and Livy, xxxviii. 48, xl. 58, assumes the fact.

selves vindicated the sanctity of this central seat of Greek religion, which could only be plundered by the Greeks themselves with impunity. Apollo himself rushed into the fray with Artemis on one hand and Pallas on the other. The phantoms of heroes too appeared in the fight. Even Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, who had sacked the temple in his life, defended it after his death. Earthquakes, thunder and lightning, crashing crags, cold snowy nights, and panic fears, which set the Gauls fighting in mad fury against one another, left little for the arm of man to accomplish, and the Gauls rejoined their comrades a bedraggled and disabled host. Brennus either stabbed himself, unable to bear the pain of his wounds, or else drank himself to death (Just. xxiv. 8, § 11; Paus. x. 23, § 8). Acichorius, after exacting vengeance on those who had prompted the ill-fated expedition, headed the retreat homewards; but the Gauls were so harassed by the Aetolians and Thessalians that, if we may believe the tale, not one of all the host survived.

Date of the inroad.

This inroad into Greece took place in the archonship of Anaxicrates, in the second year of the 125th Olympiad, that is to say, in the year B.C. 279. It was in the following year according to Pausanias, in the archonship of Democles, that the Gauls crossed into Asia. For the history of this latter event we must turn to Livy.

The Gauls establish themselves in Asia.

Livy, like Pausanias, implies without saying it, that the Gauls under Brennus came all the way from beyond the Alps, but he presents them to us first in the territory of the Dardani. Here a sedition arose, and 20,000 men under Leonorius and Lutarius marched off into Thrace. Following their usual tactics of offering those whom they met the choice of fighting or paying tribute, they eventually reached Byzantium. Here the sight of the Asiatic shore inspired them with the desire of pillaging a new continent. They got possession by a trick of the town of Lysimachia, which had been founded at the entrance to the Chersonese by Lysimachus, one of Alexander's generals (Just. xvii. 1, 2). This gave them the command of all the western

shore of the Hellespont, and they were tantalized by the daily sight of Asia across the narrow strip of water. A new quarrel broke out at this point, in consequence of which Leonorius with the bulk of the army went back to Byzantium. Lutarius however seized two decked vessels and three boats belonging to some Macedonian ambassadors, and by plying them across the strait night and day succeeded in transporting the whole of his force. Not long afterwards Leonorius (Str. xii. 5, § 1) also crossed from Byzantium with the aid of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia. The two chieftains now reunited their forces, and served under Nicomedes against his brother Zyboetas, whom they dispossessed of his portion of the kingdom. After this the Gauls had a high time of it in Asia. It was as though a pack of wolves had obtained entrance into a sheepfold. Not more than 10,000 out of the 20,000 were armed, but these sufficed to terrorise all the inhabitants on this side of the Taurus; besides which, their numbers in a few generations rapidly increased. Every people submitted to their exactions, even the kings of Syria at last paid them tribute, and no prince went to war without hiring the Gauls, for fear he should find them hired against him. Lest they should quarrel among themselves they wisely agreed to divide the spoil. There were three tribes of them—the Tolistobogii, Trocmi, and Tectosages. Of the Tolistobogii and Trocmi we know no more than we do of the Prausi, to whom Brennus is said to have belonged (Str. iv. p. 188), but the Tectosages had their original home at Toulouse, being one branch of the Volcae, and were to be found also in Caesar's time in the Hercynian forest (vi. 24, §§ 2, 3). To the Trocmi the shore of the Hellespont was assigned as tributary, to the Tolistobogii Aeolia and Ionia, and to the Tectosages the inland parts. Attalus, king of Pergamus (B.C. 241–197), was the first to resist this intolerable domination; he drove the Gauls into the interior, but did not break their power (Paus. i. 8, § 2). After this they were confined to the neighbourhood of the Halys and Sangarius.

Strabo (xii. 5, § 1) gives us some account of the internal organization of the Galatians, or Gallo-graeci, as they were called from their intermixture with the Greeks. Each of the three tribes was divided into four tetrarchies. These twelve tetrarchies had each their several tetrarch, as well as a judge and a general subject to the tetrarch; while under each general there were two lieutenant-generals. The twelve tetrarchs had a council of three hundred, whose place of meeting was called Drynaemetum. Cases of murder were tried by this council, all others by the tetrarchs and the judges. This ancient constitution gave way in Strabo's own time to the sway of three rulers, then of two, and lastly of a single king, Deiotarus, upon whose death Galatia became part of the dominions of Amyntas, and eventually along with the rest of those dominions a Roman province. The Galatians were under this final form of government when St. Paul addressed his epistle to them. The Celtic tongue was still to be heard in Asia Minor at the end of the fourth century. St. Jerome[1] in the prologue to his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians says that in addition to Greek, which was used universally in the East, the Galatians had a language of their own, which was like that of the Treviri, though perhaps a little corrupted[2].

Organization and government of the Galatians.

We have seen that the Boii submitted to the Romans in 191 B.C. In the following year L. Scipio Asiaticus, who was then engaged in war with Antiochus, repulsed an attack from Galatian cavalry on the banks of the Phrygius; and in the pitched battle in which he defeated Antiochus, the same troops were employed against him (Liv. xxxvii. 38, 40). This served as a pretext (Liv. xxxviii. 12; Flor. i. 27) to the consul of the next year (B.C. 189), Cn. Manlius Vulso, who was anxious for glory, for an attack upon the Galatians. He marched his army from Ephesus to Abbassus, where he halted for a time, as he was

Cn. Manlius Vulso defeats the Gauls in Asia.

[1] Died A.D. 430.

[2] No stress need be laid upon the mention of the Treviri. Trêves was at that time the chief city in Gaul, and held the fourth place in magnitude in the Roman world. Ausonius, Ordo Nobilium Urbium.

now on the borders of the Tolistobogii. When, after crossing the Sangarius, he was marching along its bank, a strange procession met him. It was the priests of the Mighty Mother [1], who had come out from Pessinus in all the glory of their vestments and with wild fanatic chants, promising him on behalf of the Goddess victory and the possession of the country. The consul replied that he accepted the omen, and pitched his camp at once on the auspicious spot. Next day he occupied Gordium, which was deserted by the enemy. Here again he halted in order to await the result of some embassies. There was one Galatian chief, named Eposognatus, who, under the influence of Eumenes, had refused aid to Antiochus against the Romans. He had undertaken to go in person to the Tectosages with a view to inducing them to submit to the demands of the consul. But envoys now came from him to say that he had failed in his endeavour to influence his countrymen. From other ambassadors Manlius received particulars as to the movements of the enemy. They were deserting their lands and homesteads and taking refuge in the mountains. The Tolistobogii had occupied Mount Olympus; the Tectosages had retired to another mountain called Magaba; the Trocmi had deposited their women and children with the Tectosages, and determined themselves to march to the aid of the Tolistobogii. The chiefs of the three tribes at this time were Ortiagon, Combolomarus, and Gaulotus. Their plan of campaign was to fortify and provision the heights and weary out the enemy. They did not calculate on being attacked successfully in their strongholds. But the consul to their surprise advanced up Mount Olympus, and overwhelmed the Gauls with a shower of missiles, with which they themselves were ill-provided. These redoubtable swashbucklers, who had bullied all Asia Minor, seem to have fallen an easy prey to the skill and discipline of the Romans, being routed by the light-armed, even before the legions advanced upon them. The only laurels that fell to

[1] 'Galli Matris Magnae,' Liv. xxxviii. 18.

the Gauls were won by the wife of Ortiagon, who, being among the prisoners, and having been violated by a centurion, contrived to bring his head home as a present to her husband. The Tectosages offered even a feebler resistance than the Tolistobogii, and in their camp the Romans possessed themselves of a spoil that had been amassed by years of pillage. As it was now mid autumn, Manlius marched his victorious army back to winter-quarters on the coast. Here he received enthusiastic messages of congratulation accompanied by presents of golden crowns from the various Cistaurine people whom he had liberated from their standing dread of the Gauls, who were now forbidden to continue their forays (Liv. xxxviii. 40). But the success of Manlius was by no means so well appreciated among his own countrymen, by whom his triumph was very near being disallowed on the ground that he had no mandate from the Senate and people to wage war upon the Galatians.

We must now return to the Italian Gauls, whom we left pretty well pacified by the Romans.

Reinforcement of Placentia and Cremona and founding of Bononia.

In the year 190 B.C., in which L. Scipio Asiaticus encountered the Galatian cavalry, a deputation from Placentia and Cremona was introduced into the Senate, to say that those colonies were in a bad way. The Senate passed a decree authorizing C. Laelius the consul, who was then away in Gaul, to enrol 6,000 families for distribution between the colonies; the praetor who introduced the deputation was also to appoint three commissioners to carry out the matter. When Laelius returned, he obtained the sanction of the Senate to a further proposal, that two new colonies should be quartered on the lands that had previously belonged to the Boii. At the extreme end of the following year we find this decree partially carried out by the establishment of the Latin colony at Bononia, which is now the city of Bologna. The territory on which it stands had been Etruscan before it became Gallic. Three thousand men were quartered there, those among them who were knights receiving 700 jugera apiece and the rest 500.

In 188 C. Livius Salinator was given Gaul as his province (Liv. xxxviii. 35), but nothing particular seems to have occurred there.

Construction of roads in Cisalpine Gaul.

In 187 the Ligurian Apuani so devastated the lands of Pisae on the one hand and Bononia on the other as to render cultivation impossible. After they had been subdued, one consul employed his army in constructing a road between Bononia and Arretium—this was the 'Via Flaminia minor'—the other in connecting Placentia with Ariminum by the 'Via Aemilia Lepidi' (Liv. xxxix. 2).

The Cenomani righted by the Senate.

The aggressive policy of the Romans is well illustrated by an event which took place during the same year. One of the praetors, M. Furius Crassipes, had been assigned Gaul as his province. There was no chance of war unless he invented an occasion for it. So he ordered the Cenomani, who had once been the faithful allies of Rome, to surrender their arms. This tyrannical request was complied with. But the Gauls appealed to the justice of the Senate; the Senate commissioned the consul Aemilius to inquire into the case; Aemilius ordered the praetor to return their arms to the Cenomani and leave the province. Thus was Rome fulfilling the mission ascribed to it by its national poet—

'Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.'

Fresh influx of Gauls into Italy.

In the next year (B.C. 186) there was the beginning of a new Celtic immigration into Italy. A body of indigent Gauls found a way over the Alps which no one had followed before, passed peacefully along the valley of the Po, and, finding unoccupied land in Venetia, selected a site for a town near the place where the Romans shortly afterwards founded Aquileia. The Romans, on hearing of this movement, sent envoys into Transalpine Gaul, but were informed by the authorities there that they had no knowledge of it. After this the matter was neglected for a time.

Pisaurum founded.

In 184 the colony of Pisaurum was founded on what had

once been Gallic soil on the coast of the Adriatic below Ariminum. This was perhaps the second of the two colonies proposed by Laelius.

It was not until 183 that the Senate bestirred itself with regard to the fresh influx of Celts into Italy. As soon as the provinces had been distributed, one of the praetors, L. Julius, was instructed to proceed at once to the Gauls, who were now engaged in building their city, and induce them, if he could, by peaceful means, to desist; if force were required, he was to summon one of the consuls to his aid. The latter, it need hardly be said, was the course that was actually taken. M. Claudius Marcellus wrote to the proconsul L. Porcius to move the army which he had been commanding in Liguria to the scene of operations. On joining it himself he summoned the Gauls, of whom there are said to have been 12,000, to surrender their arms. They did so, and were then stripped of all their possessions. The new-comers appealed to the Senate. The Senate restored to them such property as was considered lawfully theirs, but insisted on their leaving Italy. Three ambassadors were sent along with them to warn the Transalpine Gauls to keep their redundant population to themselves. These ambassadors were honourably received by the Gauls, whose elders expressed the opinion that the Romans had dealt too leniently with such an unwarrantable intrusion. It had now become apparent that it was advisable for the Romans to occupy this vacant corner of Italy themselves, and it was determined to send out a Latin colony to Aquileia. This was not done until 181, but in the year of which we are speaking Mutina and Parma were colonized by Roman citizens, so that the whole of the Via Aemilia Lepida from Placentia to Ariminum was now a belt of strongholds (Liv. xxxix. 22, 44, 45, 54, 55; xl. 34.)

Expulsion of the Gallic immigrants.

Aquileia Mutina, and Parma founded.

The prediction of the Transalpine elders that the leniency of the Romans would invite further trespassers seemed about to have a speedy fulfilment, when in the very next year a report was spread that the youth of Gaul were arming, and were about

More Gallic immigrants expelled.

to burst into Italy (xl. 17). This fear however proved groundless. But in 179 B.C. a body of 3,000 Transalpine Gauls passed quite peaceably into Italy, and asked the consuls and Senate for lands and for permission to live under the empire of the Roman people. These again were ordered to leave Italy, and the consul was this time instructed to punish the leaders (xl. 53).

Cisalpine Gaul from 177 to 173 B.C.

A couple of years afterwards (B.C. 177) we find Gaul divided into two praetorian provinces. In the next year it is under the proconsular command of C. Claudius, who recovered Mutina from the Ligurians. Early in 175 there was an outbreak of the Gauls in conjunction with the Ligurians, but it was soon put down. The matter, however, was thought of sufficient importance to justify a three days' thanksgiving and the sacrifice of forty victims (Liv. xli. 8, 14, 19). It was followed, significantly enough, in 173 by a distribution of vacant Ligurian and Gallic land among citizens and allies of the Latin name, the former receiving ten jugera apiece, the latter three (xlii. 4).

Unauthorised conduct of C. Cassius Longinus.

In B.C. 171 Gaul as a consular province fell to the lot of C. Cassius Longinus. He evidently found things there rather dull. For when the settlers in Aquileia sent a deputation to Rome to complain that their colony was not strongly enough fortified, considering how it was exposed to the attacks of Istrians and Illyrians, the Senate asked them if they were willing to have the matter intrusted to the consul C. Cassius, and received the astonishing reply that C. Cassius had just set out through Illyricum for Macedonia (where the war with Perseus was begun the same year). The Senate voted that three commissioners should start that very day and forbid him to wage war on any nation without a decree of the house (xliii. 1). Not being able to command in Macedonia, Cassius served there next year as tribune of the soldiers under Aulus Hostilius. While he was away in this capacity the Senate heard something more about his proceedings the year before in his province. A Gallic chief, named Cincibilis, sent envoys, one of whom was his brother, to complain that Cassius had devas-

tated the lands of the Alpine tribes, and carried off many thousands of the inhabitants into slavery. At the same time ambassadors came from the Carni, Istri, and Iapydes, all of them dwelling near Aquileia[1], to say that Cassius had concluded peace with them, then ordered guides into Macedonia, then suddenly returned and laid waste their territories, nor did they know up to that moment what offence they had committed to deserve such treatment. The Senate replied that they did not approve of such conduct, if it had been committed; that it would be unjust to condemn their officer in his absence; but that they would inquire into the case on his return from Macedonia, if the envoys would then come back and accuse him. Meantime they themselves sent ambassadors to soothe the feelings of the complainants. Golden collars and silver vessels and two horses with a knight's complete equipment, including a groom for each horse, were presented to Cincibilis and his brother. The attendants also were supplied with clothes. C. Laelius and M. Aemilius Lepidus were the two envoys sent across the Alps (Liv. xliii. 5). The sense of justice displayed by the Senate seems to have been appreciated in Further Gaul, for in the next year (B.C. 169) we find envoys sent from a chief named Balanos to offer aid to the Romans in the war against Macedon, which was then in its third year. The offer appears not to have been accepted, but gifts of honour were sent to Balanos, a golden torques, four golden bowls, a horse with trappings and a knight's arms (xliv. 14). The colony of Aquileia was augmented in the same year (xliii. 17).

Offer from Further Gaul of aid to the Romans against Macedon.

Up to this point the relations between the Romans and the Transalpine Gauls have been of a fairly friendly character. But the Roman arms were like water that will work its way where it can. The subjugation of the Cisalpine Gauls gave the Romans leisure, as we have seen, for attacks on the Alpine

The Romans advance their arms against the Alpine tribes.

[1] Verg. Geor. iii. 475: 'Iapydis arva Timavi.

tribes, and the reduction of the Ligurians in Italy only pointed the way to the conquest of their brethren in Gaul. In the year 166 one consul was engaged in operations against the Alpine Gauls, while the other was crushing the last efforts of the Ligurians in Italy (Liv. Epit. xlvi). After this there was a period of unusual quiet until twelve years later, when a Roman army first operated in Transalpine Gaul (B.C. 154).

Friendly relations between Rome and Massilia.

We have had occasion already to refer to the founding of the Phocaean colony of Massilia in the time of Tarquinius Priscus. For centuries the Massilians had been the faithful and honoured allies of the Romans. The friendship between the two cities dated even from before the foundation of the younger: for, according to the tale, the Phocaeans on their way to Gaul had put in at the mouth of the Tiber and established friendly relations with the Romans. There was deep grief in their city when their envoys on returning from Delphi brought the news of the capture of Rome by the Gauls. They could sympathize better than most people in such a calamity, having been struggling with the Gauls from their infancy, and having had at least one narrow escape from being taken themselves. It is even related that they contributed towards the ransom which on that occasion was undoubtedly paid to the Gauls (Justin. xl. 3–5). At all events, a treaty was established with them on equal terms; so that now, when they complained to the Senate of the attacks of the Ligurians upon their dependencies of Antipolis and Nicaea (Nice), it was only seemly for the Romans to come to their aid. Besides which, such a step fell in admirably with their forward policy. Ambassadors were first sent who were attacked by the Ligurians, then the consul Q. Opimius came with his army, and, after defeating the Oxybii and Deciates, handed over some of their land to the Massilians (Polyb. fragm. iv, vii, viii; Liv. Epit. xlvii).

The Massilians call in the aid of the Romans against the Ligurians.

Subjugation of the Salassi.

Nine years later (B.C. 143) the consul Appius Claudius subdued the Salassi, an Alpine tribe (Liv. Epit. liii). They lay under the Poenine Alps and Cremonis iugum (Liv. xxi.

38, § 7), so that this was a step towards obtaining command of the passes into Gaul.

The attention of the Romans diverted to Spain.

After this the attention of the Romans was diverted from Gaul by the long and shameful wars in Spain, so that we have the unusual blank of eighteen years in our annals. But when the struggle between Roman and Celt recommences after this pause, we find the tide of aggression completely turned, and the Romans obtaining their first permanent footing in Transalpine Gaul.

The Romans again aid the Massilians against the Ligurians.

In 125 B.C. the Massilians again appealed to their allies for assistance against the Ligurian tribes. One of the consuls of the year, M. Fulvius Flaccus, who afterwards perished along with C. Gracchus, was sent to their assistance, and defeated the Salluvii (Liv. Epit. lx; Flor. i. 37). We may infer that his success was considerable, as he is mentioned in the epitome of Livy[1], as having been the first to subdue the Transalpine Ligurians, although this honour really belonged to Opimius, the father of his murderer, as attested by the 'Fasti Triumphales.' His work was continued by C. Sextius Calvinus, the consul of the following year, who was continued afterwards in the command for two years as proconsul.

Aquae Sextiae founded.

The second year of his proconsulate (B.C. 122) is remarkable as being the date of the first Roman establishment in Gaul. This was Aquae Sextiae (Aix), a little to the north of Massilia, which was called after the hot springs, for which the place was famous, and after Sextius himself. He drove the Ligurians off a narrow strip of land along the coast between Marseille and Italy, and handed this over to the Massilians (Liv. Epit. lxi; V. P. i. 15, § 4; Str. iv. 1, § 5).

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus defeats the Allobroges.

In the same year Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, one of the consuls, came into Gaul, and continued there as proconsul during 121 and perhaps later. He was the ancestor in the

[1] Cp. Amm. Marc. xv. 12, § 5: 'Hae regiones . . . primo temptatae per Fulvium.'

sixth degree of the Emperor Nero[1], and, though an efficient general, was not himself an amiable person. He astonished the natives by riding about the country on an elephant with a troop of soldiers after him as though in triumph. This was probably after his victory. As he was traversing the borders of the Salluvii he himself fell in with a curious *cortège*. It was the train of an ambassador from the king of the Allobroges. The ambassador himself and his escort were richly apparelled, and he was attended with dogs—this would catch the attention of the Romans, who regarded the dog as a kind of alarum rather than as a companion. There was also a bard to sing the praises of the king, of the Allobroges, and of the ambassador himself, so that the world might not be unaware of his birth, his courage, and his wealth[2]. The object of the mission was to ask pardon from the Romans for Teutomalius, king of the Salluvii, who had fled for refuge to the Allobroges, and whose surrender had been demanded by the Romans. But all the merits of the ambassador and the music of the bard failed to obtain this request from Domitius, who continued his march against the Allobroges, against whom there was another count in the indictment, namely, that they had ravaged the territory of the Aedui, who were even then the allies of the Romans (Liv. Epit. lxi). Domitius defeated the Allobroges at a town called Vindalium, a little above Avignon, near the confluence of the Sorgues[3] with the Rhône. The elephants were effective in spreading consternation among the Gauls, who left many dead upon the field.

Though they had suffered for their generosity, the Allobroges did not even now surrender their fugitive, but called in the aid

[1] Suetonius, Nero 2, calls him 'atavus,' but he has mixed him up with his son, the consul of 96, of whom Licinius Crassus, the orator, his colleague in the censorship, said that it was no wonder that he had a brazen beard, since he had a face of iron and a heart of lead.

[2] Appian iv. 12, ἐκλ. Appian calls the king Βιτοῖτος, evidently confusing him with the king of the Arverni.

[3] Σουλγάς, Str. iv. 2, § 3: 'Vindelicus amnis,' Flor. i. 37.

of the Arverni, who were then the leading people in Gaul, and were at the head of a vast confederation, like that which afterwards assembled under the standard of Vercingetorix. Their sphere of influence is described by Strabo as having extended from the Pyrenees to the Ocean and the Rhine, and as having reached southwards to Narbo and the confines of Massilia (Str. iv. 2, § 3). But notwithstanding the enormous force which they collected[1], they were defeated at the junction of the Isère and the Rhône by an army of only 30,000 men. The general in command was now Q. Fabius Maximus, the consul of 121. He was a grandson by blood of L. Paullus Macedonicus, and he himself received the surname of Allobrogicus, and enjoyed the reputation of being the first conqueror of Gaul (Amm. Marc. xv. 12, § 5: cp. Cic. Font. § 36). Domitius was so jealous of the surrender of the Gauls being made to Fabius, and not to himself, that he enticed Bituitus[2], the king of the Arverni, into a conference, and then shipped him off to Rome. The Fathers placed him at Alba, declaring that it was contrary to public peace to let him go back. They then asked to have his son Congentiatus sent to them too (Liv. Epit. lxi; Val. Max. ix. 6. § 3, 'de perfidia'). These victories were thought of such importance that towers were erected on the spot to commemorate them, contrary to the general practice of the Romans, and on the scene of the later action[3] two temples were built, one to Mars and the other to Hercules (Str. iv. 1, § 11; Flor. i. 37). We may assume that Domitius was the constructor of the 'Via Domitia,' which was repaired under the governorship of Fonteius (Cic. Font. § 18).

gains a great victory over the Arverni.

A great step was made towards the consolidation of the

[1] Put by Strabo at 200,000.

[2] Flor. i. 37, 'Vituitus.' In Athen. iv. 37, p. 152, Βιτυΐτος is the genitive. The name appears in an inscription as 'Betultus.'

[3] It is plain from the ancient historians that the victory of Domitius preceded that of Fabius, but the latter is entered first in the Fasti Triumphales, doubtless because Domitius stayed behind in Gaul. Velleius Paterculus ii. 10, § 2, has given ground for confusion by a careless statement.

Narbo Martius founded.

Roman conquests in Transalpine Gaul when, in B.C. 118, the colony of Narbo Martius was founded. This was a popular measure in pursuance of the policy of C. Gracchus, which was proposed and carried out in person by the orator L. Crassus, while still a young man (Cic. Brut. § 160; V. P. i. 15, § 5). In the same year the Alpine tribe of the Stoeni was reduced by the consul Q. Marcius Rex (Liv. Epit. lxii: Στόνοι, Str. iv. 6, § 6).

Appearance of the Cimbri and Teutoni.

The struggle between the Roman and the Celt was now interrupted by a cataclysm which threatened to overwhelm them both. There suddenly appeared within the limits of the Roman world vast hordes of wandering barbarians, carrying with them their wives and children, and living on the plunder of the nations through which they passed. They were called Cimbri and Teutoni, but no one knew exactly from whence they came. It was said that they had been dispossessed of their own homes by an inundation of the northern sea. They were a people of strange speech, fierce as flame in battle, huge of stature, and with a glare in their light-blue eyes. The memory of them was a tale of terror to the Gauls, who saw their lands laid waste, and were themselves shut up within their walls and forced to feed on each other's flesh (vii. 77, §§ 12, 14). Only the Belgae managed to protect their territories from invasion, a fact on which their great military reputation in Caesar's time was based (ii. 4, §§ 2, 3). Yet it was among these same Belgae that the Cimbri and Teutoni left their heavy baggage with a guard of 6,000 men, when the main body sallied forth to the plunder of the Province and Italy. The detachment they had left behind waited in vain for their return, but contrived to hold their own against their new neighbours, and at last were merged in the general body under the name of Aduatuci (ii. 29, §§ 4, 5). For a long time the Romans were no more successful in coping with the invaders than the Gauls had been, until the people insisted on the appointment to the command of Marius—himself a son of the people, plain Gaius Marius without a

handle to his name[1]—and earth was fattened with the blood of her children. This popular leader from being a common soldier had won his way to office, and had been graced by an alliance with the illustrious family of the Caesars. His wife Julia was aunt to C. Julius Caesar. Caesar took the rugged soldier as his model both in politics and war—like him, he fought with the spade almost as much as with the sword—but he avoided the imitation of his uncouthness and brutality.

They defeat Carbo in Noricum.

It was in Noricum that the Romans first encountered these barbarians, an encounter which in no way redounded to the credit either of the courage or the conscientiousness of the more civilized nation. Papirius Carbo was consul in the year 113. He championed the cause of the Norici whose lands had been ravaged, and advanced into the Alps in pursuit of the marauders. They sent ambassadors to say that they were unaware of any connexion between the Norici and the Romans. Carbo commended their envoys and gave them guides to lead them astray, while he himself fell upon the host by surprise. But he was himself defeated, and his army only saved from utter destruction by the timely fury of the elements. After this the barbarians entered Gaul[2].

Four years later (B.C. 109) another consul, M. Junius Silanus, was defeated by the Cimbri in Gaul[3].

Slaughter of Cassius and his army by the Helvetii.

At the time when the Cimbri entered Gaul the Helvetii are described by Posidonius (Str. vii. 2, § 2) as a rich and peaceful tribe. But when they saw that the wealth which the invaders had acquired by plunder was greater than their own, they were incited to join them. Two of their four cantons, the Tigurini and Toÿgeni, actually did so. These Helvetians added to the disasters of the Romans, for they slaughtered the consul

[1] Juv. v. 127: 'tanquam habeas tria nomina.' See Plut. Mar. i.; App. Praef. 13.

[2] Liv. Epit. lxiii. calls the opponents of Carbo 'Cimbri.' App. iv. 13 ἐκλ. calls them Τεύτονες.

[3] Liv. Epit. lxv; Flor. i. 38, § 4. Eutropius iv. 27 credits Silanus with a victory.

L. Cassius and his army in the country of the Allobroges, and sent the survivors under the yoke, who only purchased their release at the price of half of all that they possessed. Among the slain was the legatus L. Piso, grandfather of that L. Piso whose daughter Calpurnia Caesar married before he started for Gaul. This defeat of Cassius took place in the year 107 B.C. The leader of the Helvetians was the same Divico who, forty-nine years later, headed the embassy of the Helvetians to Caesar (i. 7, § 4; 12, §§ 4–7; 13, § 2: Liv. Epit. lxv; App. iv. 3).

Defeat and murder of Scaurus.

In the next year another Roman army under M. Aurelius Scaurus was defeated by the Cimbri. Scaurus himself was taken prisoner by the barbarians. When summoned to a council which they were holding as to the advisability of attacking Italy, Scaurus declared to them that the Romans were invincible, and was murdered on the spot by the young and hot-tempered king, Boiorix (Liv. Epit. lxvii).

Great disaster to the Romans under Caepio and Manlius.

But the worst was yet to come. The consul of the year 106 was Q. Servilius Caepio. Not content with recovering the city of Tolosa, which had taken advantage of the disturbances to imprison the Roman garrison, he had sacked its sacred treasuries, the accumulations of a parsimonious and religious people. In the following year Cn. Manlius or Mallius came into the province as consul, while Caepio continued in his command as proconsul. The consul of the year ranked before an ex-consul, but Caepio wrangled with his superior officer in the very presence of the enemy, who were at first inclined to come to terms. His jealousy led to the interruption of the negotiations, and the result was the most awful catastrophe that had overtaken the Romans since Cannae. Both armies were destroyed by the Cimbri and their allies[1], and both camps taken. It is said that in that battle 80,000 soldiers and 40,000 camp-followers were killed. When the news reached the

[1] According to Eutropius v. 1, 'Cimbri, Teutones, Tigurini, and Ambrones.'

city the Romans were filled with alarm and indignation. They abrogated Caepio's command, passed a decree of exile against him, and confiscated his property—a thing that had not been done since the expulsion of Tarquin. Caepio died miserably, leaving two daughters behind him who supported their life by shameful means. After this the phrase 'aurum Tolosanum' passed into a proverb for the ill-gotten gains that never prosper (Liv. Epit. lxvii; Sall. Jug. 114; Str. iv. 1, § 13; D. C. fragm. 88, 89; Eutr. v. 1; Aul. Gell. iii. 9, § 7).

The Teutoni destroyed by Marius.

It was high time to send for Marius, who had just brought the war with Jugurtha to a successful close. He was appointed consul for the year 104 in his absence and without the proper interval of office. Just at this conjuncture, however, the barbarians swerved aside into Spain. The respite was a fortunate one for the Romans, for it was employed by Marius in disciplining his men to such patience and powers of exertion that they were known as 'Marius' mules.' In the natural course of things Marius would have gone out of office the next year, but the Cimbri were expected to return, and the people were determined that no other general should meet them but he. So they renewed his consulship in 103 and again in 102. In the latter year the barbarians at last reappeared, having found the Celtiberians disagreeable. The colleague of Marius in the consulship was the noble Q. Lutatius Catulus. He waited in Cisalpine Gaul for the Cimbri, who were to descend upon Italy through Noricum, while Marius barred the way against the Teutoni and Ambrones, whose intention was to march along the sea coast of Liguria. Marius first entrenched himself on the Rhône, where he employed his soldiers in the construction of a new mouth, called the 'Fossa Mariana,' for the easier conveyance of supplies. Here he kept his army safe within camp, being content to repulse the attacks of the enemy until his soldiers became well accustomed to the sight of them. Then the barbarians moved on, mockingly asking the Roman soldiers if they had any message to their wives.

Marius broke up his camp and followed them cautiously. Overtaking them at Aquae Sextiae, where they were enjoying the hot baths which nature provided, he inflicted a defeat upon the Ambrones. These, according to Plutarch, were 30,000 strong in themselves, and had been the victors over Manlius and Caepio. Shortly afterwards, by the aid of strategy, he annihilated the host with fearful carnage. The rains of winter which followed with unusual severity washed their decaying carcases into the ground, and the harvests which followed were unusually abundant (Plut. Mar. 12–21; Liv. Epit. 68; V. P. ii. 12, § 4). The name Pourrières, if it stands, as is supposed, for 'Putridi Campi,' commemorates the event to this day.

The Cimbri destroyed by Marius and Catulus.

So ended the Teutoni, but the Cimbri had yet to be dealt with. While Marius was sacrificing after his victory, messengers arrived from Rome with the news that he had been appointed to his fifth consulship. This was for the year 101. Not many days afterwards news reached him that his colleague Catulus was being pressed by the Cimbri. The army of Catulus had quailed before the Cimbri, and retired behind the river Athesis. The Cimbri however did not press their advantage, but enjoyed themselves in Venetia instead, indulging in the luxury of living in houses, eating rich dishes instead of raw meat, and above all swilling themselves with wine (Flor. i, 38, § 13; D. C. fragm. 92). This gave Marius time to come from Rome himself, whither he had been summoned after his victory, and to summon his army from Gaul. The Cimbri sent ambassadors to him asking for land and cities for themselves and their brethren. Marius inquired who were their brethren. When they replied 'the Teutons,' the other Romans present laughed, while Marius grimly answered that as much land as they wanted had been given them in perpetual possession. To enforce the meaning of his words he showed them some chieftains, who had been captured by the Sequani in the Alps. Among the prisoners was Teutobodus himself, the king of the Teutoni, who afterwards adorned Marius' triumph (Plut. Mar. 24; Flor. i, 38, § 10;

Eutr. v. 1). After this the king Boiorix[1] rode up to the camp, and asked Marius to name the day and place for an engagement. Marius replied that it was not the habit of the Romans to consult their enemies as to giving battle, but that he would nevertheless oblige the Cimbri—'Meet me three days hence in the plain about Vercellae.' There in due course the final battle was fought, in which the Cimbri shared the fate of their brethren. Catulus is said to have done the work, but Marius got the glory[2]. He was hailed by the people as the third founder of Rome, for there had been no such scare since the days of Camillus.

Peace in Gaul.

After this the newly acquired Province of Gaul enjoyed profound peace for a decade, if we may judge from the total absence of records. It seems to have been in B.C. 90 that C. Caecilius put down a rising among the Salluvii (Liv. Epit. lxxiii).

C. Valerius Flaccus.

Ten years later C. Valerius Flaccus obtained a triumph for a victory over Celtiberians and Gauls. The victory itself would seem to have been won in or before 83, as Flaccus is mentioned by Cicero as being in the Province in that year with the title of 'imperator' (Pro Quinctio, §§ 24, 28). Caesar mentions this man as having conferred the citizenship upon C. Valerius Caburus, the father of Gaius Valerius Procillus (i. 47, § 4).

L. Valerius Praeconinus and Lucius Mallius.

It was in the year 83 that Sertorius came into Spain. The defeat and death of Valerius Praeconinus in Aquitania (iii. 20, § 1) may be conjectured from the context in which it occurs in Caesar to have been one of the incidents in the war with that general, like the repulse of Mallius which is mentioned immediately afterwards. Metellus was being so roughly handled by Sertorius that Lucius Mallius came out of Gallia Narbonensis to assist him. He was defeated in B.C. 78 in Aquitania, and

[1] Βοιῶριξ, Plut. Mar. 25.

[2] Plut. Mar. 27; Eutr. v. 2; Juv. viii. 253, 'nobilis ornatur lauro collega secunda.'

forced to fly with the loss of his baggage. The general opposed to him was Hirtuleius, one of Sertorius' officers, who had the title of quaestor, for Sertorius imitated the forms of the Roman commonwealth. Before the arrival of Pompeius the movement under Sertorius had begun to affect Gaul (Liv. Epit. xc; Plut. Sert. 12; Eutr. vi. 1.)

Pompeius in Gaul.

In the following year (B. C. 77) Pompeius crossed the Alps by a different route from that followed by Hannibal[1]. He had to fight his way through Gaul, but is able to boast in his letter to the Senate that he had recovered the Province. On his way he made a grant of conquered land to the Massilians[2].

Cicero's defence of Fonteius.

It was shortly after the arrival of Pompeius in Spain, and while the war with Sertorius was still going on, that M. Fonteius was governor for three years in Gaul. After his retirement from office he was prosecuted on charges of extortion by a deputation of Gauls headed by Indutiomarus, a chief of the Allobroges. His cause was pleaded by Cicero, whose defence amounts roughly to this—that the Gauls had been irritated by the levies of troops and contributions of corn and money demanded from them by Fonteius in the interests of the commonwealth; that no one could believe the word of the Gauls, a sacrilegious nation who had gone so far out of their way to sack Delphi and had laid siege even to Jupiter Capitolinus. We do not know whether these arguments carried conviction to the minds of the judges. The speech reveals to us the Provincia as a country burdened with debt, a condition common to Gaul generally (vi. 13, § 2), but swarming with Roman men of business.

Convenae founded.

The murder of Sertorius in 72 and the subsequent defeat and death of Perperna brought the war in Spain to a close. On his way back to Italy Pompeius founded the town of Convenae or Lugdunum Convenarum, so called

[1] App. Civ. i. 109 describes it as near the springs of the Rhône and the Po.

[2] C. i. 35, § 4. For the other facts mentioned see Cic. de Imp. Cn. P. § 30; letter of Pompeius, Sall. fragm. bk. iii.

from the mixed multitude of people, chiefly from the Pyrenees, whom he quartered there.

Victory of Crassus over the slaves.

In the next year there was peace in Gaul itself, but M. Crassus, who was then praetor, was engaged in slaughtering Gauls and Germans in Italy. It was they who formed the strength of the rabble hosts under the slave-leaders Granicus and Spartacus (i. 40, § 5; Liv. Epit. xcvii).

C. Calpurnius Piso in Gaul.

In 66 and the following year C. Calpurnius Piso, the consul of 67, was proconsul in Gallia Narbonensis. He appears to have quelled some tumult there, as Cicero (ad Att. i. 13, § 2) calls him 'pacificator Allobrogum.' We must suppose that Cisalpine Gaul was also under his jurisdiction, as Cicero, writing in 65, when he was meditating his canvass for the consulship, talks of taking an excursion to Piso as legatus between September and the following January, owing to the importance of Gaul in elections (ad Att. i. 1, § 2: cp. Phil. ii. § 76).

Murena and his brother in Gaul.

In 64 Lucius Murena, who succeeded Cicero in the consulship, was pro-praetor in Gaul. One of the praises that Cicero bestows on him is that by his justice and diligence he enabled his countrymen to recover bad debts in Gaul[1]. When he returned to Rome in 63 to canvass for the consulship, he left his brother C. Murena in charge of the province as legatus (Cic. Mur. § 89; Sall. Cat. 42). Gaul both within and without the Alps was at this time in a disturbed state, and the discontent of the people was being fomented by the emissaries of Catiline, so that C. Murena had to throw a good many people into prison.

Part played by the ambassadors of the Allobroges in the conspiracy of Catiline.

At Rome too an attempt was made to draw some envoys of the Allobroges into the conspiracy. At first they were inclined to receive the proposal favourably, being willing to embark on desperate measures, if only they could free their country from debt: but afterwards they thought better of the matter, and it was through their means that Cicero was enabled to convict Lentulus and his associates at Rome. Rewards were voted to the ambassadors of the Allobroges by the Senate (Sall. Cat. 50, § 1),

[1] 'Desperatas iam pecunias,' Cic. Mur. § 42.

Revolt of the Allobroges.

but the grievances of their countrymen were not redressed, if we may judge from the sequel; for in the following year (B.C. 62) the Allobroges broke out into rebellion. Gaius Pomptinus[1], who had been praetor at Rome during Cicero's consulship (Cic. Prov. Cons. § 32; Sall. Cat. 45, § 1), was pro-praetor in Gaul during that year and the next. He had three lieutenants under him, Manlius Lentinus, Lucius Marius, and Servius Galba, the last of whom was subsequently lieutenant to Caesar (iii. 1, § 1). Between them they managed to suppress the revolt, but the Gallic general Catugnatus escaped capture (D. C. xxxvii. 47, 48). Pomptinus was refused a triumph on some technical grounds[2], but he waited patiently outside the pomoerium until 54, when he at last obtained it through the aid of Servius Galba, who had then left Caesar and was praetor at Rome (D. C. xxxix. 65).

State of politics in Gaul.

From about the time that we have now reached, dates the beginning of the end of Gallic freedom. Gaul outside the Province was divided into two factions. At the head of the one were the Aedui, at the head of the other were the Sequani and Arverni[3]. The Aedui derived moral support from their 'brotherhood' with the Romans, and physical support from their own valour and their numerous dependents. One of their causes of quarrel with the Sequani was the river-dues on the Rhône, of which each state claimed the control (Str. iv. 3, § 2). After years of struggling, the Aedui proved too strong for their opponents. The Arverni and Sequani now committed the fatal mistake of hiring aid from across the Rhine. At first 15,000 men came over. They found life more pleasant in the new country than in their own swamps and forests, and the favourable reports they sent home resulted in their being soon 120,000 strong. At the head of this force was Ariovistus, with whom

Ariovistus called in.

[1] Often called 'Pontinius,' as in Liv. Epit. ciii.

[2] 'Negant enim latum de imperio,' Cic. ad Att. iv. 18, § 4, Baiter & Kayser.

[3] In i. 31, § 3 Caesar ascribes the 'principatus' of the anti-Aeduan faction to the Arverni; in vi. 12, § 1 to the Sequani. The ancient power of the Arverni had been shattered by Fabius.

the reader of the Commentaries will be well acquainted. He engaged once or twice with the Aedui, and then inflicted a crushing defeat upon them at Admagetobriga (i. 31, §§ 6, 12; vi. 12, § 3). The Aedui were forced to give hostages to the Sequani, and to swear among other things that they would not ask aid from the Romans. The only man in their state who refused to take this oath was the Druid Divitiacus, who went to Rome to appeal to the Senate, but failed to obtain his object. So far the Sequani had been completely successful: but when the victory was won, they found that their allies had come to stay. Ariovistus demanded first one third of their territory, and then another, and proved himself in other respects an unbearable tyrant. There was moreover every prospect that still more of his countrymen would come across the Rhine. If Caesar had not conquered Gaul, it is highly probable that the Germans would have done so, and the result of their occupation would certainly not have been as beneficial to Gaul as that of the Romans speedily proved itself. Such is Caesar's vindication before the bar of history, where acts are only judged by their results.

Design of the Helvetii to leave their country.

The battle of Admagetobriga seems to have taken place in the year 60, as Ariovistus is made to speak of it as subsequent to the war with the Allobroges (i. 44, § 9). It was in the preceding year (B.C. 61) that the Helvetii formed the design of leaving their country (i. 2, § 1), but their start was fixed for the spring equinox of 58 (i. 6, § 4). We learn something from Cicero's letters of the alarm that was caused at Rome by these movements in Gaul, but the most important passage is unfortunately a mutilated one (ad Att. i. 19, § 2). Writing in the year 60 he talks of the Aedui, 'our brothers,' as being at war, and mentions a decree of the Senate that the consuls should draw lots for the two Gauls, that levies should be held without exemption, as was usual in a Gallic tumult, and that plenipotentiary ambassadors[1] should be sent to visit the states

Alarm at Rome.

[1] 'Legati cum auctoritate.'

of Gaul and restrain them from joining the Helvetii. The ambassadors chosen were Q. Metellus Creticus (the consul of 69), L. Flaccus, and Lentulus, the son of Clodianus. Cicero adds with pride that his own lot had fallen out first among the ex-consuls, but that the Senate had unanimously declared that he should be retained in the City, and that the same thing afterwards happened in the case of Pompeius. This embassy perhaps never went, and the Senate's fears were soon allayed by more reassuring intelligence from Gaul, whereat the consul of the year, Metellus Celer, was not as well pleased as he ought to have been, being disappointed in his hopes of a triumph (ad Att. i. 20, § 5). Later on (ibid. ii. 1, § 11) we find Cicero saying, 'In Gallia speramus esse otium.'

Caesar's consulship.

His appointment to the command in Gaul.

The following year (B.C. 59) was that of Caesar's consulship. He made it his policy to conciliate Ariovistus by getting the Senate to confer upon him the title of 'rex atque amicus.' At the end of the year he was appointed by the people under the 'lex Vatinia' to the command of the provinces of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum with three legions for a term of five years. The Senate threw in Transalpine Gaul with the command of a fourth legion, either thinking that the people would do it, if they did not, or because they regarded the exodus of the Helvetii as constituting a real danger to the Province[1]. From this point Caesar himself will take up the annals of the wars with the Gauls. Meantime we will turn our attention to the country of Gaul and its inhabitants.

[1] D. C. xxxviii. 8, § 5. Plut. Caes. 14 does not distinguish between the two grants. Orosius vi. 7 says that Caesar received the three provinces of Transalpine Gaul, Cisalpine Gaul, and Illyricum with seven legions under the 'lex Vatinia,' and that the Senate added Gallia Comata. Eutropius vi. 17 says that Gallia and Illyricum, with ten legions, were decreed to Caesar.

CHAPTER IV

GAUL

The Transalpine Gaul of the Ancients was a country with well-defined natural limits, being bounded by the Ocean on the north and west, by the Pyrenees and Mediterranean on the south, and by the Rhine and Alps on the east. It was a good deal larger than modern France, including in addition to it almost all Switzerland, Alsace, Lorraine, and the Rhine Provinces, Belgium, and part of Holland. Boundaries of Gaul.

Except where it verges on the Pyrenees and the Alps, the country is mostly plain: but a kind of chine or backbone of heights may be traced in a tortuous line from south to north, dividing the country into two parts. First the Monts Corbières run in a northerly direction at right angles to the Pyrenees. Then just above Carcassonne the chain turns more to the east, while still making generally for the north. It now goes under the name of the Southern Cévennes. The mountains of Vivarais, Lyonnais, and Beaujolais together make up the Northern Cévennes, which run pretty nearly due north. After these come the Montagnes du Charolais and the low hills of the Côte-d'Or; then the Plateau de Langres, where the ridge is at its lowest; then the hills on the left bank of the Meuse, reaching to the Ardennes, after which the chain is faintly continued in a westerly direction until it reaches the sea near Boulogne. This chain of heights constitutes the watershed of the country. To the east of it are the basins of the Rhine and of the Rhône; to Watershed of the country. River-basins.

the west those of the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne. Of the great rivers of Gaul it is only the Rhône which flows south and finds its way into the Mediterranean; the rest flow north and west into the Ocean.

In addition to the chine of hills already spoken of, there are others which vary the monotony of the plain. Eastward from the Plateau de Langres run the Monts Faucilles, joining themselves at a right angle to the southern extremity of the Vosges, which run parallel to the course of the Rhine in a north-easterly direction. The Monts Faucilles form the dividing line between the basin of the Rhône, represented here by the Saône, and that of the Rhine. South-west of the same plateau the highlands of the Morvan, a land of trout streams, where the vine ceases to grow, join the main ridge to a long line of low hills which run to the north-west right away into Normandy and Brittany. They separate the basin of the Seine from that of the Loire. South of this line of hills, and parallel to it, there is another and much higher one, which starts from Mont Lozère, includes the mountains of the Auvergne and those of Limousin, the hills of Poitou and the Plateau of Gatine, and reaches the sea just south of the Loire. This chain separates the basin of the Loire from that of the Garonne (Napoleon, Jules César, vol. ii. ch. 2).

River-communication.

The noble rivers which drain these great valleys afforded to Gaul what Aristotle regarded as one of the requisites of an ideal country, namely, easiness of communication between the parts. Strabo, who was a Stoic philosopher, bases an argument for the existence of Divine Providence on the convenient situation of the rivers in Gaul, so that freights could be brought up the Rhône and its tributaries, and down the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne, with very little necessity for land-carriage (Str. iv. 1, § 14, p. 189).

Climate.

The climate of Gaul is represented by the ancient writers as cold and damp, which it certainly is as compared with Italy or Greece. But their expressions go beyond this; they seem to

have thought of it habitually as a land of snows and ice, much as we think of Russia [1]. For this three reasons may be assigned —one is the ingrained tendency to exaggeration which was fostered by the practice of rhetoric; another, that the Alps were the threshold of Gaul to the Italians, and affected their ideas of the whole country; the third is the fact that the climate must really have been more rigorous then than now, owing to the extent to which the country was covered with woods and marshes. But more sedate writers, like Strabo and Pliny, admit that the climate of Provence did not differ from that of Italy. Sheltered between the Cévennes and the Alps, the basin of the Rhône, which was, roughly speaking, the Roman Provincia, bore, or was capable of bearing, all the fruits of Italy—'in fact,' says Pliny, 'it is Italy rather than a province' (N. H. iii. § 31; Str. iv. 1, § 2, p. 178). Strabo notices what the traveller of the present day may observe, how the olive tends to disappear as one mounts the slopes of the Cévennes.

Agricultural products.

In Caesar's time wine was not grown in Gaul outside of the Provincia. Just as our traders supply to lower races the more deadly spirits in use among ourselves, so the Roman merchants imported wine to the barbarians of Gaul, who welcomed it with avidity, but whose rulers were suspicious of its intrusion (ii. 15, § 4; iv. 2, § 6: cp. Cic. Font. § 20; D. S. v. 26, § 3). The rest of Gaul was fruitful in cereals, grass, and forest-trees. No part of it was unproductive, save what was covered with marshes (Str. iv. 1, § 2; Mela iii. § 17). It abounded with cattle of various kinds, and enjoyed a marked absence of noxious animals. A little later than Caesar's time the district about the Seine supplied Rome with its best bacon (Str. iv. 3, § 2, p. 192).

Minerals.

In addition to this wealth on the surface, nature had stocked the ground beneath with minerals. We read of rich deposits of gold [2] in the country of the Tarbelli, requiring little trouble to

[1] On the climate of Gaul see D. S. v. 25, 26.

[2] Posidonius described the working of gold among the Helvetii. Athen. vi. 23, p. 233 d.

work them (Str. iv. 2, § 1), of silver mines among the Ruteni and Gabali[1], of fine iron-works among the Petrocorii and the Bituriges Cubi (Str. iv. 2, § 2).

Name of the inhabitants.

The inhabitants of this country were called Celti or Celtae, Galli or Galatae The last is merely the Greek form assumed by the same name which the Romans expressed by Galli[2]. As the Greeks called the Gauls Γαλάται, so they called their home Γαλατία, whether it were in France, Italy, or Asia Minor. But this name came into use at a comparatively late period; originally the Greeks called the people Κελτοί and their country Κελτική[3]. This latter is the name given to France in the fragments of Hecataeus which have been preserved to us by the geographer Stephanus of Byzantium, who llved about a thousand years later than the author he is quoting. We find that Hecataeus was acquainted not only with Marseille, but also with Narbonne, and with a town called Νύραξ, otherwise unknown[4].

Herodotus on the Celts.

Hecataeus seems to have possessed more definite information about Gaul than his follower Herodotus, who jumbles up together the Danube, the Celts, the Pyrenees, and the Pillars of Hercules[5]. Still some important facts seem to emerge from the confusing statements of Herodotus, namely, that the Danube was in his day considered to come from the country of the Celts, and that these Κελτοί were the people who dwelt furthest to the west of any in Europe with the exception of one, whom he calls the Cynesii or Cynetes (Hdt. ii. 33; iv. 49).

[1] Str. iv. 2, § 2. D. S. v. 27 dwells on the wealth of Gaul in gold, but says that it had no silver.

[2] Amm. Marc. xv. 9, § 3 'Galatas dictos: ita enim Gallos sermo Graecus appellat'; App. Praef. 3 *μέχρι Κελτῶν, οὓς αὐτοὶ* (i.e. *Ῥωμαῖοι*) *Γαλάτας προσαγορεύουσι*, v. 1 *Κελτοί, ὅσοι Γαλάται τε καὶ Γάλλοι νῦν προσαγορεύονται*.

[3] App. vii. 4 *τὴν Κελτικήν, τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Γαλατίαν*.

[4] Müller Fragm. Hist. Graec. Hecat. 19 *Ναρβών, ἐμπόριον καὶ πόλις Κελτική. Ἑκ. Εὐρ.*: 21 *Νύραξ, πόλις Κελτική*: 22 *Μασσαλία, πόλις τῆς Λιγυστικῆς, κατὰ τὴν Κελτικήν, ἄποικος Φωκαέων. Ἑκ. Εὐρ.*

[5] Hdt. does not seem to have regarded the Celts as dwelling on the seaboard of the Mediterranean at all. Cp. i. 163.

Vagueness of the term 'Celt.'

Herodotus is strictly in the right in saying that the Danube comes from the country of the Celts, since its springs are near those of the Rhine and of the Rhône. But it is important to call attention to the extreme vagueness with which the name Celt was employed by the Greeks. Dio Cassius (xxxix. 49) expressly tells us that in very early times the people who lived on both sides of the Rhine were called Celts. He himself affects precision by reserving the name Κελτοί for the Germans, while calling the Gauls Γαλάται. Appian (iv. 1, 2) applies the term Celt indifferently to the Cisalpine Gauls and to their Teutonic and Cimbrian invaders. Diodorus Siculus, on the other hand, speaks of the Germans whom Caesar invaded as 'the *Gauls* who dwell across the Danube' (v. 25, § 4). The fact is that the German to the minds of the Ancients was merely an exaggerated and more barbarian Gaul. He was the genuine article unsophisticated by any tincture of civilization, and hence, according to an ancient writer, he was called 'Germanus' by the Romans. Caesar himself (vi. 24) seems inclined to something of this view.

Differentiation of Gauls from Germans.

Amid such confusion of nomenclature it was clearly a gain to have the Gauls differentiated from the Germans by the name Galli or Γαλάται. Pausanias assures us that this term was of quite late introduction[1]. In its Greek form it occurs first in a fragment of Timaeus (about B.C. 264), in Latin in a fragment of Cato (died B.C. 149).

Narrower meaning of 'Celt.'

Strabo says that originally the inhabitants of Narbonitis only were called Κέλται, and that from them the name spread (in the form Κελτοί) to the Gauls generally. He thinks that the influence of the Massilians helped to extend the name of the tribes near them to those more remote. This accords with Caesar's limited use of Celtae for the Gauls next to the Province, and throws light on the statement of Diodorus (v. 32, § 1) that only

[1] Paus. i. 3, § 5 *ὀψὲ δέ ποτε αὐτοὺς καλεῖσθαι Γαλάτας ἐξενίκησε. Κελτοὶ γὰρ κατά τε σφᾶς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὠνομάζοντο.* Cp. D. C. xxxix. 49.

the people who lived above Marseille, from the Alps to the Pyrenees, were Κελτοί, while all the tribes to the north and away to Scythia were Γαλάται.

Origin of the Gauls unknown.

We now come to the origin of this famous people. Other authors, Ammianus tells us, had left this subject incomplete, but Timagenes had threshed it out diligently, and he himself will give us the results divested of all obscurity. The outcome of his labours, however, is not such as to enlighten us. There are the usual eponymous heroes and heroines, and the usual attempts to affiliate the foreign people to Greek mythology [1]. Hercules was by some considered to be their progenitor (cp. D. S. v. 24); by others they were traced to the Greeks who had wandered from Troy. Some said that they were indigenous to the soil; others that some were and some were not, but had come from beyond the Danube. There is a wealth of theories to choose between, but they only embarrass our choice. Nor if we turn to modern writers shall we find anything but surmise on this subject. The fact is that the Gauls have been in France as far back as history goes. They are as autochthonous as were the Athenians, whom in other respects they resemble. We know something of Gallic emigration out of France, and nothing of Gallic immigration into it. Let us be content then to own our ignorance on this subject, and not claim a knowledge which the Gauls themselves did not possess. Sons of night they claimed to be (vi. 18, § 1), and sons of night we will leave them, without an attempt to dissipate the darkness that enshrouds their origin.

Three divisions of Gaul.

So far we have been speaking of the inhabitants of Gaul as though they were a homogeneous people: but this assumption requires to be corrected or modified. Since Gaul lies midway between Spain and Germany, it might be expected that its inhabitants would be found mixed with Iberians on the one side and with Germans on the other. The case is so at the present day, and it was so already in Caesar's time. Hence his three

[1] Timaeus makes the Gauls to be descended from Galates, the son of Cyclops and Galatea. Müller Fragm. H. G. Tim. 37.

divisions—the Aquitani in the south-west corner of the country between the Pyrenees and the Garonne; the Celtae or Galli proper from the Garonne up to the Seine and Marne; and the Belgae to the north-east between those rivers and the Rhine. 'All these,' says Caesar, 'differ from one another in language, institutions, and laws.' The Aquitanians, according to Strabo (iv. 1, § 1; 2, § 1), differed markedly from the rest in their physical type also, being more like Iberians than Gauls. In their case the distinction of language was radical, whereas between the Celtae and Belgae it was slight.

Gallia Togata, Bracata, Comata.

Caesar does not avail himself of the names Gallia Togata, Bracata, and Comata (Mela ii, §§ 59, 74; iii. § 20), which were in use in his day (Cic. Fam. ix. 15, § 2), to distinguish the Gauls from one another, Gallia Togata standing for Cisalpine Gaul, which was considered to be thoroughly romanised, Bracata for the Province, and Comata for the rest of Transalpine Gaul.

The Aquitanian language not Celtic.

Turning now to the language of Gaul, we must begin by excluding that of the Aquitanians, which is supposed to have been cognate to the Basque dialects of the present day, though it so happens that the one Aquitanian word which Caesar has preserved to us, namely 'soldurii' (iii. 22, § 1), is pronounced by the experts to be Gallic, as is the case also with the name of the chief Adiatunnus. By the language of Gaul we mean the form of the Celtic tongue spoken in that country.

Language of Gaul.

The Celtic family of languages is divided into two branches, one of which is called by philologists Gaedhelic or Goidelic, the other Kymric, Brythonic, or Britannic. To the former belong Gaelic, Erse, and Manx, to the latter Welsh, Breton, and in part Cornish. The affinities of the Gallic language are declared to be with the latter of these two branches. It also approximates to Latin. The language however has almost entirely perished. Not a single text remains, and only some dozen inscriptions. It is a triumph for philologists if they can establish so slender a fact as that the verb does not come before

the subject, but after it or at the end of the sentence. The great quarry for the student is the proper names of persons and places, whether preserved in ancient authors or in inscriptions; even the brands on pottery are hunted up with eagerness that something may be gleaned from them. But as Rome imposed her laws and institutions upon the barbarians, so also did she mould their names into conformity with her own tongue. The result in the case of the Gauls is to give us a stateliness of nomenclature surpassing that of the Romans themselves. Vercingetorix, Vercassivellaunus, Andecumborius, and other polysyllabic heroes might perhaps present a more homely appearance if we had them strictly in their native dress. This latinization of Gallic names seems in one case to have led the philologists astray. Thus it has been argued from the occurrence of forms like Biturigas that the Gallic accusative of stem *rig-* was *rigas*. But it was the fashion among Roman writers —a fashion dictated by obvious convenience—to avail themselves of the Greek accusative in *-as* in the case of proper names of the third declension. From Greek names this fashion spread to foreign names generally, and is quite sufficient to account for the forms on which the theory of the Gallic accusative is based. The tribal and personal names of the Gauls lend themselves to the purpose of the philologist for the reason that they are not non-connotative, but are compounded of significant elements, the meaning of which may be made out by a comparison with the still living members of the Celtic family of languages or those in which written documents are extant. They generally refer to prowess in battle, and turn out on interpretation to be as lofty in meaning as they are phonetically high-sounding. Thus the element *catu-* means 'battle' and *rix* 'king,' so that Caturiges means 'battle-kings'; Catuvolcus means 'swift in battle'; Catugnatus 'experienced in battle' or 'known in battle.' Cingetorix again means 'king of warriors,' and Vercingetorix exalts this further by a preposition equivalent to ὑπέρ and *super*. Ambiorix is interpreted to mean 'king of the

ramparts'; Ambarri (=Ambiarari), the dwellers on both banks of the Arar. The names of places in the same way yield a meaning under the comparative method. *Briva*, which occurs at the end of so many names of towns, means 'ford,' as in Samarobriva, 'the ford of the Somme.' *Magus*, another common termination, means a field, as in Rigomagus, 'the king's field.' *Briga* is a burg or stronghold; *dunum* a hill-fortress, as in Noviodunum (=Newcastle), Uxellodunum, Vellaunodunum; *durus* a fortress, as in Octodurus.

Size of the Gauls.

We must inquire now into the physical characteristics of the people who spoke this language.

The first thing that struck a Greek or Roman observer about the Gauls was their size. Caesar has commented on this (ii. 30, § 4), and so have all the writers who deal with them (e.g. D. S. v. 28, § 1; A. M. xv. 12, § 1; Paus. x. 20, § 4). Nor was this size in one dimension only, their bodies being apt to become bloated by too much indulgence in food and drink, though at an earlier period, according to Ephorus, they fought against this tendency, having a certain measure of girth, which the young men were punished if they exceeded (Str. iv. 4, § 6, ad fin.; App. iv. 7). We hear also of the moist white flesh of the Gauls[1] in contrast with that of the southern nations, who were spare, dark men. These physical characteristics of the Gauls put them at a disadvantage in one respect in combating the wiry Romans. Roman endurance took the shape of a tolerance of heat, dust, and thirst, which were just the things which the Gauls were least able to bear. They soon lost breath and began to run with sweat. Their bodies, it was observed, had something about them of the snows of their own Alps, and melted under the heat of the sun (Flor. i. 20).

Their women.

The Ancients had a respectful admiration for the women of the Gauls, who are described as large and fair, and brave and strong (D. S. v. 32, §§ 2, 7; A. M. xv. 12, § 1). Ammianus

[1] D. S. v. 28, § 1 ταῖς δὲ σαρξὶ κάθυγροι καὶ λευκοί; Livy xxxviii. 28 'fusa et candida corpora.

indeed would have us believe that the Gaul's wife was more formidable than himself, and gives us a terrific description of a woman assisting her husband in a brawl with foreigners. The dame swells her neck and gnashes her teeth, sways her snowy arms and deals blows and kicks with a force like that of a catapult.

Colour of the hair and eyes.

Golden or red hair and fierce-looking eyes are declared to have been prevalent among the Gauls[1]. When the children were born their hair was generally white, but as they grew up it assumed the same colour as that of their parents; if it did not do so of itself, they helped it out by artificial means (D. S. v. 28, § 1; 32, § 2).

The fertility of the women is dwelt on by Strabo (iv. 1, § 2; 4, § 3), and this brings us on to our next topic, namely, that of population.

Population.

The Gauls were strong in numbers as well as in size (Str. iv. 2, § 2; Veget. i, 1). Of their many tribes Diodorus (D. S. v. 25, § 1) estimates the largest at about 200,000 men, and the smallest at 50,000. Strabo says that the Belgae could formerly supply 300,000 fighting men, a more moderate estimate than that of Caesar, who credits the Bellovaci alone with 100,000 (ii. 4, § 5), though the contingents actually promised by the Belgae amount to 296,000, which is perhaps the source of Strabo's statement. On the basis of the figures supplied by the Commentaries (i. 29; ii. 4; vii. 75), the Emperor Napoleon III has calculated that the population of Gaul in the time of Caesar amounted to more than 7,000,000 of souls. The data are too uncertain to enable us to feel much confidence in such a speculation, but, whether the population was greater or less than this, our historical sketch has served to show that from the first it was too great for the existing resources of the country. Gaul was all along like a swarming hive of bees not without stings.

[1] D. S. v. 28, § 1; A. M. xv. 12, § 1 'rutili luminumque torvitate terribiles.'

From the physical we now turn to the mental and moral characteristics of the Gaul. The portraiture of them as a nation is drawn with a surprising unanimity by the Greek and Roman writers, so that we may accept it as in the main correct.

Courage of the Gauls.

That the Gauls were courageous is acknowledged on all hands, and by no one more handsomely than by Caesar himself, at least in the case of the Belgae (ii. 27). They were undoubtedly a people of high spirit. But their courage was of an impetuous and unreasoning kind, so that they were taken by the Greek philosophers as the type of rashness [1]. From the first they were a fighting people [2], with a love of combat for its own sake.

Boastfulness.

Despite his unquestionable courage however, there was a boastfulness about the Gaul which made him more formidable in appearance than in reality. He was 'full of sound and fury,' which, although they did not 'signify nothing,' yet sometimes allowed the performance to fall short of the promise. It was his habit to try to frighten his enemy before the fray by dancing and clashing his arms; like the Homeric heroes too, he would deliver harangues tending 'to malign his opponents and to glorify himself [3].' The Roman learnt to discount the terrors of his appearance, his frowning face, his deep, rough voice, his threatening attitudes, and Livy compresses into a single pregnant sentence the experience of his countrymen when he speaks of the Gauls as 'nata in vanos tumultus gens' (Liv. v. 37, § 8).

Irascibility.

The irascibility [4] and quarrelsomeness of the Gauls was carried

[1] Arist. E. N. iii. 7, § 7; E. E. iii. 1, § 23. We must remember, however, the extended meaning of the term Celt as used by the Greeks. What Aristotle says of the Celts fighting the waves is said by Strabo vii. 2, § 1 of the Cimbri. The account which Pausanias, evidently following some Greek historian, gives of the Gauls attacking the Greeks at Thermopylae reads like a sentence of Aristotle—*οἱ δὲ ἐν ὀργῇ τε ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ θυμῷ μετὰ οὐδενὸς λογισμοῦ, καθάπερ τὰ θηρία, ἐχώρουν.* Aelian, V. H. xii. 23 dwells on the foolish recklessness of the Celts.

[2] Liv. vii. 23, § 6 'gens ferox et ingenii avidi ad pugnam'; Sall. Cat. 40 'natura gens Gallica bellicosa.'

[3] *ἐπ' αὐξήσει μὲν ἑαυτῶν, μειώσει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων*, D. S. v. 31, § 1.

[4] Liv. v. 37, § 4 'flagrantes ira, cuius impotens est gens.'

into their private life. The duel, which was unknown to the Greeks and Romans, was practised among them, and they would challenge one another to mortal combat over the dinner-table (D. S. v. 28, § 5). They gave ground for the biting epigram, which has been levelled against their descendants, 'Aujourd'hui c'est l'amitié, demain c'est l'ami tué.'

Decline of the martial spirit among the Gauls.

Except in the case of the Belgae, the great renown which the Gauls had won for themselves in war was beginning to be a thing of the past in Caesar's time. Tacitus speaks of it as a far-off tradition[1]. The Celtic Gauls were supposed to have been corrupted by the neighbourhood of the Province and the importation of foreign luxuries.

Want of staying power.

While the strength of the Gauls consisted in the impetuosity of their attack, their weakness lay in the want of staying power[2]. Their hearts were apt to faint and their bodies to flag when things were going against them. They are credited too with a dislike for labour (vii. 30, § 4; 77, § 5) and an inability to endure it[3]. The suddenness with which the Gauls would adopt important resolves (iii. 8, § 10) was part of a general instability of character. They were subject to feverish fits of passion, and rushed into measures of which they soon saw reason to repent. Liable alike to undue elation and undue depression, they are described as 'insufferable in victory and cowed by defeat[4].'

Curiosity.

Curiosity was another marked feature in the character of the Gauls, which combined sometimes with their natural temerity to

[1] Agr. 11 'Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus: mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate.'

[2] iii. 19, § 6 n: Livy vii. 12, § 11 'iis corporibus animisque, quorum omnis in impetu vis esset, parva eadem languesceret mora'; ibid. v. 44, § 4, 'gens est, cui natura corpora animosque magna magis quam firma dederit; eo in certamen omne plus terroris quam virium ferunt.'

[3] Liv. xxvii. 48, § 16 'intolerantissima laboris corpora.'

[4] Str. iv. 4, § 5. Cp. Hirt. B. G. viii. 13, § 4 'ut vix iudicari posset, utrum secundis minimisque rebus insolentiores, an adverso mediocri casu timidiores essent'; D. C. xxxix. 45, § 7 *ἄπληστοι γὰρ ἀλογίστως οἱ Γαλάται ἐς πάνθ' ὁμοίως ὄντες οὔτε τὸ θαρσοῦν σφῶν οὔτε τὸ δεδιὸς μετριάζουσιν.*

hurry them into unwise action. Like the Athenians, they were always eager after something new (iv. 5: vii. 42, § 2). Caesar describes the common people as gathering round the merchants in the country towns and forcing news from them whether they liked it or not, so that the demand sometimes created the supply; the upper classes adopted the more politic course of asking the strangers to dinner, and proceeding to interrogate them afterwards (D. S. v. 28, § 5).

Simplicity and generosity.

There was a great simplicity and openness of character about the Gauls[1], a love of liberty (iii. 10, § 3), and a generous sympathy with the oppressed (Str. iv. 4, § 2). They scorned surprises and stratagems in war, trusting only to strength and valour (i. 13, § 6).

Reasons why Gaul was easily subdued

This absence of craft was indeed one of the reasons why they succumbed to the Romans so much sooner and more easily than the Spaniards. The conquest of Gaul was begun about a century later than that of Spain, but it was concluded earlier. For the Spaniard kept up a scattered guerilla warfare, protecting himself in his mountains, whereas the Gaul came on with fire and fury, and shattered his whole strength at once against the Roman legions (Str. iv. 4, § 2). Another reason for the comparatively easy subjugation of the Gauls lay in their inability to combine. Their internal animosities were of more importance to them than the exclusion of the foreigner. It was the Aedui who brought in the Roman invader, and the Sequani who brought in the German.

Piety and parsimony.

Though it suits Cicero's purpose, when defending Fonteius, to denounce the Gauls as a sacrilegious race, they are generally taxed with the opposite extreme of superstition (vi. 16, § 1). 'Gentes superbae superstitiosae' is what Mela (iii. § 18) says of them. They seem indeed to have been religious in their way[2]. Caesar (vi. 17, § 5) tells us how rare it was with them for cupidity to prevail over piety, and Diodorus (v. 27, § 4) is

[1] Str. iv. 4, § 2 ἄλλως δὲ ἁπλοῦν καὶ οὐ κακόηθες.

[2] Liv. v. 46, § 3 'seu religione etiam motis, cuius haudquaquam negligens gens est.'

quite surprised at the immunity from depredation enjoyed by the consecrated gold in their country (cp. Str. iv. 1, § 13, p. 188). When the Gauls gave up their predatory habits, their love of acquisition seems to have been turned into the safer channel of economy[1]. They became wealthy, but not luxurious. Doubtless Gauls were among those provincials whose infusion into the Senate Tacitus (Ann. iii. 55) regards as in part the cause of that wholesome decline in luxury which began under Vespasian.

Cupidity. A race so addicted to the plunder of others and always ready to serve for pay, could not expect to escape the reproach of cupidity. Accordingly we find this charge brought against them by some of the ancient writers[2].

Intemperance. Another vice with which the Gauls were taxed was that of intemperance, displaying itself in an undue indulgence of the three physical desires. The Gauls had good reason to fear the introduction of wine, for they took to it with a natural avidity, and preferred to drink it unmixed with water[3]. Diodorus tells us that the Italian merchants with their habitual greed for gain looked upon the Gauls' love of wine as a godsend, and would sometimes receive a slave in return for a jar of wine. Those who could not afford wine satisfied their craving for stimulants with less generous, but still intoxicating, beverages, such as beer made from barley or wheat, which Posidonius tells us they called 'corma[4].' This was either drunk plain or else mixed with honey. As to the sexual relations of the Gauls, we have not much ground to go upon. What Caesar says of their marriage-law seems to imply a developed state of family life, and yet in the same chapter (vi. 19) he speaks

[1] Str. iv. 1, § 13, p. 188 *οὐ πολυτελῶν τοῖς βίοις.*

[2] Liv. xxi. 20, § 8 'auro, cuius avidissima gens est'; D. S. v. 27, § 4 *καίπερ ὄντων τῶν Κελτῶν φιλαργύρων καθ' ὑπερβολήν.*

[3] D. S. v. 26, § 3 *κάτοινοι δ' ὄντες καθ' ὑπερβολήν*: A. M. xv. 12, § 4 'vini avidum genus.'

[4] Athen. iv. 36, p. 152; D. S. v. 26, § 2; A. M. xv. 12, § 4. 'Corma' is the Irish 'cuirm,' Welsh 'cwrw.' Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 7.

of them as though they were polygamous. Diodorus is pretty nearly alone in charging them with extreme profligacy, and with the unnatural vice which was so common among the Greeks and even among the Romans[1].

The ancient writers love to dwell on the savagery of the Gauls—how they would hang the heads of their enemies from their horses' necks, and then nail them up on their houses, as a hunter does the trophies of the beasts he has slain; and how they would preserve those of the most famous, stowing them away in a box, and delighting to show them to visitors, whom they would inform with pride that they had refused to part with them for their weight in gold (D. S. v. 29, §§ 4, 5; Str. iv. 4, § 5). Diodorus tells us these things without mentioning his authority, but when we turn to Strabo we find that they come from Posidonius. That philosopher relates how he often saw human heads hung up on the portals of houses, and how, though the sight at first gave him a turn, yet he soon got used to it. Posidonius visited Gaul some thirty or forty years before the time of Caesar. The manners of the Gauls seem to have been mitigated in the interval, for we do not derive this impression of extreme savagery from Caesar, except in so far as concerns the practices connected with religion, of which we shall speak further on. Early savagery.

Even at this early period of their development the cleverness of the Gauls attracted the notice and admiration of the more advanced nations with whom they came into contact[2]. They had their own philosophy, their own poetry, their own oratory, and their own mechanic arts independently of instruction from others, and we know how their aptitude for imitation impressed the mind of Caesar (vii. 22, § 1). Cleverness.

[1] D. S. v. 31, § 7. Str. iv. 4, § 6 seems to be quoting from Diodorus, or his original, when he says *οὐ νομίζεται παρ' αὐτοῖς αἰσχρόν, τὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἀφειδεῖν τοὺς νέους.*

[2] vii. 22, § 1; D. S. v. 31, § 1 *ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις ὀξεῖς καὶ πρὸς μάθησιν οὐκ ἀφυεῖς.*

From this general sketch of the character of the Gauls we must now advance to some more specific mention of the manners and institutions in which that character revealed itself. These relate to war and peace. To the student of the Gallic War the former naturally come first.

Cavalry of the Gauls.

The spacious plains of Gaul made it a country naturally adapted for cavalry. Accordingly we find that the fighting strength of the Gauls lay chiefly in that department[1]. Their nobility indeed are called by Caesar 'equites,' and they were a nation of knights and squires. Caesar tells us of the love that the Gauls had for horses (iv. 2, § 2). We might judge of their success in this direction from the many Latin words connected with riding and driving which are of Celtic origin (iv. 2, § 2 n): perhaps Epona herself was a Gallic goddess. The Senate, aware of the fondness of the Gauls for horseflesh, when they wished to conciliate their chiefs, sent them presents which gratified this taste. The Gallic envoys who accompanied Cincibilis in 170 B.C. (see p. 68) regarded it as a high privilege to be allowed each to purchase ten horses and transport them from Italy to France. Diodorus (v. 29, § 1) describes the war-chariots in use among the Gauls, which Lucan also (i. 426) attributes to the Belgae, but we hear nothing about them from Caesar except in connexion with the Britons (iv. 33, § 1).

Weapons of offence.

The weapons of the Gauls are described as very big—great claymores and lances[2]. Their swords, says Diodorus (D. S. v. 30, § 4), are as large as other people's spears, and their spear-points as other people's swords. The claymore was attached to their left sides by chains of brass or iron (D. S. v. 30, § 5; Str. iv. 4, § 3).

Neglect of defensive armour.

Their self-confidence made them scorn defensive armour.

[1] Str. iv. 4, § 2 *εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν μαχηταὶ πάντες τῇ φύσει, κρείττους δ' ἱππόται ἢ πεζοί.*

[2] *λαγκία*, Lat. 'lancea,' is, according to Diodorus, the Gallic name for the weapon. Varro (Aul. Gell. iv. 30, § 7) says that the word is of Spanish origin.

The oblong shield (*θυρεός*, D. S. v. 30, § 2; Paus. x. 21, § 2) which they carried seems to have been only of painted wood, though it might be ornamented with brass projections which contributed to strength. Even the protection afforded by clothes was sometimes dispensed with, and the Gaul, who habitually went clad, would bare his white flesh for battle[1]. We do hear of breastplates of chain-armour being worn by the Gauls, but on the whole the feebleness of their defensive armour was a source of weakness in their combats both with Greeks and Romans. It is to the neglect of this source of safety at a later period by the Romans themselves that Vegetius ascribes the reverses they suffered at the hands of the barbarians. The chief aim of their helmets seems to have been to increase the terrors of the wearer's appearance by their height, like the bearskins of our grenadiers. They were adorned with the heads of beasts and birds (D. S. v. 30, § 2).

Passion for single combat.

The thirst for glory of the Gaul revealed itself in his passion for single combat with the enemy before the eyes of his countrymen. Inspired by the harsh but martial music of the bagpipes[2], or prompted only by his own spirit, the Gallic champion would advance from the ranks and challenge the bravest of his antagonists to do battle with him (D. S. v. 29, § 2). We meet with these combats more than once in the pages of the Roman historians, but they have forgotten to record the occasions on which the Gaul was victorious.

Dress.

In peace the Gaul wore a costume which to the classical eye appeared positively loud[3]. His garments were a woollen shirt split at the sides (Str. iv. 4, § 3), a pair of breeks[4], and a mantle

[1] D. S. v. 29, § 2; 30, § 3: Liv. xxxviii. 21 'candida corpora, ut quae nunquam, nisi in pugna, nudentur.'

[2] D. S. v. 30, § 3 *σάλπιγγας δ' ἔχουσιν ἰδιοφυεῖς καὶ βαρβαρικάς· ἐμφυσῶσι γὰρ ταύταις καὶ προβάλλουσιν ἦχον τραχὺν καὶ πολεμικῆς ταραχῆς οἰκεῖον.*

[3] D. S. v. 30, § 1 *ἐσθῆσι δὲ χρῶνται καταπληκτικαῖς.*

[4] *ἀναξυρίσιν ἃς ἐκεῖνοι βράκας προσαγορεύουσιν*, D. S. v. 30, § 1. The word survives also in the French 'braies.'

called 'the sagum,' which was buckled in folds on his person. This last garment was also worn by the Spaniards (App. vi. 42, *ad fin.*). The Romans too assumed it, but only when there was a call to arms, whereas with the Gauls it was habitual[1]. It was the colours however which the Gaul indulged in that startled the Greek and Roman observer, his staring stripes and the brilliancy of his checkered tartan; his garments too, if he were of superior rank, would be sometimes bespangled with gold. This barbaric taste for bedizenment displayed itself also in the wearing of golden ornaments by the men as well as by the women. Nothing is more distinctive of the Gaul than his 'torques' of solid gold; and he would wear also bracelets and armlets of the same metal, as well as large rings, and in war sometimes a golden breastplate (D. S. v. 27, § 3; Str. iv. 4, § 5). The attention bestowed upon their personal appearance by the women is commented upon favourably by Ammianus, who says that in Gaul, and especially in Aquitania, you would never see even the poorest woman in rags, as you might in other countries (A. M. xv. 12, § 2).

Mode of wearing the hair.

The mode of wearing the hair among the Gauls was peculiar. They smeared it continually with a decoction of chalk (*τίτανος*, D. S. v. 28, § 1), and drew it back off the temples towards the crown of the head and the hind part of the neck, which imparted to their faces an appearance suggestive of Satyrs. It was this fashion, we may suppose, which gave rise to the name Gallia Comata. The effect of the wash used on the hair was to make it as thick as horsehair. Some of them shaved their chin, others had moderate beards; the nobles wore no whiskers, but grew long moustaches, which embarrassed them at table.

Habits at meals.

The habits of the Gauls at meals are described by Posidonius from personal observation. They did not recline like the Romans, nor sit on chairs, but squatted on the ground on hay mattresses[2]. The food was served up on low wooden tables. They ate little

[1] Cic. Font. § 33 'sagatos bracatosque.'

[2] Cp. D. S. v. 28, § 3, who mentions the skins of wolves or dogs.

bread, but a quantity of meat, roast, baked, or boiled. They would take the meat in both hands and tear it off the bones like lions, or, if the difficulty were too great to be solved by nature's methods, they would produce from their sides a knife, which had its private sheath in the scabbard of the sword, and with this cut the meat. Such of them as dwelt near rivers or the sea would have fish for dinner, which they roasted and ate with salt, vinegar, and cumin. They made no use of oil, which was rare, and the taste for which they had not acquired. At a dinner-party the guests would be ranged in a circle, the man of greatest dignity, whether from military distinction, birth, or wealth, occupying the post of honour; next to him was the host; and then the rest according to their rank. The henchmen who carried their shields stood behind them, while the squires feasted in a similar circle opposite to their masters (Athen. iv. 36, p. 152). Strabo (iv. 4, § 3) informs us that the Gauls used a great deal of milk in their diet, and that their chief meat was pork, either fresh or salted. He describes the long-legged pigs, which are still to be seen in France, and remarks that they were as dangerous as wolves to strangers. Diodorus speaks of their being waited upon by boys and girls at table, and says that they honoured the brave in Homeric fashion with a bigger helping (D. S. v. 28, § 4).

Houses. The houses of the Gauls were of wood and wicker-work. They were dome-shaped, large, and well thatched (Str. iv. 4, § 3). Caesar tells us (vi. 30, § 3) that they were generally placed in the neighbourhood of woods and rivers for the sake of coolness, which shows us that the summers must have been pretty hot in Gaul.

Mineral wealth of the country. We are accustomed to think of France as a rich country in the proper sense of having an abundant supply of the means of life and comfort. This it was also in antiquity, especially when its resources had begun to be developed after the Roman conquest. But besides this, ancient Gaul seems to have been a veritable El Dorado in its supply of the precious metals.

Diodorus (D. S. v. 27, §§ 1, 2) describes its rivers as running with gold. We have already had occasion to notice the extensive use of gold in ornaments and the sacred treasures that existed in various parts of the country. The Gauls had a strange habit of committing these treasures for safe-keeping to the lakes. When the Romans got possession of the country these lakes were sold by the state, and the purchasers sometimes discovered mill-stones of solid silver. The treasures at Tolosa, which were sacked by Caepio, are said to have been of the value of 15,000 talents[1]. They consisted of unwrought gold and silver, a fact which, apart from other arguments, is fatal to the idea of Timagenes that these treasures had been brought home by the Tectosages from Delphi. Whenever we read in Livy of a victory over Gauls, we are pretty sure to be told afterwards of the amount of gold and silver that was carried in triumph. The arms of the Gauls were richly adorned with these metals, and when Bituitus (see p. 73) was carried in triumph in Rome, it was in the silver car in which he had fought (Flor. i. 37, § 5). His father Luernius[2] had so much money to spare that he once rode through the plains scattering gold and silver from his car to the assembled multitudes of his countrymen. The same ostentatious monarch enclosed a space of twelve stades square in which there were vats filled with costly liquor, and tables served with food continuously for all comers during several days. A minstrel who came too late for the good cheer met the monarch in his car. He celebrated the royal magnificence and bewailed his own misfortune. Bituitus was so pleased that he called for a purse of gold, and flung it to the singer, who picked it up as he ran beside the car, and then burst into a grateful chant, declaring that the very ground which was pressed by his chariot wheels was productive of gold and blessings to men. These stories come from the twenty-third book of Posidonius.

[1] Str. iv. 1, § 13. Cp. Justin. xxxii. 3, § 10, who says that there were 110,000 pounds of silver and 1,500,000 pounds of gold.

[2] So in Athen. iv. 37, p. 152. Strabo, iv. 2, § 3, calls him Lueris.

The degree of civilization to which the Gauls had attained before the arrival of the Romans is best shown by their skill in mining. This is referred to with admiration by Caesar, both in connexion with the Aquitanians in particular (iii. 21, § 3) and with the Gauls in general (vii. 22, § 2), but the reader may still have ocular demonstration of it by a visit to the Musée de Saint-Germain. The researches conducted by M. Bulliot on Mont Beuvray under the orders of Napoleon III have thrown special light on this subject [1].

Skill of the Gauls in mining.

The Gallic mode of building also, with its mixture of stone and wood, was such as to attract the attention of Caesar, who devotes a whole chapter (vii. 23) to describing it.

Mode of building.

The bridge over the Rhône at Geneva (i. 6, § 3) may possibly have been of Roman construction, but there is no need to suppose so, since we find mention of bridges everywhere in the country, as over the Aisne (ii. 5, § 6), Loire (vii. 11, § 6), Allier (vii. 34, § 3), and Seine (vii. 58, § 6).

Bridges.

Long before the arrival of Caesar the presence of the Phocaean settlements on the Mediterranean coast had imparted a certain amount of culture to the Gauls. This is to be seen in the use of Greek letters, as mentioned by Caesar, in the keeping of accounts both public and private (i. 29, § 1; vi. 14, § 3).

Use of Greek letters.

The political organization of the Gauls, divided as they were into a number of tribes, who were in a chronic state of war with one another, was not such as to promote progress. The

Number of tribes.

[1] Extract from a letter from M. Bulliot: 'Vous désirez quelques mots sur leur métallurgie. Elle n'était guère moins avancée qu'en Europe, il y a un siècle. Les aqueducs que j'ai rencontrés démontrent qu'ils formaient des réservoirs pour utiliser l'eau comme moteur de cours hydrauliques pour le martelage du fer. Leurs fours de fusion pour les minéraux étaient munis de souffleries hydrauliques donnant au fer un courant d'air continu; ils produisaient, en un mot, le feu directement, d'après la méthode dite Cataloene. L'intérêt de nos fouilles est de constater le réseau des travaux minutieux des Eduens de Bibracte pour colliger l'eau et la faire servir à leur métallurgie. J'ai publié, il y a un peu plus de vingt ans, au début des fouilles, un mémoire sur les premières découvertes métallurgiques, dans le Tome I des Mémoires de la Société Eduenne (nouvelle série).'

number of these tribes is variously estimated. On the altar in the temple of Augustus at Lyon, which was raised to him by all the Gauls, sixty tribes were mentioned (Str. iv. 3, § 2). But Josephus, who is a well-informed author, speaks of no less than 305 (B. J. ii. 16, p. 188). The possibility of such diverse estimates is no doubt due to the way in which petty tribes were grouped round more important ones as their dependants, so that they might either be included in them or reckoned separately. Strabo speaks of fifteen tribes of Belgae (Str. iv. 4, § 3), and more than twenty small tribes in Caesar's Aquitania (Str. iv. 2, § 1).

Kings in Gaul.

These tribes in Caesar's time were mostly free, though their constitution was decidedly aristocratical. Every now and then however we meet with a tribe that was under kingly government. Thus Galba (ii. 4, § 7) was king of the Suessiones, and before him there had been a king Divitiacus; Teutomatus (vii. 31, § 5) was king of the Nitiobriges, and his father Ollovico had reigned before him; Ambiorix and Catuvolcus were kings of the Eburones (v. 24, § 4; vi. 31, § 5). Adiatunnus is said by Caesar to have held the supreme command, which might mean only that he was general of the forces, but Nicolaus of Damascus calls him King of the Sotiani (= Sontiates) (Athen. vi. 54 b, p. 249). There appears however to have been a great movement towards freedom just before the time of Caesar's invasion of Gaul. Thus the Sequani had been under a king Catamantaloedis (i. 3, § 4); the ancestors of Tasgetius had reigned over the Carnutes (v. 25, § 1); Moritasgus had been king of the Senones, in succession to his progenitors, when Caesar came into Gaul (v. 54, § 2). The descendants of these dethroned monarchs constituted a disturbing element in the country. They were ready to scheme, like Casticus (i. 3, § 4), for the recovery of a father's sovereignty, or to accept at the hands of Caesar the throne from which their ancestors had been expelled by their own people, as was the case with Tasgetius and Cavarinus, the former of whom paid for his temerity with his

blood (v. 25, § 3), while the latter barely escaped the same fate (v. 54, § 2). We find Caesar too rewarding the fidelity of Commius by making him king over his own countrymen the Atrebates (iv. 21, § 7), and subjecting the Morini also to his sway (vii. 76, § 1). If we knew a little more about the matter, we might be able to distinguish more clearly between the legitimate and hereditary king and the ambitious man who climbed to a precarious sovereignty through the favour of the people. That there were plenty of men in Gaul at that time ready to play the despot's part is plain from such cases as those of Orgetorix, Dumnorix, and Celtillus, the father of Vercingetorix. Vercingetorix himself was proclaimed king (vii. 4, § 5) as the result of a wide-spread popular movement, and a gallant, though belated, effort of patriotism.

Factions.

It was the misfortune of the Gauls that they were so torn by faction as to render an effective combination impossible. What Tacitus said of their brethren in Britain—'dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur' (Agr. 12)—was true also of them, and the same history repeated itself in the conquest of Ireland by England. The very first remark that Caesar has to make in his description of the Gauls (vi. 11) has reference to the factions that divided states, hamlets, and even single houses. Caesar did not know what these factions were about, and probably the Gauls themselves would have had difficulty in informing him.

Classes.

From the political we now turn to the social organization of Gaul, which is curiously suggestive of the Middle Ages, with its three classes of priests, knights, and nobodies. The little that Caesar has to say about the two latter may be seen in vi. 13, §§ 1, 2 and vi. 15. It is the former that must occupy our attention, as they do his: for in treating of them we shall be dealing also with the religion of Gaul, with some notice of which this chapter may fitly terminate.

Druids.

Though Caesar speaks of the priestly and learned class under the single name of Druids, yet we find from the consentient testimony of other authors that a distinction has to be drawn

between three orders in this class. Strabo calls these three orders Bardi, Vates, and Dryadae. Those who with Strabo are Vates (Οὐάτεις) are by Diodorus Siculus called μάντεις, and by Ammianus Marcellinus 'euhagis,' which is supposed to represent the Gallic name (Str. iv. 4, § 4; D. S. v. 31, §§ 2, 3; A. M. xv. 9, § 8). The difference of function between these three orders is represented thus. The bards were minstrels and poets, who chanted the deeds of heroes on the lyre and devoted their friends and enemies to eulogy or execration. The Vates were diviners, who were believed to penetrate into the future by means of augury and the inspection of victims, and to explore the secrets of nature. The Druids proper were the highest of the three orders. They were philosophers who to the 'physiology' or natural science of the Vates superadded the study of ethics. One would like to have been present at those meetings in Rome in which the Druid Divitiacus expounded his notions of philosophy to Marcus Tullius and his brother Quintus (Cic. Div. i. § 90): but, as it is, we must be content to know merely that the Druids taught the doctrines of the immortality of the soul and of the universe, but thought that the latter was liable to be convulsed by fire and water (vi. 14, § 6; Mela iii. § 19).

Religion. There is no doubt but that the religion of the Gauls contained in it higher elements than that of the Greeks and Romans, in spite of the bloody and barbarous rites by which it was defiled. The classical nations went to the priest for their ritual and to the philosopher or legislator for their morality, but in the Gallic religion these two factors were combined. To the layman among the Gauls, whether gentle or simple, religion presented itself as the guide of life, clothed in the awful sanctities of the unseen world, and informed by a knowledge to which he himself did not aspire. Hence the strong hold that it exercised over the minds of the masses. The Druids were a real spiritual power, like the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages. They could intervene on the battlefield and stop the rage of hosts breathing slaughter (D. S. v. 31, § 5; Str. iv. 4, § 4).

They acted as a court of public arbitration, and the most important private suits, especially those for murder, were intrusted to their care (vi. 13, § 5; Str. iv. 4, § 4). To enforce their decisions they possessed the dreaded power of excommunication (vi. 13, § 6).

Belief in immortality.

The immortality of the soul, which to the Greeks and Romans was the dream of the philosopher, was with the Gauls a part of the popular creed. The Druids are credited with having taught this doctrine with the object of making men despise death in battle (vi. 14, § 5; Mela iii. § 19; Lucan i. 460–2). But whether their motive was utility or speculative conviction, they certainly succeeded in impressing the belief upon the minds of their countrymen, by whom it was held with a startling vividness. When some one died, people would take the opportunity of posting letters to their friends who had gone before; if these were burnt along with the body of the deceased on the pyre, the contents, it was imagined, would pass with him into the Kingdom of Souls (D. S. v. 28, § 6). And when life was over, the thought was still of life, so that men equipped their relatives for a new existence by burning or burying with them a stock of implements. Sometimes even the settlement of debts was transferred to the after-world, which was not considered equivalent to a postponement *sine die* (Val. Max. ii. 6, § 10). If life seemed intolerable when the loved was lost, the pyre was there, which would enable the mourner, not to die, but to live with him (Mela iii. § 19). The only real measure of belief is what a man is prepared to act upon. Apply this test, and we shall be forced to admit that the belief in a future life was held in those dim ages with a tenacity to which it has never since attained.

Metempsychosis.

The precise form of the doctrine which was inculcated by the Druids was, we are told, metempsychosis (vi. 14, § 5; D. S. v. 28, § 6). Herein their teaching resembled that of Pythagoras, but there is no evidence to show that they included in it transmigration into animal forms.

Care of the dead.

Pausanias (x. 21. § 4) charges the Gauls with a great care-

lessness as to the disposal of their dead after battle. This is in connexion with the Gauls who invaded Greece. But we know from Caesar (vi. 19, § 4) that in their own country the Gauls spared no pains and expense in providing magnificent funerals for their friends.

Ritual. The connexion of the Druids with oaks and groves was so marked as to have suggested to Pliny the derivation of their name which has become accepted, whether rightly or not, but no classical writer has a word to say about those stone monuments which are known among ourselves as 'Druidic remains.' Their veneration for the mistletoe is one of the few things that we know about their ritual, apart from the human sacrifices, of which we have yet to speak. Especially was the mistletoe sacred when it was found growing upon an oak. The 'all-healer' was the name they gave in their own language to this mysterious plant. When it was discovered a sacrifice and banquet was duly prepared under the tree, at which the victims were two young bulls of a white colour, whose horns had never before been bound by the yoke. The priest, clad in white raiment, solemnly climbed the tree, cut down with a golden sickle the bough, which was caught beneath in a white mantle. After this, the victims were immolated and the Gods were implored to prosper their own gift to those to whom they had vouchsafed it. The juice of the mistletoe was supposed to be a cure for sterility and an antidote to poison (Plin. N. H. xvi. 95, §§ 249–51).

Augury. From the earliest times the Gauls were addicted to augury, and their diviners were reputed to excel in that art[1]. Divitiacus, in conversing with the Ciceros, professed to be able to foretell the future, partly by augury and partly by conjecture.

The Celtic Pantheon. Caesar has devoted a chapter to the gods of Gaul, but the Romans were so ready to read their own divinities into those of

[1] Liv. v. 34, § 4; Justin. xxiv. 4, § 3 'augurandi studio Galli praeter ceteros callent'; D. S. v. 31, § 3. Pausanias, x. 21, § 2, betrays ignorance on this point, *εἰ δή ἐστί γε μαντεία Κελτική*.

foreign nations, that we cannot build much upon it. Mercury, whom he says was their chief deity, has been supposed to be Teutates or Wasso (if these two are the same), that god to whom the Cyclopean temple, which crowns the summit of the Puy de Dôme, was dedicated (vi. 17, § 1 n)[1]; Apollo appears from inscriptions to be in Gallic Belenus; Mars has been identified with Esus, and Jupiter with Taranis, the thunder-god (Lucan i. 466).

The Celtic Hercules.

If we may credit an author like Lucian, whose object is always literary, and never scientific, there was a Celtic deity called Ogmios, who in outward appearance resembled Hercules —he had the club in his right hand, the bow in his left, the quiver on his back—only there was this great difference, he was a wizened old man with a bald head and such hair as was left to him perfectly white. When Lucian first saw this figure, he thought that it was a caricature, and that the Gauls were having their revenge on Hercules for his fabled invasion of their country when in search of the herds of Geryon. Further inspection revealed another curious feature in the picture. The god was drawing after him a crowd of people by means of very fine chains which were attached to their ears and the tip of his tongue. Instead of being reluctant, they seemed to be following gladly. As Lucian gazed in perplexity at this strange representation, a Gallic philosopher, who spoke Greek perfectly well, undertook to expound it to him. With the Gauls, Logos was not Hermes, but Heracles, who was far stronger, and the god was old, because thought and speech were ripest in old age[2].

The Gallizenae.

It would have been well for the Gallic religion, if it had been all as innocent as this. But it had also its wilder and darker side. There was the oracle of Sena, an island off the coast of Brittany with its nine priestesses called Gallizenae, all vowed to perpetual chastity, who could rouse by their spells the winds and

[1] Pliny N. H. xxxiv. § 45 mentions a colossal statue erected in his own time to Mercury among the Arverni. The artist's name was Zenodorus.

[2] Lucian, Hercules.

waters, could transform themselves into what animals they would, could cure the incurable, could reveal the future, but refused to do so to any save those who had come to their island for no other purpose than to consult them (Mela iii. § 48). There were also strange rites among the women of the Namnetes. On an island at the mouth of the Loire, on which no male foot might tread, they held strange orgies to Bacchus, or whatever deity corresponded to him in the Celtic Pantheon. Once a year it was their custom to unroof the temple of their deity, and re-roof it again the same day before the sun went down. Each woman came laden with her burden, but if any let it slip, the rest would turn upon her like a pack of hounds and rend her limb from limb. Such at least is the story told by Artemidorus (Str. iv. 4, § 6).

Human sacrifices.

People who are shocked at the idea of human sacrifices among a race who are more or less responsible for us, and for whom we therefore feel responsible, have tried to explain away Caesar's account of human sacrifices in connexion with the Druidic religion (vi. 16) as referring to an epoch earlier than his own. There is nothing however to countenance the notion that Caesar's account is not strictly contemporary. When he is referring to a time prior to his own, he is careful to tell us so, as in vi. 19, § 3, where he says that the custom of burning favourite slaves and retainers on the pyre of a chief was already a thing of the past. In spite of the softening of manners which we have already had occasion to notice between the time of Posidonius and that of Caesar, there seems no reason to doubt but that human sacrifices were a frequent practice in Gaul at the time of the conquest. Religion is such a conservative force that people who are otherwise civilised will not shrink from committing atrocities under its sanction. The dogma that 'unless for the life of man man's life be rendered, the will of the Immortal Gods cannot be appeased' (vi. 16, § 3) was rooted in the Celtic mind like a poison-plant ever ready to bear fruit in death. Cicero in 69 B.C. speaks of human sacrifices

among the Gauls as notorious[1]. Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Mela, Lucan, Minucius Felix, and Lactantius have all something to say about them. The first of these writers informs us that the holocausts of which Caesar speaks (vi. 16, §§ 4, 5) were offered to the gods at intervals of five years (D. S. v. 32, § 6). He agrees with Strabo in saying that they contained other victims besides men. Livy confirms these other authorities by speaking of captives being sacrificed by the Gauls in Asia Minor (Liv. xxxviii. 47 ad fin.). How soon these barbarities might have died out, had the Gauls been left to themselves, we cannot tell; for as a matter of fact they were suppressed by the Roman government (Str. iv. 4, § 5). Mela mentions (iii. § 18) that even in his time vestiges of these grim rites remained. Though murder was no longer committed in the name of religion, yet a human victim was moved up to the altar, and the initiatory rites performed upon him. It is interesting to notice that among the Romans themselves similar practices were only officially abolished by a decree of the Senate passed in the year B. C. 97[2].

Pliny adds that the 'magic' with which he connects the Druids flourished still so much in Britain, that it might almost be thought to have been borrowed thence by the Persians. It was from this island that their religion, at once so awful and sinister, spread itself into Gaul, and it was hither that those students repaired who wished thoroughly to explore its mysteries (vi. 13, §§ 11, 12).

Into this home of mists and darkness we must now follow Caesar.

[1] Font. § 31 'quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolandorum ?'

[2] Plin. N. H. xxx. § 12 (3) 'DCLVII demum anno urbis Cn. Cornelio Lentulo P. Licinio Crasso cos. senatusconsultum factum est ne homo immolaretur.'

CHAPTER V

BRITAIN

Britain unknown to the early Greeks and Romans.

To the early Greeks and Romans the very existence of our islands was unknown. We have the express statement of Dio Cassius to this effect [1], and it is confirmed by the silence of extant writers. That Herodotus knew nothing of Britain is plain from the passage in which he confesses his ignorance of the extreme parts of Europe (iii. 115). He does indeed mention the Cassiterides, though only to doubt of their existence.

The Cassiterides.

But if Herodotus had known and believed in the Cassiterides, would this have been equivalent to knowing and believing in Britain? This is a question to which it is not easy to return a definite answer. It is certain that the market of the Mediterranean was supplied with tin as far back as the time of Homer, by whom the metal is frequently mentioned [2], but where it came from was a secret which the Phoenicians kept to themselves. All that Herodotus will commit himself to is the belief that it was brought from somewhere in the far west of Europe. Others in his day were content with the statement that it came from the Cassiterides or 'tin-islands.' But where were these? The old view, which has embodied itself in our ancient atlases, was that these were the Scilly Isles. But as these islands themselves present very slight traces of ancient mining, the coast of

[1] *καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάνυ πρώτοις καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὐδ' ὅτι ἔστιν ἐγιγνώσκετο*, D. C. xxxix. 50, § 3.

[2] Il. xi. 25, 34; xviii. 474, 565, 574, 613; xx. 271; xxi. 592; xxiii. 503, 561.

Cornwall has been thrown in besides, which may have been regarded as simply a larger island belonging to the same group[1]. Hence our histories of England are wont to begin with a reference to the Cassiterides. Yet this view, strange to say, would have surprised the ancient writers, from whom we suppose ourselves to have derived it. Diodorus Siculus (v. 38, § 4), after describing the Cassiterides as lying off the coast of Spain, above the country of the Lusitani, goes on to say that a great deal of tin was also brought from Britain to Gaul, and thence conveyed by an overland route to Massilia and Narbo. That Diodorus is here following Posidonius may be regarded as certain from the coincidence of his language and of the sequence of thought with that of Strabo (iii. p. 147), who is confessedly doing so. According to Strabo in another passage (iii. p. 175) the Cassiterides are ten in number, and lie near one another out to sea to the north of the harbour of the Artabri. If he says in another place (ii. p. 120) that they are somewhere in the latitude of Britain, that is only part of the general error which made him imagine the western parts of Britain to lie opposite the Pyrenees. Mela, himself a Spaniard, treats of these islands under Spain, putting them off the country of the Celtic tribes, among whom he reckons the Artabri[2]. Pliny (iv. § 119) follows suit in saying that the Cassiterides are off Celtiberia[3]. Lastly Ptolemy (ii. 6, § 76), treating them under

[1] Bunbury, Hist. of Anc. Geog. 1879, vol. i. p. 10 'Later information (i. e. than that of Herodotus), however, leaves no doubt that the islands thus designated were the Scilly Islands together with the adjacent peninsula of Cornwall, which was erroneously supposed to be a larger island of the same group, and from which in reality all the tin was procured.'

[2] iii. § 47 'in Celticis aliquot sunt, quas quia plumbo abundant uno omnes nomine Cassiteridas adpellant:' cp. iii. § 13 'in ea (sc. ora) primum Artabri sunt etiamnum Celticae gentis, deinde Astyres.' 'Celticum promunturium' is Mela's name for Cape Finisterra, iii. §§ 9, 12.

[3] In xxxiv. § 156 he says that it was 'fabulously related' that tin was got from islands in the Atlantic and that it was now known to come from Lusitania.

Spain, says that they are ten in number, and definitely places them in the Western Ocean, as opposed to the Cantabrian, or the waters on the north coast of Spain, adding the latitude and longitude (on his own system) of the middle one.

This review of the evidence has served to show us that in the minds of the ancient writers the Cassiterides had nothing to do with Britain, except in so far as Britain itself was assumed to be near Spain. We thus seem driven to the alternative view, adopted by Sir Charles Elton, that the Cassiterides were the small islands that fringe the Bay of Vigo[1]. But this view labours under great difficulties. For, if we are to accept the account of Strabo, only one of the ten was a desert isle, the rest being inhabited by men who wore black cloaks, with tunics reaching to their feet, and with girdles round their breasts, who walked about with staves, looking like the Furies of the Greek stage, and who lived in nomad-fashion off their flocks and herds. In exchange for the produce of their tin and lead mines and for the skins of their cattle they received pottery, salt, and brazen vessels from the merchants. The Romans, Strabo tells us, at last discovered the locality of the islands in spite of the desperate efforts of the Phoenicians to keep it secret, and, when Publius Crassus[2] crossed over to them, he found the

[1] About these islands I have been favoured with the following notice obtained by the Rev. R. W. M. Pope, D.D., from his brother, the English Chaplain at Lisbon. 'I can find no information about the number of islands in the Bay of Vigo. There are islands at the entrance, which stretch for some distance *along the coast*, and it is a mere matter of personal fancy as to where the Bay ends. The islands are very bare, almost all rock—very rugged. I have of course seen them often, passing close to them. There may be a few goats and possibly fishermen on them—nothing more. I have never heard of any traces of ancient mining on the islands (plenty on the mainland) nor can any one whom I have asked tell me—all information on such points in Spain and Portugal is scanty and uncertain. The largest island is, I daresay, 2 miles long by about $\frac{3}{8}$ broad, and the next about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile long by $\frac{1}{2}$ mile.'

[2] The suggestion of the late Mr. Bunbury (Hist. of Anc. Geog. vol. ii. p. 245, note 3), that this Publius Crassus was Caesar's lieutenant, will hardly commend itself to the student of Caesar. Crassus had a great deal

inhabitants extremely peaceable, and taught them to navigate the sea which separated them from the mainland, though the distance was greater than that to Britain. These last words are quite out of keeping with the view which would identify the Cassiterides with the islands about the Bay of Vigo [1].

What then are we to do when dislodged equally from either hypothesis as to the whereabouts of these mysterious islands? It seems that we must fall back upon the position of Herodotus who did not know that there were any Cassiterides. The Cassiterides in fact were originally only a name whereby the Greeks sought to satisfy their craving to know whence the Carthaginians got their tin. As the trade was conducted from Gadeira, they were naturally associated with Spain: but the coast of Spain is very bare of islands, and it was difficult to accommodate them there. Hence Strabo sends them out to sea, and modern geographers have until lately relegated them to the Scilly Isles. Like the island of Delos before it was chained, the Cassiterides floated at will: the name was a moving name like that of Thule. To attempt to localise it is as vain a task as to hunt for Panchaia or for the kingdom of Prester John.

Did the Phoenicians trade with Britain?

Still the Phoenicians must have got their tin from somewhere; and if they got any of it from the British Isles, it would account for the persistent connexion of *islands* with the trade. Is there then any evidence to show that the Phoenicians either of Gadeira or Carthage ever traded with the British Isles? The chief witness, it must be confessed, is a very shaky one, being Rufus Festus Avienus, a most confused and confusing writer of

too much work on his hands to allow of his taking a trip to the Bay of Vigo, much less to the Scilly Isles (which is Mr. Bunbury's own supposition). Besides he must have gone either with Caesar's orders or without. In either case we should have heard of the matter.

[1] As the language of Strabo is here rather obscure, it may be well to give it in the original—*ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Πόπλιος Κράσσος διαβὰς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔγνω τὰ μέταλλα ἐκ μικροῦ βάθους ὀρυττόμενα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰρηναίους ἐκ περιουσίας ἤδη τὴν θάλατταν ἐργάζεσθαι, ταύτην τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπέδειξε· καίπερ οὖσαν πλείω τῆς διεργούσης εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικήν*, iii, p. 175 ad fin.

metrical geography, who is assigned to the latter half of the fourth century of our era. In his Ora Maritima, a poem in iambic verse addressed to a youth named Probus, he claims to have derived part of his information from the records of the voyage of Himilco the Carthaginian :—

> 'Haec olim Himilco Poenus Oceano super
> Spectasse semet et probasse rettulit:
> Haec nos, ab imis Punicorum annalibus
> Prolata longo tempore, edidimus tibi.'
>
> 412–415, Wernsdorf.

This Himilco was dispatched by the Carthaginians to explore the coasts of Europe at the same time that Hanno was sent round Africa. We have no clue to the date of these voyages beyond the vague words of Pliny, who says that they took place in the most flourishing times of Carthage [1]. Pliny says nothing as to the distance to which the voyage of Himilco extended; nor does Avienus assert that he reached the British Isles, but only that he came to some islands called Oestrymnides, which were rich in tin and lead. Two days' sail from there, the poet goes on to say, was the Holy Isle, inhabited by the Hibernians, and near that again was the island of the Albiones—

> 'Propinqua rursus insula Albionum patet.'—112.

The Oestrymnides themselves are declared to have lain in a bay under a rocky promontory running south, and their inhabitants are described as a vigorous and proud race, skilled in mining, and much devoted to trade, who navigated vast waters in boats made of skin, whereby we are reminded of the coracles used by the Britons. In fact if we were to amalgamate the two sources of the tin trade known in Caesar's time—Spain and Britain—we should have something corresponding to the description of Avienus.

According to Avienus there was a trade kept up with the

[1] N. H. ii. § 169 'Carthaginis potentia florente;' v. § 8 'Punicis rebus florentissimis.'

Oestrymnides, both by the Tartessii, whom he regards as the early inhabitants of Gadeira[1] and by the Carthaginians.

Pytheas of Massilia.

Apart from the Phoenicians and their possible trade with Cornwall, it is to a Greek that the honour of discovering the British Isles belongs. It is characteristic of the Greek mind as contrasted with the Phoenician that the motive which brought this adventurous voyager to our shores was an interest in science.

Pytheas of Massilia has been called the Humboldt of antiquity. According to his own statement, as preserved to us in a quotation from Polybius in Strabo (ii. p. 104), he visited all Britain, so far as it was accessible, and after having returned from there, traversed the whole ocean-board of Europe from Gadeira (Cadiz) to the Tanais[2]. The scientific results of his voyages appear to have been published in two works, one of which we find referred to as *Τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ*, while the other is called Γῆς Περίοδος or Περίπλους[3].

His date.

As Pytheas occupies so unique a position with regard to our own country, it becomes of interest to ascertain his date as nearly as we can. Polybius complained of Eratosthenes for putting faith in Pytheas, adding that Dicaearchus did not (Str. ii. p. 104). Now Dicaearchus was a disciple of Aristotle (Cic. de Leg. iii. § 14), and his death is put somewhere about B.C. 285. It follows that Pytheas himself must have lived before this, though how much before it is impossible to say. This conclusion is confirmed by Pliny (N. H. xxxvii. § 35), who says that Timaeus (352–256 B.C.) accepted Pytheas' opinion about amber.

His credibility.

Like some travellers of later date Pytheas deserved more credit than he obtained. His character has suffered at the hands of Polybius and Strabo. Polybius declared that the

[1] Line 85 'Hic Gaddir urbs est, dicta Tartessus prius.'

[2] There is manifestly something wrong about this last assertion.

[3] These works, it may be surmised, are the 'diary' of Pytheas, which some writers speak of.

alleged extent of his travels was incredible to begin with, seeing that he was a private person and a poor man. 'Even Hermes himself,' added the historian, 'could not be believed, if he said that he had travelled so far.' In answer to this objection it has been conjectured by modern writers that Pytheas may have been sent out at the expense of the Massilian state, as Hanno and Himilco were by Carthage. Strabo seldom mentions the famous navigator without a sneer, and has no keener controversial thrust to make at a writer whose views he is criticizing than to say that 'he had believed Pytheas[1].' He classes him (p. 102) along with Euhemerus and Antiphanes[2] as a professional impostor, adding in another place (p. 295) that he had used his knowledge of astronomy and mathematics to obtain credence for fiction. As regards Thule Strabo himself lays claim to no knowledge, but assumes that Pytheas must have lied about it, because he had lied about places better known (iv. 5, § 5, p. 201). But when we come to inquire into the specific charges laid by Strabo against Pytheas it is surprising how little we can find to justify all this censure. One misstatement which he brings home to him is that the length of Britain was more than 20,000 stades, or 2,500 Roman miles, which is certainly an enormous exaggeration. Another is that Kent was several days' sail from Gaul (p. 63). This Pytheas might very well have said in good faith, having noted the time it took himself to get from the one coast to the other. We do not know from what point he deserted the coast of Gaul and made across to Britain.

In writing about Britain it is not necessary to go into the vexed question of Thule. Suffice it to say that Pytheas spoke of a country under that name as being 'six days' sail to the

[1] For Strabo's unfavourable estimate of Pytheas see pp. 63, 64, 75, 102, 104, 114, 115, 136, 148, 158, 190, 195, 201, 295.

[2] From Antiphanes of Berga the name Βεργαῖος came to be used for a liar generally. Eratosthenes applied it to Euhemerus. See Str. pp. 47, 104.

northward of Britain, and near the Frozen Sea' (Str. p. 63 ad init.; cp. Plin. N. H. iv. § 104). In this region, as we are informed by Pliny (N. H. ii. § 187), Pytheas recorded that the days and nights were six months long. Here, too, our mariner declared that 'the world came to an end in a substance that was neither sea nor land nor air, but a compound of these, like a jelly-fish, in which earth and sea and all things hung suspended, and that this served as a kind of bond of the universe, through which one could neither walk nor sail.' This remarkable statement is expressly made on hearsay by Pytheas. All that he depones to himself is having seen the jelly-fish appearance[1]. Perhaps he had only seen a good sea-fog.

Notwithstanding his denunciation of Pytheas Strabo admits the accuracy of his astronomical and mathematical views with regard to the countries bordering on the frozen zone, and quotes without dissent his observations on the paucity of vegetable and animal life, as one advanced northward, the sustentation of life on coarse cereals, berries, and roots, the manufacture of mead from corn and honey, where these were to be had, and the use of large barns in place of threshing floors, which were rendered useless owing to the rain and the absence of sunshine (iv. 5, § 5, p. 201). Other eminent writers in antiquity accorded a far less grudging acceptance to the statements of Pytheas. Eratosthenes had some doubts as to the extent of his travels, which might well be inspired by the mention of the Tanais, but he accepted him as an authority on Britain and Spain; Hipparchus is repeatedly censured by Strabo for his belief in him; Pliny nowhere questions his veracity and names him as an authority for three of his books. In more modern times his reputation has been warmly defended by his great countryman Gassendi.

The only mention of the British Isles that occurs in an extant Greek author prior to the time of Caesar is in Polybius (iii. 57). Polybius.

[1] *τὸ μὲν οὖν τῷ πλεύμονι ἐοικὸς αὐτὸς ἑωρακέναι, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ λέγειν ἐξ ἀκοῆς*, Str. ii. 4.

That philosophical historian had himself travelled in Africa, Spain, and Gaul, and he promises to correct some of the erroneous notions of his predecessors with regard to the western extremities of the world, when he reaches a convenient point in his treatise (iii. 58, 59). Unfortunately the part of his history in which he redeemed this promise has not come down to us.

The De Mundo.

It used indeed to be supposed that the British Isles had had the honour of being mentioned by Aristotle. But though the treatise De Mundo emanated from his school, it certainly did not proceed from his pen, and critics are not now inclined to place it much earlier than the Christian era. It is there (iii. § 12) stated that in the Ocean, outside the Pillars of Hercules and beyond the country of the Celts, there are two very large islands called the British Isles [1], Albion and Ierne.

The British Isles.

We may note in passing that on their first introduction to the literary public of Europe England and Ireland were united under a common appellation. It is 'the British Isles' of which both Polybius and the Peripatetic writer speak, as a collective term for England and Ireland together with the smaller islands that cluster round them. Although with Caesar the largest of these islands has engrossed the common designation, yet Pliny reminds us that Albion was the proper name of the island which is now divided into England and Scotland [2], and it is under this name, in its Greek form Ἀλουίων [3], that the geographer Ptolemy treats of it. Beginning his map of Europe from the west, that author deals first with Ireland, which he calls Ἰουερνία, and then with England and Scotland, but to each island alike he gives the name of Βρετανικὴ νῆσος.

Dispute as to whether Britain was an island.

For a long time very little was known to the Greeks about Britain, but the interest it excited was in proportion to their ignorance, and a lively controversy was kept up among men of

[1] Βρετανικαὶ λεγόμεναι.

[2] 'Albion ipsi nomen fuit, cum Britanniae vocarentur omnes de quibus mox paulo dicemus,' Plin. N. H. iv. § 102.

[3] In the De Mundo, iii. § 12, it is Ἄλβιον.

leisure and learning as to whether it was really an island or a new continent. This dispute was not settled until the fleet of Agricola sailed round its shores (Tac. Agr. 10 and 38). The knowledge then gained was confirmed at a later date by the expedition of the invalid, but energetic, emperor Severus, who was carried to John o' Groat's in his litter (D. C. xxxix. 50; lxxvi. 13).

Scipio's inquiries about Britain.

The interest of the Romans in Britain was naturally subsequent to that of the Greeks, and was more practical than scientific. Polybius' friend and patron Scipio Aemilianus made inquiries about it from residents in what were then the three chief cities in Gaul, Massilia, Narbo, and Corbilo on the Loire (a place which afterwards disappeared from history), but failed to obtain any information worth having. This is mentioned by Polybius to the detriment of Pytheas, who presumed to know where others were ignorant (Str. iv. 2, § 1, p. 190)[1]. The earliest reference to Britain by a Roman writer is Lucr. vi. 1106—

Mention by Lucretius.

> 'Nam quid Brittanni caelum differre putamus,
> Et quod in Aegypto est,' &c.?

Let us now inquire how far the ideas of the Ancients were in accordance with fact as regards the size, shape, and situation of Britain.

Ideas of the Ancients as to (1) the size of Britain,

We have seen already that the first explorer Pytheas vastly overestimated the length of the island, putting it at 20,000 stades, or 2,500 Roman miles (Str. i. p. 63). According to Strabo he imagined the whole circumference to amount to more than 40,000 stades (Str. ii. p. 104), or 5,000 Roman miles. This is roughly corroborated by Pliny, who says that Pytheas

[1] By a strange misconception Sir Charles Elton makes out the Scipio of this passage to be 'the first of the Cornelian clan whose name appears in history.' The acceptance of this view would push back the Roman knowledge of, or rather interest in, Britain by more than two centuries and would make it prior to that of the Greeks.

[2] Munro's reading in which 'Brittanni' is gen. sing.

and Isidorus made the circumference of the island to be 4,875 miles (N. H. iv. 102).

If a line be drawn from point to point along our coasts, without following the indentations, the south is found to give 330 English miles[1], the east 596, the west 668, and the north 74, which gives a total of 1,668 miles for the circumference.

Caesar, regarding the island as a triangle, recognises a west coast, which he puts at 700 miles: but what we regard as the east coast was to him the north coast, with the exception of the corner which 'looks towards Germany' (v. 13, § 6). This north coast he says is considered to be 800 miles long. If an island has three sides, of which one faces north and the other west, it follows that the third must run from the north to the west, and this was apparently Caesar's opinion with regard to the trend of the coast from Kent to the Land's End. He does not say that the whole of the side which was opposite Gaul looked south, but only the lower corner of Kent (v. 13, § 1). This third side he reckons at about 500 miles, which brings the circumference of the island up to 2,000 miles, an estimate which is less than the truth, if we follow all the bendings of the coast, but more than what is got by measuring from one prominent point to another.

Although Diodorus Siculus wrote after Caesar, he seems to have preferred the authority of the Greek mathematician to that of the Roman general. As his statement of the length of Britain coincides with that of Pytheas, it seems fair to infer that his other measurements are derived from the same source. According to him the shortest side, which stretches along Europe, is 7,500 stades, the side which reaches from the strait to the apex of the triangle 15,000, and the third side 20,000, so that the whole circumference amounts to 42,500 stades, or 5,312½ Roman miles. This accords with what Strabo says as to Pytheas making the circumference 'more than 40,000 stades,'

[1] The English mile is greater than the Roman by something less than a tenth.

and at the same time supplies us with the exact figures by which that conclusion was reached.

Strabo himself does not venture on any estimate as to the size of Britain, except as regards the south coast, which he declares to be the longest, and which he tells us is exactly coextensive with that of Gaul, the latter being measured from the mouths of the Rhine to the northern heights of the Pyrenees in Aquitania. Kent, according to him, was opposite to the mouths of the Rhine, and the Land's End to the Pyrenees. Each coast he says is about 4,300 or 4,400 stades (= 550 Roman miles)[1]. In order to understand these extraordinary statements we must bear in mind that in Strabo's view the coast of Gaul ran in one unbroken line from the Rhine to the Pyrenees; he had no idea of the Bay of Biscay. Moreover he thought that the Pyrenees ran from south to north and were pretty nearly parallel to the Rhine (iv. 1, § 1, p. 177; cp. iv. 2, § 1, p. 190).

Pliny takes no notice of Caesar's estimate, but says that Agrippa put the length of the island at 800 miles and the breadth at 300. It does not appear that Agrippa himself ever visited Britain, but he was more than once in Gaul, and was a high authority on geography, as he made an official map of the world (Plin. N. H. iii. § 17: cp. iv. § 81).

Tacitus, though he had the advantage of the explorations made by his father-in-law Agricola, was too much occupied with picturesque description to condescend to statistics. He is content to say that it was the largest island known to the Romans. By the time of Dio Cassius, who wrote, not only after the conquests of Agricola, but after those of Severus, the dimensions of Britain ought to have been more exactly determined. But the length of the island is still more exaggerated by that writer (lxxvi. 12), who puts it at 7,132 stades (= 891½ Roman miles), than it is by Caesar and Agrippa. As

[1] Str. iv. 5, § 1, p. 199. Cp. i. p. 63, which is one of the passages in which he criticizes Pytheas.

regards the breadth however Dio Cassius is pretty accurate, making it at the greatest 2,310 stades (= $288\frac{3}{4}$ Roman miles) and at the least 300 (= $37\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles).

(2) the shape of Britain,

As regards the shape of Britain the first idea was that it was a scalene triangle. We have seen reason to believe that this was the view of Pytheas, and it was held by Caesar himself, by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Mela, of whom Diodorus and Mela compared it to Sicily. Livy however, whose 105th book is a great loss in this connexion, thought that the shape of Britain would be better expressed by calling it a rhomboid, and either he or a later writer named Fabius Rusticus likened it to the blade of a battle-axe, upon which Tacitus (Agr. 10) remarks that this leaves out of sight the enormous wedge-like protuberance added to the island by Caledonia. Tacitus does not tell us in what direction this wedge projected, but perhaps he shared in the mistaken idea afterwards held by Ptolemy, that Caledonia bulged out to the east.

(3) the situation of Britain.

The supposed situation of Britain has already incidentally been touched upon. We have seen how Strabo regarded the south coast of the island as lying all along the coast of Gaul from the Rhine to the Pyrenees. He asserts that Kent is visible from the mouth of the Rhine[1]. The Pyrenees, the Garonne, the Loire, the Seine, and the Rhine lay in his view pretty nearly parallel in a direction from south to north[2]. Hence the four passages which he tells us were habitually used from Gaul to Britain, namely from the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne (iv. 5, § 2, p. 199) are regarded by him as being about the same length. What he says of the length of Caesar's passage in one place (ibid.) he extends to the rivers of Gaul generally in another (iv. 3, § 4, p. 193). In spite of Caesar's statement that the passage from Itium was 30 miles

[1] iv. p. 63 *καὶ τά γε ἑῷα ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ μέχρις ἐπόψεως, τό τε Κάντιον καὶ αἱ τοῦ Ῥήνου ἐκβολαί*. Cp. iv. 3, § 3, p. 193, where this statement is repeated.

[2] Cp. iv. 1, § 1, p. 177; 2, § 1, p. 190; 3, § 3, p. 193.

(iv. 2, § 2), Strabo puts it at 320 stades or 40 Roman miles. It is this passage which Strabo is really referring to when he talks of the passage from the Rhine. He explains at last that in starting from the neighbourhood of that river people did not actually sail from the mouth, but from the country of the Morini, in which was Itium (iv. 5, § 2, p. 199).

The statements of Diodorus Siculus on this subject are more correct and less confusing than those of Strabo. The island, he says, lies obliquely along the coast of Europe. It has three promontories, Cantium, 'where the sea makes its outflow,' Belerium (i. e. the Land's End) at the other extremity, and a third, which runs out into the ocean and is called Orcas [1]. The distance across the Straits of Dover is understated by Diodorus, who makes it only 100 stades or 12½ Roman miles; but he says that Belerium is four days' sail from the Continent.

Mela (iii. § 50) says that Britain lies to the north-west, that it has a great corner facing the mouths of the Rhine, and that then the sides go back obliquely, one of them looking towards Gaul, the other towards Germany, and finally form two more angles with the third side, so that the whole island is very like Sicily. He tells us also that Europe is bounded on the north by the British Ocean (i. § 15), and that the Pyrenees run into this ocean (ii. § 85). Pliny (iv. § 102) speaks to much the same effect, but adds that Britain lies 'opposite, at a great distance, to Germany, Gaul, Spain, and by far the greatest parts of Europe.' The term 'British Ocean' is confined by Pliny (iv. § 109) to the sea between the Seine and the Rhine.

That Diodorus Siculus and, to some extent, Strabo should ignore Caesar's views is only part of the systematic neglect of Roman writers by the Greeks. One may read through some of the Greek authors under the Empire without ever being reminded that there was such a thing as Roman literature. But it is more surprising that Pliny, in spite of Caesar's precise statement of the length of the passage from Gaul to Britain,

[1] Acc. Ὄρκαν, D. S. v. 12, § 3.

should say that the distance is 50 miles by the shortest sea-route from Gesoriacum[1] (iv. § 102).

What Tacitus (Agr. 10) has to tell us as to the situation of Britain is that it lies over against Germany to the east and Spain to the west, that it is within sight of Gaul on the south, but that its northern parts are beaten by a vast and open sea.

Dio Cassius (xxxix. 50, § 2) informs us that Britain is distant from the mainland of Belgium, at the country of the Morini, 450 stades (= 56¼ Roman miles) at the shortest, and that it stretches along the rest of Gaul and almost all Spain. The statement which has been already quoted from him as to the breadth of Britain is evidently the result of later information obtained in consequence of the operations of Severus.

The tides. To the Greeks and Romans accustomed to the almost tideless seas of the Mediterranean the ebb and flow of the Ocean was a standing source of marvel. Various theories were started to account for this strange phenomenon. Some thought that it was caused by the breathing of the mighty being on whose breast we dwell (Mela iii. § 2). Cotta, who supports the Academic position in Cicero's De Natura Deorum, is content to set down the regular recurrence of the tides in Spain and Britain to nature[2].

To Pytheas is ascribed by Plutarch the credit of having detected the connexion between the tides and the moon. This theory is vaguely referred to on hearsay in the Aristotelian De Mundo (iv. § 35). Mela (iii. § 2) speaks of the movements of the tides and the moon as a notable case of concomitant variations. By Pliny (ii. § 212) the cause of the tides is confidently declared to be the sun and moon. The same author (ii. § 217) relates Pytheas to have recorded that above

[1] Gesoriacum, the modern Boulogne, is supposed to have been built just below the site of Caesar's Itium.

[2] N. D. iii. § 24 'quid? aestus maritimi vel Hispanienses vel Britannici eorumque certis temporibus vel accessus vel recessus sine deo fieri non possunt?'

Britain the tides rose to a height of eighty cubits, which is nearly 120 feet. If Pytheas said this, he must certainly have drawn the long bow. The average height of the tides is seven feet, though in creeks and inlets it may be considerably greater. In the Bay of Fundy in Nova Scotia the tide is said to rise as much as fifty feet.

Tidal rivers.

The way in which the rivers of Britain are affected by the tides is noticed by Mela (iii. § 51), who puts the matter however in a somewhat topsy-turvy way, saying that 'at one time they flow into the sea and at another time flow back.'

Intermingling of sea and land.

After the conquests of Agricola had opened Caledonia to the Romans, the intermingling of sea and land in those parts was noticed with surprise. Tacitus has a passage, characterized by the usual 'dim magnificence' of his style, in which he is evidently referring to the Scottish firths[1]. Perhaps the marshes in which Herodian (iii. 14) describes the naked Britons as disporting themselves by swimming and running, regardless of the mud, are these same estuaries at low water.

Caesar on the tides.

Caesar himself was ignorant of the action of the moon on the tides until taught by experience, and suffered the penalty of ignorance in the damage done to his ships in Britain (iv. 29)[2]. In iii. 12, § 1 we have the startling assertion that the tides occur twice in twelve hours. Editors have endeavoured by different expedients to remove this strange misstatement, but there stands the passage in the MSS. It becomes more possible to imagine that Caesar might have made such a mistake, if we bear in mind that he did not take command in person of his fleet during its operations on the coast of Armorica, but entrusted it to Decimus Brutus (iii. 11, § 5)[3]. On the whole however it is easier to

[1] Agr. 10, 'Nusquam latius dominari mare.' &c.

[2] He says 'nostrisque id erat incognitum,' not 'nobis': but it was plainly the business of the general to provide against such a contingency, if he had possessed the requisite knowledge.

[3] It is curious, though probably not significant, that some words of Eratosthenes about the tides lend themselves by an easy misinterpretation to the false statement made by Caesar. That author, in speaking of the

ascribe a blunder of this kind to Caesar's copyists than to Caesar himself. He had learnt something about the tides by the time he sat down to write his work. A matter of practical concern of this kind is the very last on which he is likely to have continued in error.

Practical experience of Caesar.

Caesar's statements have a ring of actual experience about them very different from those of the merely literary man who has drawn his experience from books. If he dwells on the boisterous waves and violent winds of the ocean (iii. 8, § 1; 14, §§ 6, 7, 9), it is because he had found how ill his Mediterranean-built galleys were fitted to cope with them, though that sea itself can raise very respectable waves when it is in the mood to do so. Some indeed who have crossed from Dover to Calais might feel inclined to dispute his observation that the waves in the strait rise less high than elsewhere; nevertheless it must be admitted that there is truth at the bottom of it, even if we question his explanation of the fact as being due to the frequent changes in the tide (v. 1, § 2). Very different from such statements is the hearsay remark of Tacitus as to the sluggishness of the waters round the north coast of Britain, 'which yield with difficulty to the oar and are hardly raised by the winds' (Agr. 10). If Agricola's sailors could get round Cape Wrath, and then give anything like this as the result of their experience, they must have been singularly fortunate in their weather.

From the external features of our island let us now advance to the internal, of which the most important is climate.

Climate of Britain.

The first idea, which is represented by Diodorus Siculus (v. 21, § 6), was that the climate of Britain must be very cold, as the country lay so far to the north. Experience, however, corrected this impression. Caesar (v. 12, § 6) remarks that the

flux and reflux in the straits of Messina, says, as quoted by Strabo (i. p. 54), *δίς τε γὰρ μεταβάλλειν τὸν ῥοῦν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, καθάπερ τὸν ὠκεανόν, δὶς μὲν πλημμυρεῖν, δὶς δὲ ἀναχωρεῖν.* Now we know that Caesar used Eratosthenes. See vi. 24, § 2. Pliny (ii. § 212) puts the matter in a way that admits of no mistake, 'Bis inter duos exortuus lunae adfluunt bisque remeant vicenis quaternisque semper horis.'

climate is more temperate than that of Gaul, that is, neither so hot nor so cold. Strabo (iv. 5, § 2, p. 200) adds that there is more rain than snow, and speaks of the long continuance of mist, and how during the whole day the sun is sometimes visible only for three or four hours about noon. Somewhat the same observation as to the absence of sunshine might be made by a visitor from Italy now; but there must have been still more cause for it then, before the country had been cleared of woods and marshes. Tacitus (Agr. 12) speaks to the same effect as to the frequency of mist and cloud, but adds that there is no extreme cold. If the climate even of South Britain was dark and sunless in those days, how much more must this have held true of Caledonia! There, says Herodian (iii. 14), 'the air appears always murky,' a fact which he attributes to the exhalations from the marshes.

The comparative mildness of the British climate is attributed now to the Gulf Stream as its cause. Of this the Ancients knew nothing, but they held that the sea contained heat in itself like an animal body (Cic. N. D. ii. § 26). Minucius Felix adduces as one of the proofs of a Divine Providence the way in which the deficiency of sunlight in Britain was compensated by the warmth of the sea that flowed round it[1].

Length of the summer days.

The length of the summer days, and conversely the shortness of the nights, was a salient feature of Britain in the eyes of the Ancients[2]. It was a point that attracted especial interest, because their men of science had already arrived on *a priori* grounds at the conviction that this must be so, and that at the North Pole there must be day and night for six months continuously. It had been ascertained that at Meroe in Aethiopia the longest day was something over twelve equinoctial hours, at Alexandria fourteen, and in Italy fifteen. By Pliny's time it had been determined that the longest day in Britain was seventeen

[1] Octavius 18, § 3 'Britannia sole deficitur, sed circumfluentis maris tepore recreatur.'

[2] Juv. Sat. ii. 161 'ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.'

hours[1]. Very wild ideas however were abroad on this subject, as the one referred to by Caesar (v. 13, § 3), that in Mona there was night for thirty days continuously at midwinter, an error which was rife in a still more exaggerated form in the time of Pliny[2]. Caesar's treatment of this question is conceived in a spirit of scientific caution. He could find out nothing about the matter by inquiry, but he took definite measurements with the water-clock, which convinced him that the nights in Britain were shorter than those on the Continent. Tacitus (Agr. 12) says that the days in Britain were longer than those of the Roman world, that the night there was bright, and in the furthest part short, so that there was only a slight interval between sunset and sunrise. 'They assert,' he adds, 'that if clouds do not interfere, the brightness of the sun is beheld during the night, and that it does not set and rise, but passes across the horizon.'

General character of the country.

The general character of the country is correctly described by Strabo (iv. 5, § 2, p. 199), if we take his words to apply to South Britain. He says it is mostly plain and well wooded, but that there are also many hills covered with soil[3]. Mela speaks to much the same effect, saying that the country is large and level and fertile, though richer in grass than in corn. He also mentions the woods and forests and the great size of the rivers, of which his informants probably judged from their mouths. From that point of view the Thames, Severn, and Clyde are more impressive than the Rhine or Danube.

[1] According to our almanacs the longest days are a little over 16½ hours, but the calculation is made for the latitude of Greenwich. For Pliny's statements on this subject see N. H. ii. § 186; vi. § 220.

[2] He says (N. H. ii. § 187) that some people assert that in Mona the day and night are of six months' duration. Mona, he adds, is distant about 200 miles from Camalodunum (Colchester). In Pomona Pliny's remark about the 'aestate lucidae noctes' of Britain becomes quite apposite. There one can take a midnight walk in summer by a very fair light which is not that of the moon.

[3] Πολλὰ δὲ γεώλοφα τῶν χωρίων ἐστί. In Plato Critias 111 C γήλοφος is distinguished from ὄρος by the presence of soil.

The chief produce is declared by Strabo to have been corn, cattle, gold, silver, and iron. Tacitus notices the absence of the olive and vine and other products of a warmer climate, but says that apart from these the country is fertile and well suited for crops. He adds that the latter spring up quickly but ripen slowly, and assigns the same cause for both facts, namely, the abundance of moisture in the soil and atmosphere. Caesar's statement (v. 12, § 5) that all the trees of Gaul were to be found in Britain, with the exception of the 'fagus' and 'abies,' has given rise to much controversy. With regard to the latter, Loudon[1] finds an easy way out of the difficulty by identifying it, not with the Scotch pine, which is believed to be indigenous, but with the silver fir, of which he says that it 'not only does not grow wild in England, but was not introduced into this country till modern times.' With regard to the former, the simplest explanation seems to be that Caesar did not happen to notice any beeches during his hurried visits to Kent[2]. Produce.

Our Celtic predecessors had to forgo many fruits which we now enjoy, owing in some measure to Roman occupation of the country. There were no cherries in Italy until after the victory of Lucullus over Mithridates, about the year of the city 680 (B.C. 73). Lucullus first brought them from Pontus, and 120 years later they crossed the ocean into Britain (Plin. N. H. xv. § 102). The peach (*persicum*) reached us from Persia, the quince (*cydonium*) from Crete, and the apricot (*Armeniacum*) from Armenia. The 'herba Britannica,' which played an impor-

[1] Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum, vol. i. p. 21. I have to thank Mr. G. Claridge Druce, Hon. M.A. Oxon., for the reference.

[2] Loudon mentions an assertion made by another writer, that the 'fagus' of the Romans was our chestnut and their 'castanea' our beech, which he is tempted to make use of to explain the difficult line in Vergil (Geor. ii. 71), where the fruit of the 'fagus' appears to be preferred to that of the 'castanea.' The difficulty arises from the manuscript reading of the passage 'Et steriles platani malos gessere valentes, Castaneae fagos.' Modern editors eliminate it by a change of reading. Another hypothesis that has been held is that the Roman 'fagus' is the 'quercus aesculus.'

tant part in the pharmacopoeia of the Ancients, being regarded as a specific against the quinsy and against snake-bites, provided it was gathered before thunder was heard, might seem from its name to have reached the Romans from our island: but this appears not to have been the case, although it grew there among other places (Plin. N. H. xxv. § 20; xxvii. § 2).

Minerals. The supposed mineral wealth of Britain attracted the cupidity of the Romans. Tacitus, like Strabo, talks of its possessing gold, silver, and other metals, which made it worth while to conquer it. Caesar himself (v. 12, § 4) appears to mention gold coins as being in use in Britain. The reading, it is true, is very doubtful, but it is supported by the views of numismatists, who hold that gold coins were struck in Britain about a century before Caesar's landing. However that may be, Caesar himself got no gold out of the country. For we find Cicero, who was in correspondence with his brother Quintus, and with Caesar himself, when they were in Britain, writing to Trebatius then in Gaul, 'I hear that there is no gold or silver in Britain' (Ad Fam. vii. 7, § 1). He expresses himself to the same effect to Atticus (iv. 16, § 13) with regard to silver, 'This also is now ascertained, that there is not a scruple of silver in that island, nor any hope of booty, except from slaves, among whom I don't suppose you expect any trained in the *belles-lettres*.' Expressions like these, however, cannot be pressed as evidence for the absence of the precious metals, especially as Cicero himself (Ad Att. iv. 17, § 3) speaks of a money tribute as having been imposed upon Britain by Caesar on his departure [1].

Of iron Caesar (v. 12, § 5) says that it was found on the sea-coast, but only in small quantities. This doubtless means that only the natives of the south coast had the skill to extract it

[1] Caesar himself (v. 22, § 4) uses the word 'vectigal,' which might be taken to indicate that the tribute was to be paid in kind. Diodorus Siculus (v. 21, § 2) however says—*καὶ τοὺς Πρεττανοὺς καταπολεμήσας ἠνάγκασε τελεῖν ὡρισμένους φόρους*, and Suetonius (J. C. 25) 'Aggressus et Britannos, ignotos antea; superatisque pecunias et obsides imperavit.'

from the soil. Iron mines were worked until recently in Sussex. That the metal must have been rare in those times is shown by its use as money. In the time of Severus it was still used as an ornament by the Caledonians. 'They bedeck,' says Herodian (iii. 14), 'their flanks and necks with iron, regarding this as an ornament and a sign of wealth, as the other barbarians do gold.' The copper or bronze (*aes*) used in the island Caesar tells us was imported. Of silver he says nothing. In bronze or the alloy called *aes*, which went under the same name as the copper which was its chief factor, tin (*plumbum album*) was an important ingredient. This was a specially British product and the subject of an important trade, of which we shall have occasion to speak presently. The tin-district was not however the inland parts, as Caesar says, but Cornwall[1].

Pearls.

To the covetous dreams of the Romans Britain presented itself not only as an El Dorado of the precious metals, but as being stocked with gems and pearls (Mela, iii. § 51). Suetonius (J. C. 47) recounts some gossip which represented Caesar's motive for visiting Britain as being a desire to obtain pearls. If this were so, the expedition might be regarded as a success. For Caesar dedicated a breastplate which purported to be made of British pearls to Venus Genetrix in her temple. Pliny (N. H. ix. § 116) notices however that they were small and of a bad colour. Tacitus also depreciates the British pearls, calling them 'somewhat dark and livid[2].' Some people attributed their inferior quality to the fact that the oyster was not plucked alive from the rocks, as in the Indian Ocean, but gathered when thrown up by the waves. But the Roman historian himself thought a defect in Nature more probable than

[1] The Rev. Henry Furneaux remarks 'It is rather curious to find no mention in Caesar of lead. This metal must have been afterwards much worked by Romans, as we find the stamped pigs from the Mendips almost immediately after the Claudian invasion, and many others afterwards.'

[2] 'Subfusca ac liventia,' Tac. Agr. 12.

a defect of avarice in his countrymen, in not taking the proper pains to secure the best specimens.

Oysters.

But if the Romans were disappointed in the pearls of Britain, they were compensated by the excellence of the mollusc that produced them. The oysters of Britain became famous under the Empire, and were held to surpass in flavour even those of the Lucrine lake. Everyone will remember the gourmand in Juvenal (Sat. iv. 140–2), who was skilled to detect at the first bite whether a given oyster was a native of Circeii or came from a bottom at Richborough. Mucianus, who was the greatest authority of his age on this subject, could only find one oyster which he considered sweeter than the British, namely, that which came from Cyzicus (Plin. N. H. ix. § 169; xxxii. § 62).

Abstention from certain kinds of food.

Our Celtic ancestors, it is to be feared, neglected their gastronomic advantages. The Caledonians abstained altogether from fish, thereby cutting themselves off from an abundance of good food (D. C. lxxxvi. 12). Hares, geese, and poultry were kept by the South Britons as pets, but they considered it contrary to sound religion to eat them (v. 12, § 6). Probably the Romans taught them to overcome these prejudices, as the *chenerotes*, which Pliny speaks of as a kind of goose, came to be regarded in Britain as a great delicacy[1]. The aversion from hare's flesh lingers among the peasantry of Ireland to the present day.

Amber.

Another product, which was highly prized in the Roman market, was erroneously considered by some people to have its origin in Britain. This was the mysterious amber, which came from no one exactly knew where. A Greek named Sotacus was of opinion that it flowed from rocks in Britain (Plin. N. H. xxxvii. § 35).

Resemblance of the Britons to the Homeric Heroes.

When the Ancients first became acquainted with Britain, they seemed to be transported back to the Heroic Age. For here was a people simple and magnanimous, destitute indeed of culture, but untouched by the vices of civilisation. Their

[1] Plin. N. H. x. § 56 'Anseris genera sunt chenalopeces et quibus lautiores epulas non novit Britannia, chenerotes fere ansere minores.'

manners, we are told, were marked by a frank honesty and an absence of luxury (D. S. v. 21, § 6); the war-chariots, too, which had long vanished from Greece, were to be seen here in full play. One difference was noticed between the British warriors and those described by Homer, namely, that the person of chief consequence took the reins[1]. This surprised the Greeks, and still more the Romans, who thought driving undignified.

War-chariots.

Caesar (iv. 33) has described with admiration the skill of the *essedarii*, or, as Tacitus calls them, *covinnarii* (Agr. 35, 36), in managing their small but swift horses (D. C. lxxvi. 12). He also admits the terror that was caused among his own men when this mode of fighting was still strange to them (v. 15, § 4). Although Strabo speaks of the Britons 'using chariots in war for the most part, like some of the Celts,' and Lucan ascribes the practice to the Belgae[2], yet Caesar certainly leads us to infer that this feature was peculiar, in his experience, to Britain.

Equipment and mode of fighting.

Beyond their use of chariots Caesar has left us no description of the equipment or mode of fighting of the enemy whom he encountered in Britain. We have to eke out his deficiencies by the accounts of later writers, which relate chiefly to the Caledonians, who were then the enemy. It is doubtless they whom Tacitus had in view when he said that the strength of the Britons lay in infantry, though some tribes fought from the chariot. Dio Cassius also praises the infantry of the Caledonians, saying that they were swift in running and sturdy in a *mêlée*. Their weapons were a shield and short spear, with a brazen ball at its butt end, which swung loose, so as to make a clatter and frighten the enemy: they also wore dirks. Herodian (iii. 14) speaks to much the same effect, saying that they wore only a narrow shield and spear, with a sword slung by

[1] Tac. Agr. 12 'honestior auriga, clientes propugnant.'

[2] i. 426 'et docilis rector monstrati Belga covinni.' 'Rostrati' has been suggested here instead of 'monstrati.'

their naked sides, but did not use breastplates or helmets, which they regarded as an impediment to crossing the marshes, by which he apparently means the firths. These barbarians are described as most warlike and bloodthirsty, and as capable of enduring all hardships and privations. Dio Cassius tells us that they would bury themselves in the marshes for days with their heads only above water—for what reason he omits to state—and that they could live in the woods on bark and roots; moreover, that they provided themselves with a kind of food, a portion of which, about the size of a bean, secured them against hunger and thirst.

Varying degrees of civilisation.

But to come back to Caesar. Already in his time there were Britons and Britons, and some were more civilised than others. The men of Kent did not differ much in their habits and customs from the Gauls. This being so, it may be remarked in passing, we cannot apply to them what Caesar tells us about the relations between the sexes in Britain. But the comparative civilisation of the coast is contrasted by our author with the barbarism of the interior. *There* people clothed themselves in skins, whence we may infer that in Kent they wore good tartan plaid as in Gaul; *there* also, as a rule, they had not reached the agricultural, but were still in the pastoral stage. *All* the Britons however, Caesar expressly asserts, dyed themselves with woad, which produced a blue colour, and made them more terrible to look at in battle. He also mentions that they wore their hair long and cultivated moustachios, but otherwise were clean-shaven. We get little more than an echo of Caesar in Mela, who says that there were many tribes and kings in Britain, but that they were all uncivilised, and the more barbarous the further distant they were from the Continent; that their wealth consisted only in cattle and land, and that they dyed their bodies with woad, whether with a view to beauty or from some other motive. He adds that they were constantly at war between themselves, whereas Diodorus Siculus says just the opposite, namely, that there were many kings and

potentates in Britain, and that for the most part they lived at peace with one another. Strabo, in speaking of the manners of the Britons, says that they were partly like those of the Gauls, partly simpler and more barbarous; among some there was no cheese, gardening, or husbandry.

We must therefore not regard the inhabitants of our islands in Caesar's time as a homogeneous people, but must recognise varying degrees of civilisation or savagery among tribes, who must have differed to some extent in language, and may even have differed in race. But that none of them could have attained to a very high level is best shown by what Caesar says about their 'towns' (v. 21, § 3), which were mere forest fastnesses. This is confirmed also by Strabo (iv. 5, § 2, p. 200), who says, 'Now their towns are the woods; for having felled trees and fenced round a broad circular space, they construct huts for themselves there and stall their cattle, but not for a long time.' The last words of Strabo might seem to point to a nomad life, but we get the clue to their interpretation from Caesar, who tells us that these 'towns' were intended as refuges against attack.

The British 'towns.'

But though the Britons had no towns in our sense of the word, or rather because they had no towns, the country was dotted over with buildings, for the population is described as very thick[1]. These buildings are said by Caesar to have been very like those of the Gauls. Diodorus Siculus, probably following Pytheas, speaks of them slightingly as poverty-stricken structures, chiefly of reed or wood.

Buildings.

That the tribes with whom Caesar himself came into contact were agricultural is plain from the fact that he ravaged their crops. A very rude method of harvesting is described by Diodorus, which consisted in storing away the grain ears and all. By the time of Pliny, British agriculture was able to supply hints even to the Romans. That encyclopaedic author mentions how in Britain and Gaul marl was used to fatten the earth,

Agriculture.

[1] v. 12, § 3 'Hominum est infinita multitudo creberrimaque aedificia.' Cp. D. S. v. 21, § 6—*εἶναι δὲ καὶ πολυάνθρωπον τὴν νῆσον.*

and how in Britain in particular *creta argentaria* was dug up from pits sunk a hundred feet deep into the ground, and was used for the same purpose. The effect, he says, lasted for eighty years, and there was no instance of any one having thrown it on his land twice in a lifetime (N.H. xvii. §§ 42, 45).

Political institutions. With regard to the political institutions of the Britons, we have very little information. Diodorus Siculus speaks of their being under kings and potentates[1]. Caesar talks of kings, of whom there were four in Kent alone (v. 22, § 1), and of *principes*. Strabo speaks only of δυναστεῖαι. Tacitus, writing of Agricola's time, says that formerly the Britons obeyed kings, but that then they were under *principes* and torn by factions, noticing the same inability to combine which we have already found to mark the Gauls. Dio Cassius at a still later date says of the Caledonii and Maeatae that their government was mostly democratical. Even in Caesar's time the people counted for something, so far at all events as to serve as an excuse for a measure which the chiefs desired to repudiate (iv. 27, § 4).

Boats. As the Britons furnished aid to the Gauls against Caesar (iii. 9, § 10; iv. 20, § 1), it has been inferred that they must have had ships like the Veneti: beyond this there is no evidence for it. The only vessels that we hear of in connexion with them are the coracles, which were mere wicker-work covered with leather. In these, according to the historian Timaeus, who can only be following Pytheas, they would take a six days' voyage to the island of Mictis, whence the tin came (Plin. N. H. iv. § 104; vii. § 206). These boats, says Pliny, 'are made even now in the British Ocean[2].'

Commerce. Such trade as there was in Britain during Caesar's time was carried on by the Veneti (iii. 8, § 1). Strabo (iv. 4, § 1) tells us

[1] Δυνάσται. Liddell and Scott say of this word, 'In Polyb. of *petty chiefs*, Livy's *reguli*.'

[2] With the substitution of tarred canvas for skins they are used still in certain parts of our islands. My late brother has told me of his putting to sea in one of them off the coast of Connemara. It was large enough to hold several persons.

that the motive for their hostility to Caesar was that they were afraid of having their commerce interfered with by his designs on Britain. To them doubtless belonged the merchants (iv. 20, § 4) of whom Caesar inquired about Britain with so unsatisfactory a result.

The tin-trade.

The commodity with which the name of Britain was chiefly associated in the ancient market was tin. We have the authority of Posidonius for the statement that tin was brought from the British Isles to Massilia (Str. iii. p. 147). Diodorus Siculus (v. 22) has preserved an interesting account of the tin-trade in a period anterior to Caesar. He says that the inhabitants of Belerium (Cornwall) were extremely hospitable and civilised in their way of life owing to their intercourse with foreign merchants. They procured the tin, skilfully working the ground which bore it. This was rocky, but had strata of earth, in which they worked the produce, and then refined it by smelting. It was afterwards shaped into blocks like dice, and conveyed to an island which lay off the coast of Britain, and was called Ictis. To this island there was access by land at low tide, and the tin was carted thither in wagons. From there it was bought by the merchants and conveyed to Gaul. Finally a land journey of about thirty days sufficed to bring the wares on horseback to the mouth of the Rhône. A little further on (v. 38, § 5) Diodorus again says that a great deal of tin was brought from Britain to the opposite coast of Gaul, and then conveyed on horseback by the merchants through the interior to Massilia and the town called Narbo.

It is impossible to leave these passages without venturing a few remarks on them. First, who was the author from whom Diodorus borrowed his account of the British tin-trade? Just before the second passage which has been quoted, Diodorus had been correcting an error of some historians who had asserted that in Spain the tin was got from the surface, instead of being mined for and smelted like silver and gold. A comparison with Strabo serves to show that this remark is borrowed

from Posidonius[1]. Hence it has been inferred that the information about Britain also is taken from Posidonius, and that that philosopher had himself visited our island. But this inference is precarious, so long as there is no other evidence to show that Posidonius ever was in Britain. We must therefore look for another source, which we seem to find in Pytheas. It is no very violent supposition that the island Mictis, to which Timaeus says that the Britons sailed in their coracles, is the same as the island Ictis[2]. Mictis, as we have already seen, is said by Timaeus to have been the island from which the tin came; Ictis is spoken of as that to which it was brought. The six days' voyage is described by the historian in some phrase which Pliny renders by the word 'introrsum.' This can hardly mean anything but a voyage along the coast. Where then was the island of Ictis? This question seems now to have answered itself. Supposing the Britons to start on their voyage from the part of the island nearest to Gaul, it would take them about a week to get down to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, which the description of Ictis irresistibly suggests. We conclude then, as on the whole most probable, that the account given by Diodorus of the British tin-trade comes from Pytheas, and that the island of Ictis or Mictis is St. Michael's Mount[3].

After Caesar's time and before the subjugation of Britain

[1] Str. iii. 2, p. 147—*Τὸν δὲ καττίτερον οὐκ ἐπ' ἐπιπολῆς εὑρίσκεσθαί φησιν* (*Ποσειδώνιος*), *ὡς τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θρυλλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀρύττεσθαι*: D. S. v. 38, § 4—*Γίνεται δὲ καὶ καττίτερος ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις τῆς Ἰβηρίας, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς εὑρισκόμενος, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τινὲς τεθρυλήκασιν, ἀλλ' ὀρυττόμενος καὶ χωνευόμενος ὁμοίως ἀργύρῳ τε καὶ χρυσῷ.* The coincidence of language here and of subject in the immediate sequel both point to Posidonius being the author whom Diodorus had before him in this particular context.

[2] It seems to have stolen its M from the word *insulam*, which precedes it in the text of the one passage where it is mentioned (Plin. N. H. iv. § 104).

[3] The Rev. Henry Furneaux suggests that the description of St. Michael's Mount is due merely to its having been even then the distinguishing feature of the place, and that the tin was really shipped from more convenient harbours in Mount's Bay, such as Penzance, Newlyn, Mouschole, Marazion.

there was an active trade carried on with it by the Romans and Gauls. Strabo speaks of corn, cattle, gold, silver, and iron as being exported, as well as hides, slaves, and dogs for hunting. The Gauls turned these dogs to account in war, as they did also those in their own country. The imports that were received in return for these solid commodities were ivory curbs, necklaces, gems of some kind, glass vessels, and other trumpery such as might appeal to barbaric minds. Both imports and exports were subjected to duty by the Romans, and so much return was derived from this source that it was considered that the occupation of the island would decrease rather than increase the revenue of the Romans, owing to the expense required in keeping up an army, and so cost more than it would be worth (ii. p. 116; iv. 5, § 3, p. 200).

Trade after Caesar's time.

With the tincture of civilisation on the coast we have to compare the squalid savagery of some of the tribes of the interior. People who had abundance of milk, but who could not make cheese, could not have attained to much proficiency in the arts. It is these tribes, let us suppose, who practised the polyandry which Caesar has set on record as characteristic of our island in general, without any regard for the scandalization which would be caused by his statement some two thousand years later. These savages of the interior were, according to Caesar, clad in skins, but the Northern Britons of the time of Severus are represented to us by later writers as dispensing with clothing altogether. Herodian suggests that their objection to covering themselves may have been prompted by a reluctance to hide the figures of animals with which their bodies were tattooed. Dio Cassius describes the Caledonii and Maeatae as having no towns or husbandry, living on pasturage, hunting, and wild berries, going naked and unshod, having women in common, and rearing all their offspring. It is related that after Severus had concluded peace with these barbarians, the wife, if we may so call her, of a Caledonian named Argentocoxus had a passage of arms with the Empress Julia Domna as to the morals of

Savagery of the interior.

Britain and Rome, in which the savage lady by no means came off worst in the argument (D. C. lxxvi. 16).

Cannibalism.

A charge of cannibalism has even been brought against some of the North Britons, and that by no less an authority than a father of the Church. St. Jerome says in one of his writings, 'But why should I speak of other nations when I myself as a young man in Gaul have seen the Atticoti, a British tribe, feed on human flesh?' (Adv. Jovinian. 2, p. 201 Bened.). The Atticoti are known to have served in the Roman army in Gaul, and that, we may suppose, was how St. Jerome came to make their acquaintance. They may have been celebrating the unholy sacrament of Druidism, which consisted, according to Pliny (N. H. xxx. § 13), in the eating of human flesh. Juvenal is perhaps over-shooting the mark when, in order to cast discredit on the Egyptians, he says that even the Britons never indulged in this enormity (Sat. xv. 124)[1].

Ethnology.

So far we have not entered upon the question of race in connexion with the inhabitants of Britain. Let us first see what ideas the ancient writers entertained on this subject, and then consider how far they can be supplemented or corrected by the results of modern investigation.

The first question which presented itself to the mind of a Greek or Roman inquirer in connexion with the inhabitants of a given country was—Were they indigenous? The problem is not one likely to meet with a satisfactory solution, but it is not intrinsically absurd. For, unless we hold with the Peripatetics that the human race has existed for ever, man must have originated sometime somewhere. And, if so, why not in one place as well as another? Caesar's answer to the question with regard to Britain is that some of its inhabitants were indigenous, and others not. Under the latter head he puts the inhabitants of the sea-board, of whom he says that they came from Belgium. He finds a confirmation of this statement

[1] J. E. B. Mayor shows by a reference to Ausonius Epigr. 109–114 that 'Brito' and 'Britannus' were interchangeable.

in the Belgian names of British tribes. Caesar has not himself recorded any of these names, but we find mention in Ptolemy of Ἀτρεβάτιοι (ii. 3, § 26) and of Βέλγαι (ib. § 28), both of them south of the Thames, and of Παρίσοι (§ 17) north of the Humber. We may also recall to mind in this connexion our author's statement that Divitiacus, the king of the Suessiones, had in a period which he describes as 'within our own memory' extended his sway over Britain (ii. 4, § 7).

Diodorus speaks of the races which inhabited Britain as 'autochthonous,' without attempting any distinction. The land was untouched, he says, by foreign invasion, and neither Bacchus nor Hercules nor any of the heroes was reported to have made an expedition against it.

Tacitus throws a greater air of science into his speculations on this point. The red hair and large limbs of the Caledonians he thinks indicative of a German origin, whereas the swarthy complexions of the Silures (South Wales), the prevalence among them of curly hair, and the vicinity of Spain argue an early Iberian settlement in this part of Britain. The parts nearest to Gaul he thinks it reasonable to suppose were peopled from that country, and in support of this conclusion he adduces the similarity that could be observed between Gauls and Britons in religion, language, and character.

We need not pay much attention to Tacitus' suggestion of an ethnological affinity between the Caledonians and Germans. As to his idea of an immigration direct from Spain, it is founded on a geographical blunder. Tacitus shared in Strabo's error that the west of Britain lay quite close to Spain. Neither of them thought of Gaul as having, properly speaking, a west coast at all, but imagined the ocean-board as sloping continuously from the Rhine to the Pyrenees[1]. With these abate-

[1] This conception appears also in the Aristotelian De Mundo. The writer of that treatise says (3, § 11) of the Ocean—*Εἶτα κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τοὺς Σκύθας τε καὶ Κελτικὴν σφίγγει τὴν οἰκουμένην, πρός τε τὸν Γαλατικὸν κόλπον καὶ τὰς προειρημένας Ἡρακλείους στήλας.*

ments the conclusion come to by Tacitus coincides with that of Caesar.

Strabo does not commit himself to ethnological speculation at all: but he gives us a description of the physical appearance of the Britons founded on some slight personal observation. They were, he says, taller than the Gauls and not so red-haired, but less compact in their bodies. As a proof of their height he mentions that he had seen some boys, or rather hobbledehoys, from Britain in Rome, who stood six inches above the tallest people there; but they were bandy-legged and ill-built generally (Str. iv. 5, § 2, p. 200).

The conclusion reached by Caesar, that some of the inhabitants of Britain had come within comparatively recent times from Belgium, which means with him only the opposite coast of France, whereas others were there before them, is quite in accordance with the results of modern philology. A glance at Professor Rhys's coloured map of the distribution of peoples in Britain[1] shows the Brythonic branch of the Celtic race, to whom the Gauls belonged, occupying all the more fertile parts of the island, as the Saxons do now, while their Goidelic brethren are pushed into the corners. Quite in the north there is a tract marked as occupied by a non-Aryan race, traces of whom are also to be found spattered over the Goidelic districts. To this dispossessed non-Aryan race the Professor boldly ascribes the origin of Druidism.

Religion. Having already spoken of the Celtic religion in connexion with Gaul, we need not enlarge upon the subject here. It is likely that amid the gloom of our island, where it is believed to have originated (vi. 13, § 11), it would assume its most sombre and awful form. We hear of altars stained with human blood and of divination through the quivering entrails of a human victim[2]. As for magic, Britain, according to Pliny, might have taught Persia (N. H. xxx. § 13). That author also

[1] In his Celtic Britain, published by the S. P. C. K.

[2] Tac. Ann. xiv. 30. Cp. Str. iv. 4, § 5, p. 198.

mentions strange religious rites among the women of Britain, in which their only vestments were a coating of black paint, which made them look like negresses. When the religion of the Druids with its strange and cruel rites was suppressed in Gaul by decree of Tiberius (Plin. N. H. xxx. § 13), it found a refuge in Britain, the land of its birth. The graphic pen of Tacitus (Ann. xiv. 29, 30: cp. Agr. 14, 18) has described its death-struggle in the island of Anglesey[1].

Ireland.

A word now about Ireland. Caesar says that it lies to the west of Britain, is about half its size, and as far from it as Britain is from Gaul, all which statements are roughly true. As a matter of square mileage indeed Ireland is not half the size of Great Britain, the latter having an area of more than 88,000 square miles, whereas Ireland can show only about 30,000; and though Ireland at quite the nearest part lies closer to Britain than Britain does to France, yet at the part of which Caesar is speaking, where the Isle of Man lies midway in the passage, it is a good deal more remote. But these considerations are too fine for Caesar, who had not Longman's Geography or Whitaker's Almanac to refer to.

In spite of Caesar's definite statement that Ireland was west of Britain, Strabo somehow took it into his head that it lay due north of it, and was the limit of the habitable world, where existence became difficult on account of the cold[2]. Indeed it was one of the main counts in his indictment against Pytheas and his followers that their views extended the limits of habitation some five hundred miles further north than Ireland. He describes the island as being broader than it is

[1] M. Desjardins, Géographie de la Gaule Romaine, vol. ii. p. 516, has made a curious slip, quite unlike his general accuracy. He identifies the Mona of Tacitus with the Isle of Man. Imagine the cavalry of Suetonius and Agricola swimming or wading across to the Isle of Man!

[2] See on this subject Str. pp. 63, 72, 74, 115, especially the last, where he says—*οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἱστοροῦντες περαιτέρω τῆς Ἰέρνης οὐδὲν ἔχουσι λέγειν, ἣ πρὸς ἄρκτον πρόκειται τῆς Βρεττανικῆς πλησίον, ἀγρίων τελέως ἀνθρώπων, κακῶς οἰκούντων διὰ ψῦχος· ὥστ' ἐνταῦθα νομίζω τὸ πέρας εἶναι θετέον.*

long, and peoples it with savages who think it right to eat their deceased parents and whose family arrangements are absolutely primitive. He admits indeed that these imputations on their morals lack satisfactory evidence, but he is not inclined to give up the anthropophagy. The latter is the only trait in the Irish character to which Diodorus (v. 32, § 3) alludes.

Mela (iii. § 53), like Juvenal, calls Ireland Juverna. He describes it as lying above Britain, being about equal to it in size, and of an oblong shape. Beyond this he has two remarks to make of it—one is that the pastures there are so rich that the cows will burst, if they are not driven off from them in time; the other is that the inhabitants have no virtues at all. Of these the first is true[1].

Agrippa estimated the breadth of Ireland at 300 miles and its length at 600. We now put the breadth at 173 and the length at about 290. Pliny, who has preserved for us Agrippa's estimate, adds that the island lies 'above Britain,' and is 30 miles distant by the shortest passage from South Wales[2]. This is under the mark, for it is a good 40 Roman miles from St. David Head in Pembroke to Carnsore Point in Wexford.

[1] Extract from a letter from a gentleman-farmer in Ireland. 'Uncle D. lost a bullock, value £12, on it (clover) last year. It burst. He used to turn the cattle in for an hour every day, and one day he thought they ought to be getting used to it, and left them too long. . . The remedy is very simple. If seen in time, stick a *trocar* (a knife with a sheath) into the animal's side, pull out the knife, leave the sheath in, and the gas gets out through it.' It appears that the oxen of Geryon were fed on Irish clover. Justin xliv. 4, § 14 says 'In alia parte Hispaniae et *quae ex insulis constat* regnum penes Geryonem fuit. In hac tanta pabuli laetitia est, ut, nisi abstinentia interpellata sagina fuerit, pecora rumpantur. Inde denique armenta Geryonis, quae illis temporibus solae opes habebantur, tantae famae fuere, ut Herculem ex Asia praedae magnitudine inlexerint.' This would supply an adequate motive why the two sons of Neptune, Albiona and Bergyon (Mela ii. § 78), whom Professor Rhys identifies with Great Britain and Ireland, should attack Hercules, even though they had to go to Gallia Narbonensis to do it (Str. iv. 1, § 7, p. 183).

[2] 'A Silurum gente,' N. H. iv. § 103.

Tacitus had the authority of his father-in-law Agricola for his ideas about Ireland. That statesman had at one time entertained designs against the island. He thought that, from its position midway between Britain and Spain and its proximity at the same time to Gallic waters, the possession of it would knit together important portions of the Roman Empire. A single legion with a few auxiliaries seemed to him sufficient for this purpose (Agr. 24).

The British archipelago.

The comparative size of England and Ireland makes us inclined to forget that the British Isles are a whole archipelago. The Orkneys were discovered, Tacitus tells us, when Agricola's fleet sailed round Britain, which was in A. D. 84. The event is alluded to by Juvenal in his second satire as still recent—

> 'Arma quidem ultra
> Litora Iuvernae promovimus et modo captas
> Orcadas.'

But the promontory Orcas, from which they derived the name of Orcades, was already known to Diodorus Siculus. Mela (iii. § 54) says that there are thirty of them lying close together; Pliny (iv. § 103) raises the number to forty: it might be raised to sixty-seven by counting mere rocks. There are inhabitants on twenty-nine, but only twelve or fourteen are of any considerable size. Ptolemy (ii. 3, § 1) agrees with Mela in making thirty Orcades, but he interposes two islands, which he calls Ocitis and Dumna (cp. Plin. N. H. iv. § 104), between them and Cape Orcas.

The seven Haemodae of Mela, 'over against Germany,' and the seven Acmodae of Pliny are doubtless meant for the same islands. But where is one to look for them?

The thirty Hebudes of Pliny we recognise in our Hebrides, a general name for the islands off the west coast of Scotland. There are reckoned to be about 490 in all, of which ninety are inhabited.

The Thule of Tacitus, which was sighted by Agricola's fleet, can be nothing but the Shetland Islands, though it by no means

follows that this was the Thule of Pytheas or Tyle of Pliny, which is spoken of as within a day's sail of the Frozen Sea.

Between Ireland and Britain Pliny interposes not only Mona, but Monapia, Riginia, Vectis, Silumnus, and Andros. His Mona may perhaps be Anglesey, like that of Tacitus, and his Monapia Caesar's Mona or the Isle of Man. With regard to Vectis his mistake is plain. That is the Isle of Wight (Οὐηκτίς), which Ptolemy (ii. 3, § 33) tells us lies under the Great Harbour. This must not be confused with the island of Ictis already spoken of. Below Britain, says Pliny, lie Sambis and Axanthos. The last is no doubt the same as Axantis or Ushant[1]. Pliny gives a wide range to the British Isles, as he goes on to mention the Glaesiae or Electrides, which are the amber islands in the German Ocean. His statement that none of these lesser islands exceeds 125 miles in circumference is true, except of Lewis and Harris, the largest of the Hebrides.

[1] The Οὐξισάμη of Pytheas, Str. i. p. 64.

CHAPTER VI

GERMANY

If Britain is interesting to us as the home of our race, Germany ought to be no less so as its cradle. For, though many of the inhabitants of these islands are Celtic even in speech to the present day, and though Celtic blood must have filtered far beyond the limits of Celtic language, yet in the blend which constitutes the modern Briton it is the Teutonic element, whether Low-German or Scandinavian, that gives tone and body to the whole. Could Caesar have foreseen that later generations of Teutonic boys, instead of running wild in the woods, would be studying his Commentaries as a text-book, he might have endeavoured to satisfy our curiosity more fully than he has done as to what manner of men our ancestors were. But, inasmuch as the world was not constructed with a view to our convenience in the way of acquiring knowledge, we must be thankful for Caesar's hasty impressions of Germany and the Germans, gathered in his few weeks' stay across the Rhine[1].

The cradle of our race.

After Germany had become better known to the Romans through military operations which were on the whole unsuccessful,

Tacitus on Germany.

[1] Caesar's first visit to Germany lasted eighteen days (iv. 19, § 4): he does not mention the length of the second.

we have a brilliant sketch of the country and its inhabitants by Tacitus in his Germania, a treatise teeming with delightful epigram, but inspired rather by a rhetorical and didactic than by a purely scientific motive. A salient feature of interest in this work to the English reader is the light that it throws upon our own institutions and manners. Montesquieu declared that the British constitution, which he regarded as a model for all free peoples, was invented in the woods of Germany[1]. We may trace the outline of our House of Lords and House of Commons in the council of the chiefs and council of the people, with the preliminary discussion in the former of questions which depended for their decision on the latter (Tac. G. 11, § 1). Would we seek into the origin of our 'hundreds,' we seem to find it in the military organization of the ancient Germans, under which each 'pagus' contributed a hundred picked men to the mixed body of cavalry and infantry, which constituted the flower of their forces. We know from Tacitus (G. 6, §§ 4, 5) that these were called in his time 'the hundred.' The name had then passed from its merely numerical signification into a title of honour, and it appears also to have spread from the military to the civil organization.

The light thrown by him on English institutions and manners.

The special sanctity of the marriage-tie observable in Teutonic countries is an inheritance from our common ancestors, who are noted by Tacitus as almost alone among barbarians in the strictness of their monogamy (G. 17, § 4). And the fact that the ladies had their arms bare and exposed the upper part of their fair bosoms was found even then to be no derogation from their virtue. The customs of the ball-room then, we may remark in passing, are only a case of 'reversion.' The exhortations to the bride at the wedding-ceremony, as recorded by the same author, read like a free

[1] Esprit des Lois xi. 6. 'Si l'on veut lire l'admirable ouvrage de Tacite sur les mœurs des Germains, on verra que c'est d'eux que les Anglais ont tiré l'idée de leur gouvernement politique. Ce beau système a été trouvé dans les bois.'

translation from our marriage-service—'for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health '[1].

The intense individualism too which marks the modern Englishman has come down to him from the free German, who did not live in towns, but at most in straggling hamlets, where every man's house was separated by a space from his neighbour's (G. 16, §§ 1, 2), and whose liberty degenerated into licence when he came in at his own sweet will a day or two late for the assembly of the national council (G. 11, § 3).

When we read of how the Germans deliberated on peace and war at feasts, we cannot help being reminded of the Englishman's addiction to dining over everything and talking politics at the Lord Mayor's banquet. The prevalence also of beer and the tendency to excessive drinking among the ancient Germans, on which Tacitus remarks that, if you supply their desires in this matter, you may conquer them by their vices more easily than by arms, is unfortunately not without a parallel in our own manners. It may be surmised also that the 'brutality,' with which our neighbours reproach us, has come to us through the coarse Teutonic fibre rather than from any tendencies inherited from the Celt. Nor do we fail to see a mirror held up to our own nature in the fact which surprised Tacitus of the German's gambling away his last shred of property when sober; nor yet, it may be added, in the scrupulous care with which debts of honour were paid, insomuch that the younger and stronger, when he had lost his all, would allow himself to be bound and sold into slavery. 'Ipsi fidem vocant,' remarks the Roman historian, while he condemns it himself as a 'prava pervicacia' (G. 24). But how nearly we are touched by what relates to the Germans is best brought home to us when we find the name of Englishman making its first appearance on the field of history in the

[1] G. 18, § 3 'ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur (mulier) venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque.'

Germania. Of the position of the Angli, or, as they are here called, Anglii (G. 40, § 1), Tacitus can only vaguely tell us that they lived somewhere beyond the Langobardi. Ptolemy (ii. 11, § 15), who calls them Ἀγγειλοί, is more precise, placing them eastward of the Langobardi and on the middle reaches of the Elbe. He speaks of them as an important people and a branch of the Suebi. The Saxons are placed by the same geographer (ii. 11, § 11) between the Elbe and the neck of the Cimbric Chersonese, that is, in what is now called Holstein.

The accounts then which Caesar and other writers give of the Germans concern us at least as much as those of Britain, and in dealing with the great German race we are going back to the rock whence we were hewn.

No measures of distance among the Germans.

To Caesar Germany was simply the country beyond the Rhine: he does not attempt to assign its boundaries or to estimate its size. He tells us (vi. 25, § 1) that the Germans themselves had no measures of distance, and could only estimate the length of a journey by the time it took a lightly equipped traveller to perform it. One is reminded of this remark of our author in certain parts of Germany at the present day, as, for instance, in the Saxon Switzerland and the adjacent parts of Bohemia, where the sign-posts announce only the number of hours and minutes from one salient point to another, though the English tourist is apt to conclude that these measures are not based on the walking powers of an *expeditus*.

Boundaries of Germany.

Mela (i. § 19) tells us that the Germans reach as far as the Sarmatae, and then on to Asia. He makes their country to be bounded on the west by the Rhine, on the south by the Alps, on the east by the borders of the Sarmatae, and on the north by the Ocean (iii. § 25). This roughly coincides with what is said by Tacitus (G. 1, § 1), that Germany is divided from the Gauls by the Rhine, from the Raetians (who lived in the Alps, Str. vii. 1, § 5) and Pannonians by the Danube, from the Dacians by mountains, and from the Sarmatae by

mutual fear. The last is the same boundary that now separates the Teuton from the Slav. Thus the Germany of the Ancients was a much larger country than the German Empire of to-day. It included all that, with the exception of the left bank of the Rhine, but it contained besides most of Holland, the whole of Denmark, the whole of Bohemia, with parts of Austria, Hungary, and Poland. To these we must add the southern extremity of Sweden, which alone was known to the Ancients, and which was universally regarded by them as an island in the Sinus Codanus or Baltic Sea. This mistake was natural enough, since even the redoubtable Pytheas himself had not sailed far enough to know that the vast promontory of Sweden and Norway was connected with Europe by land at the north. The supposed island is called by Pliny Scatinavia (iv. § 96) or Scadinavia (viii. § 39: cp. Mela iii. § 54), and by Ptolemy (ii. 11, § 35) Scandia; Tacitus (G. 44, § 2) speaks of it under the name of *Suionum civitates*.

Size.

The size of this vast and ill-defined country was naturally matter of much dispute. The extreme estimates were on the one hand that of some writers, both Greek and Roman, who made the sea-coast of Germany to be 25,000 miles, and on the other that of Agrippa, who put the whole length of Germany along with Raetia and Noricum at 686 miles and the breadth at 248, on which Pliny remarks that the breadth assigned was less than that of Raetia alone, though he is inclined conjecturally to put the coast-line at something like Agrippa's estimate of the length. The extreme length of the present German Empire is reckoned at 740 miles, and its extreme breadth at 580.

Imperfect acquaintance of the Romans with the country.

Pliny tells us (ii. § 167) that the Northern Ocean was navigated as far as Denmark (*Cimbrorum promontorium*) under the auspices of Augustus. It was chiefly through the campaigns of Drusus and Germanicus, and from the amber trade carried on by Roman merchants, that Germany became known to the Romans. Even at the best of times the more distant parts

were wrapped in mystery and a region of fable. We are told of islands in the Baltic where there were men with horses' legs, who were called Hippopodes, and of others where the inhabitants had no covering for their bodies but their own ample ears (Mela iii. § 56; Plin. iv. § 95; Tac. G. 46, § 6).

With regard to the general character of the country Caesar does not tell us much, because he does not know much. One thing, as a practical man, he felt quite sure of, namely, that the soil of Germany was not to be compared with that of Gaul (i. 31, § 11: cp. 29, § 4)—else why the extreme readiness of the Germans to change their location? His picture of the illimitable Hercynian Forest, with its dreamy depths haunted by strange creatures, is confessedly borrowed from Greek sources (vi. 24, § 2), and is the only part of his work in which Caesar becomes unreliable; it is in fact a piece of padding intended to cover the absence of incident during his second stay across the Rhine.

Physical features.

Tacitus (G. 5, § 1) speaks of Germany as a land of shaggy woods and hideous morasses. He notices the prevalence of moisture on the side towards Gaul, while the parts that looked towards Noricum and Pannonia were windier. This was because they were higher; for in Germany the land rises towards the south, so that all the rivers, with the exception of the Danube, flow northwards.

The Hercynian Forest.

The Hercynian Forest is a vague term for all the forest highlands in the south of Germany. It began with the modern Black Forest, but stretched right away, following the course of the Danube, to the confines of Dacia. Here it is described as turning to the left, but it is rather the Danube which at this point takes a sharp turn to the right, flowing for a time due south, instead of east. The mention by Caesar (vi. 25, § 2) of so obscure a people as the Anartes stamps the passage as being derived from the professed geographer Eratosthenes. We hear of them again only from Ptolemy (iii. 8, § 5), who mentions them under the name of Ἄναρτοι, as the tribe of Dacians who

dwelt most to the north-west[1]. On its way the forest skirted Bohemia, where Maroboduus planted his countrymen the Marcomanni (Str. vii. 1, § 3). In addition to the curious beasts with which Caesar has peopled it, Pliny (x. § 132) has filled it with strange birds, whose plumage glittered like fire at night. These seem now to be as extinct as the one-horned stag.

Other forests.

The Hercynian Forest is common to a number of writers[2], but the 'silva Bacenis,' another forest 'of endless extent,' which is mentioned by Caesar (vi. 10, § 5), is peculiar, at least under that name, to himself. He speaks of it as forming a natural wall between the Suebi and Cherusci. It is identified by some authorities with the Thüringer Wald, the Harz Mountains, and the heights that lie between Saxony and Bohemia. This chain of wooded heights runs, roughly speaking, from west to east. At right angles to it, and running southward, is the Boehmerwald Gebirge, which may be the ὕλη Γαβρῆτα of Strabo (vii. 1, § 5) and Γαμβρῆτα of Ptolemy (ii. 11, §§ 5, 7, 24, 25). Other forests mentioned by Ptolemy are ἡ Σημανοὺς ὕλη and ἡ Λοῦνα ὕλη (ii. 11, §§ 7, 26). The *Teutoburgiensis saltus* of Tacitus (A. i. 60, § 5), where lay the unburied remains of Varus and his legions, has its name perpetuated (perhaps only by antiquaries after the revival of learning) in the Teutoburger Wald in Westphalia. The 'silva Caesia' of the same author (A. i. 50, § 2), which lay west of the Ems and the *limes* of Tiberius, has been conjecturally identified with the now vanished Heserwald. But, without attempting the difficult problem of fixing ancient localities, about which the most skilled geographers differ widely, we must be content to think of Germany in Caesar's time as still covered with vast primeval forests. The effort of imagina-

[1] See Bunbury, Hist. of Ancient Geography, vol. ii. p. 130 n.

[2] The earliest reference to it is under the name of the 'Arcynian Mountains,' which are spoken of by Aristotle Meteor. i. 13, § 18) as the watershed for the north of Europe. In the De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus, 105, § 1 we have mention of the Ἑρκύνιοι δρυμοί as containing the springs of the Danube, which by Aristotle himself is said to flow from the Pyrenees. See also Mela iii. § 29: Str. vii. 1, §§ 3, 5: Plin. iv. §§ 80, 100; x. § 132; xvi. § 6: Ptol. ii. 11, §§ 7, 21.

tion is rendered easier by the fact that even at the present day some of the most important German towns are little more than clearings in the woods.

Size of the trees.

The account given by Pliny (xvi. §§ 5, 6) of the size of the trees—and Pliny, we must remember, had himself been in Germany—is like what Stanley had to tell us of the virgin forests of Central Africa. The gnarled and entangled roots of these giants of the forest would raise hills when covered with earth, or, where the earth failed to follow them, would leave arches through which squadrons of horse might pass. The oaks clung with a savage tenacity of life to the ground, insomuch that some which grew around the lakes, when undermined by the waters or dislodged by the winds, would float away on great islands of earth, and sometimes bear down at night on the Roman galleys, that suddenly found themselves engaged in a naval battle with their branches. Pliny says that the forests covered all Germany, adding darkness to cold, with the exception of the country of the Chauci, which was bare even of bushes.

Rivers.

Of the great rivers of Germany only the Rhine and Danube (vi. 25, § 2)[1] are mentioned by Caesar. The Maas (Mosa) and Schelde (Scaldis vi. 33, § 3) are to him Gallic rivers, flowing as they do westward of the Rhine. The Main (Moenis) and Lippe (Lupia) are mentioned by Mela (iii. § 30) as tributaries of the Rhine, and the Ems, Weser, and Elbe (Amissis, Visurgis, Albis) as flowing into the Ocean. He speaks also (iii. § 33) of the Vistula as forming the boundary between Germany and Sarmatia. Pliny (iv. § 100) adds nothing to this list, except the Guthalus, which is otherwise unknown. Strabo (vii. 1, § 3) is alone in mentioning the Saale (Σάλας), which became known through the death near it of the elder Drusus in the midst of his victorious campaign. Tacitus (G. 41, § 2) speaks of the Elbe as known no longer in his day except by hearsay. By that time the flood of Roman aggression had been repelled by the

[1] For the knowledge of the Danube possessed by the Ancients see Str. vii. 1, § 1; Mela ii. § 8; Plin. iv. § 79; Tac. G. 1. § 3.

Germans, and, notwithstanding the apparent strength of Trajan's empire, the historian in a prophetic moment declares that it was only the discord of their enemies that secured the Romans from destruction. The question has been raised whether Tacitus himself had any direct acquaintance with Germany. We may fairly suspect that at all events the account of the altercation between Flavius and Arminius (A. i. 9, 10) was not based on a personal observation of the German rivers.

Lakes.

Mela (iii. §§ 24, 29) speaks of great lakes in Germany. Besides Flevo[1] he mentions Suesia, Metia, and Melsyagum. Tacitus (G. 34, § 1 : cp. A. 60, § 3) is more explicit in talking of lakes among the Frisii, though he does not give names to them. We know that great changes took place in this respect in the thirteenth century, when what had before been separate lakes became merged in the Zuyder Zee.

Vegetable and animal products.

A country which was covered with such dense growths of timber was naturally not rich in vegetable products of any other description. Tacitus speaks of the soil as good for cereals, which were all that its cultivators demanded from it (G. 5, § 1; 26, § 2). Pliny (xviii. § 149) talks of the tribes of Germany sowing wild oats (in no metaphorical sense), and declares roundly that this was their only vegetable diet. Mela (iii. § 56) however reserves this statement for the Oeonae, whom he describes as dwelling on tidal islands in the Baltic, and eking out their subsistence with birds' eggs. When we are told by a Roman that the country was bad for fruit-trees[2], we have to think principally of the olive, and of the vine, which did not then cover the sunny hills of the Rhine. It was noticed that the plains of Upper Germany were covered with a kind of wild asparagus, which grew so thick that the Emperor Tiberius remarked, in what was considered to be a witticism, that the *grass* there was very like asparagus (Plin. xix. § 145). The same emperor made the skirwort of Germany famous by

[1] Called 'Flevus' in Plin. N. H. iv. § 101.

[2] 'Frugiferarum arborum impatiens,' Tac. G. 5, § 1.

insisting on having it brought to him every year from that country. We may suppose that he had learnt to appreciate it during his campaigns. The finest was considered to grow near a fortress called Gelduba on the Rhine (Plin. xix. § 90).

The height of trees is no evidence of a rich soil, for one may see the most gigantic pine-tree growing out of what looks like bare rock; neither, says Pliny (xvii. § 26), is an abundance of grass. 'For what more famous than the pastures of Germany? And yet you have only to scratch the soil to come on the sand beneath.' The cattle however, though numerous, were poor and stunted (Tac. G. 5, § 2), which is not the case at the present day. Caesar himself (iv. 2, § 2) dwells upon the smallness of the horses among the Suebi. But if the tame animals were small, this was made up for by the size of the wild ones, the *uri* reported by Caesar (vi. 28, § 1) as standing a little lower than elephants, and the maned bisons mentioned by Pliny (N. H. viii. § 38). There were fish too of a prodigious size to be found in the rivers. In the Main in particular the *silurus* was reported to attain to such a size that it could drown horses swimming, and required to be hauled out by a team of oxen (N. H. ix. § 45). The geese of Germany, which Pliny (N. H. x. § 53) tells us were called *gantae*, were small, and therefore not well adapted for providing the Roman delicacy of *pâté de foie gras*, but the down of the white ones was considered especially good, and fetched as much as five *denarii* a pound. The thrushes or fieldfares (*turdi*), which disappeared from Italy in the winter, were to be seen in Germany at that season.

We come now to the human inhabitants of the country.

Inhabitants. We at the present day have a notion of a clearly marked distinction between Gaul and German—a distinction which we suppose not to become obliterated until our thoughts remount to the original home of the Aryan race, if there ever was such a happy family. This distinction is based on language. Now language was just the thing which the Ancients never attended to, since the Greeks and Romans unfortunately took the view

that all languages but their own were gibberish. It is by a mere accident that Caesar lets drop the information that Ariovistus had to learn the Gallic tongue (vi. 47, § 4): he does not mention the difference of language in his professed contrast between Gauls and Germans. The strong opposition however, familiar to us, between Celt and Teuton, was wholly unknown to the early Greek writers, to whom Germany was part of Κελτική. Unsatisfactory as Caesar's account of the Germans is, it is yet daylight to darkness as compared with the notions of his predecessors. We now become aware for the first time that the Germans were as much foreigners to the Gauls as they were to the Romans themselves, that the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutoni, which had menaced Italy, had brought untold calamity upon Gaul, and that Gaul was at that time a political Holland, ever ready to be swamped by the German Ocean.

Early Gallic settlements in Germany.

It was not always so. For at an earlier epoch, Caesar (vi. 24) informs us, the tide of immigration had rolled eastward, and Gaul had been the invader, not the invaded. It was then that the Volcae Tectosages, whose home in Gaul was under the shadow of the Pyrenees, had established themselves in the most fertile parts of Germany in the neighbourhood of the Hercynian Forest. Tacitus (G. 28, § 1), who quotes Caesar only in this connexion, points to Helvetia as another instance of the successful occupation of German soil by a Gallic tribe, and to the establishment of the Boii in Bohemia before they were dispossessed by Maroboduus and his Marcomanni[1]. 'The name,' says Tacitus (G. 28, § 2), 'still attests the past history of the district,' as it does also to the present day, Bohemia being supposed to mean 'the home of the Boii.' This intermingling of the two races may be one way of accounting for the puzzling fact of the occurrence of Gallic names among the Germans.

Caesar himself (vi. 24, §§ 4–6) accounts for the superiority in

[1] On this subject see V. P. ii. 108; Str. vii. 1, § 3, p. 290; Tac. G. 28 and 42.

Physical resemblance between Gauls and Germans.

war of the Germans over the Gauls of his day by saying that the latter had been enervated by contact with the provinces and by the importation of foreign luxuries. Other writers carried out this hint of Caesar's in a more pronounced way, and persisted to the end in seeing no difference but one of degree between the Gaul and the German. 'Take a Gaul,' says Strabo (vii. 1, § 2: cp. iv. 4, § 2) in effect, 'make him fiercer, bigger, more yellow-haired, and you have the dweller beyond the Rhine, rightly called by the Romans *Germanus*, as being a genuine, unadulterated savage.' In the physical descriptions of the two races given by ancient writers, there is nothing by which we can discriminate Gauls from Germans. In connexion with both we hear of fierce, glaring eyes, yellow or golden hair, white limbs and huge stature. The only difference, if it is one, appears to be that, whereas the eyes of the Germans are generally represented as blue, the colour of those of the Gauls does not appear to be mentioned[1]. The usual epithets employed by Roman writers to describe the hair of the Germans are *flavus* and *rutilus*, which appear to have the same meaning[2]; the Greeks called it ξανθός. Seneca however (De Ira, iii. 26)

[1] Hor. Epod. xvi. 7 'Nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube': Tac. G. 4, § 2 'Truces et caerulei oculi': Plut. Marius 11 says that the Cimbri were judged to be Germans τῇ χαροπότητι τῶν ὀμμάτων: Juv. xiii. 164 Caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina?' Ausonius Idyll. vii. in describing a Swabian girl called Bessula says—

> 'Sic Latiis mutata bonis, Germana maneret
> Ut facies, oculos caerula, flava comas.'

Vitruvius 6, 1, § 3 says 'Sub septentrionibus nutriuntur gentes immanibus corporibus, candidis coloribus, directo capillo et rufo, oculis caesiis,' which may be meant to include both Gauls and Germans.

[2] Lucan x. 129–31—

> 'Pars tam flavos gerit altera crines,
> ut nullis Caesar Rheni se dicat in arvis
> tam rutilas vidisse comas.'

Cp. Sil. It. iv. 200–2—

> 'Occumbit Sarmens, flavam qui ponere victor
> caesariem, crinemque tibi, Gradive, vovebat
> auro certantem, et rutilum sub vertice nodum.'

uses *russus*, and Galen (xv. 185) goes out of his way to say that the Germans were not ξανθοί but πυρροί. It seems then that we ought not to think of the hair of the ancient Germans as of the same light blonde colour as that of the modern Swede. But we must remember that the prevailing hue was to a great extent artificial. We have seen already (p. 94) that the Gauls took care that their children's locks should conform to the regulation type of ruddy gold; and the Germans imitated their practice in this particular. Pliny (N. H. xxviii. § 191) informs us that the Gauls invented a soap for turning the hair golden ('rutilandis capillis')[1], and that this was more used among the Germans by the men than by the women. It was a decoction of suet and wood-ashes, the best for the purpose being beech or hornbeam, and might be used either in a liquid or solid form. The use of this dye passed from the barbarians to the Roman ladies, among whom it appears to have been known as 'spuma Batava[2].'

Greater size of the Germans.

But if we cannot detect much difference in kind, physically speaking, between the Gauls and Germans, there was at all events a difference in degree. If the Gauls were big, the Germans were still bigger. Caesar (iv. 1, § 9) ascribes the size and strength of the latter to their meat diet and their daily exercise, adding, whimsically enough, the absence of all restraint from their childhood. One of the restraints with which the young German was in no way hampered was clothes. 'In every house,' says Tacitus, 'naked and dirty, they attain to that length of limb and that bulk of body which we admire[3].'

[1] Cp. 'rutilare comam,' Suet. Cat. 47; 'propexum rutilatumque crinem,' Tac. H. iv. 61; Liv. xxxviii. 27, 'promissae et rutilatae comae,' of the Galatians.

[2] Mart. viii. 33, 20—

'Et mutat Latias spuma Batava comas.'

Cp. Ovid. A. A. iii. 163—

'Femina canitiem Germanis inficit herbis.'

[3] Cp. Mela iii. § 26 'Nudi agunt antequam puberes sint.' On the size and strength of the Germans see B. G. i. 39, § 1; iv. 1, § 9; vi. 21, § 4: Str. vii. 1, § 2: Mela iii. § 26: Plut. Marius 11: Tac. G. 4, 20; Agr. 11; A. i. 64, § 3; ii. 21, § 1: Juv. viii. 252.

Intimately connected with the great size of the Germans was the lateness of their physical development and the chastity of their youth, on which Caesar (vi. 21, § 4) has commented[1].

Purity of race.

From the homogeneity of appearance among the Germans Tacitus inferred a great purity of race. He was inclined to think them indigenous. 'Their lays,' he says, 'which are their only history, celebrate a god Tuisco, who was sprung from earth, and his son Man, as the origin and founders of their race.' Here we are reminded of the Druidic teaching that the Gauls were descended from *Dis pater*. The Teutonic Adam appears under the name 'Mennor' in a late mediaeval poem of Meister Frauenlob, which is quoted by Grimm—

> 'Mennor der êrste was genant,
> dem diutische rede got tet bekant.'

As Adam was taught Hebrew, so was Man taught Dutch.

Name.

People are generally supposed to know their own names best, and the Germans, it may be noticed, do not call themselves 'Germans,' nor yet 'Allemands,' but Dutch (Deutsch), which is supposed to mean merely 'belonging to the people or nation.' But just as the name *Allemanni* was imposed upon the whole body owing to the importance of a particular tribe at a particular period, so it would seem to have been with the name *Germani* also. The first Teutonic invaders of Gaul, according to Tacitus (G. 2, § 5), belonged to a tribe called 'Germani,' and the name spread from them to the whole race[2]. In the historian's own time these early settlers were known as Tungri. We may identify them with the 'Cisrhenane Germans' of Caesar (ii. 3, § 4; 4, § 10; vi. 2, § 3), who comprised the Condrusi, Eburones, Caeroesi, and Paemani. Their name survives to the present day in Tongres.

We often hear of three states through which man is supposed

[1] Cp. Mela iii. § 26 'Longissima apud eos pueritia est'; Tac. G. 20, § 3 'Sera iuvenum venus,' &c.

[2] The name Γερμανοί is applied to the dwellers beyond the Rhine in the pseudo-Aristotelian De Mirabilibus (§ 168). It was used by Posidonius. See Athen. iv. p. 153 e.

State of civilisation.

to pass—the hunter state, the nomad state, and the agricultural state. In which of these were the Germans in the time of Caesar? The answer seems to be that they were in all three. When they were not engaged in war or brigandage, most of their time was spent in hunting (iv. 1, § 8; vi. 21, § 3). Their sole riches even in the time of Tacitus (G. 5, § 2) consisted in cattle, and Caesar (vi. 35, § 6) himself has noticed their avidity for this living money. At the same time they did raise crops, though nothing but grain, and never in the same place two years running (iv. 1, § 7; vi. 22, § 2). Under pressure of circumstances they were even more ready than the Boers of South Africa to 'trek' off in their wagons, and seek 'fresh woods and pastures new[1].' Situated as they were geographically between the purely nomad Sarmatians (Mela iii. § 34; Tac. G. 46, § 2) and the comparatively settled inhabitants of Gaul, their manner of life also seems to have been intermediate between that of their neighbours on either side. This facility of migration is noted by Strabo as the great characteristic of the Germans, and it is entirely in keeping with what Caesar (iv. 1, § 7; vi. 22, § 2) says of the absence from among them of any private property in land. The tribes indeed had territories, which they sought to secure from invasion by keeping as large a belt as possible of waste land about them[2], but beyond this the institution of landed property does not appear to have gone. 'Every year,' says Caesar (vi. 22, § 2), 'the magistrates and chiefs assign to families and clans of men, in a general assembly, as much land as they think fit, and where they think fit, and a year after compel them to pass on to somewhere else;' and when he is speaking specially of the Suebi (iv. 1, § 7), on whom no doubt his account of the Germans generally is based, he says, 'nor is it lawful for them to remain more than a year in one spot, to inhabit it.' Among other reasons which the Germans are made by Caesar (vi. 22, § 3) to assign for this

[1] Str. vii. 1, § 3, p. 291: cp. iv. 4, § 2, p. 196.
[2] iv. 3, § 1; vi. 23, §§ 1–3; Mela iii. § 27.

practice is 'that they may not build too scientifically with a view to avoiding extremes of cold and heat.' Strabo (viii. 1, § 3) corroborates this account by saying, 'A readiness to change their abode is characteristic of all the people in these parts, owing to the simplicity of their life, and owing to their not tilling the ground, nor gathering in harvests, but dwelling in huts with such furniture as suffices for daily needs. And their subsistence is in the main derived from flocks and herds, as in the case of the Nomads: so that in imitation of them they hoist their homes on wagons and betake themselves where they will with their cattle.'

Strabo, we must remember, is one of our very best witnesses as to the early state of Germany, for he lived through the campaigns of Tiberius, Drusus, and Germanicus, which was just the period when the Roman acquaintance with the country was at its maximum. He records, and may have himself witnessed, the brilliant triumph of the last-named general, at which the traitor Segestes was present as an honoured witness of the ignominy of his nearest and dearest.

Food. As the life of the Germans was thus pastoral rather than agricultural, it is not surprising that their food should consist principally of milk, cheese, and meat (vi. 22, § 1), and that corn should play but a minor part in their diet (iv. 1, § 8). Of the beer described by Tacitus (G. 23) Caesar has nothing to say. He merely notes the absence of wine and the prohibition against its import among the Nervii (ii. 15, § 4) and Suebi (iv. 2, § 6). Posidonius, who wrote before Caesar, speaks of the Germans lunching off roast meat from the joint and washing it down with their 'wine' neat[1]. By this we may understand him to mean beer. In the time of Tacitus the tribes nearest to the Rhine bought the forbidden liquor from the merchants. The habits of the Germans in the matter of eating appeared

[1] *Γερμανοὶ δέ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ, ἄριστον προσφέρονται κρέα μεληδὸν ὠπτημένα καὶ ἐπιπίνουσι γάλα καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἄκρατον,* Athen. iv. p. 153 e.

disgusting to the Romans. Mela (iii. § 28) says that 'they would eat their meat raw, either when it was fresh or after it had been allowed to freeze in the hides of the cattle or wild beasts, and had then been freshened up by kneading it with the hands or stamping it with the feet.' Even now the eating of raw flesh has not altogether disappeared from among the Germans and Swedes. But if something was lacking in this respect in the manners of the Germans, it was atoned for by their extreme hospitality, which Caesar (vi. 23, § 9) describes as having the weight with them of a religious obligation, and of which Tacitus (G. 21) has drawn so charming a picture. Mela (iii. § 28) also mentions it. In this matter they had quite an opposite reputation to that of the 'Britannos hospitibus feros.'

Caesar (iv. 1, § 10; vi. 21, § 5) represents the clothing of the Germans as extremely primitive, consisting only of skins and the scanty upper garments known as 'rhenones[1].' Mela (iii. § 26) says that the men 'wear saga or the bark of trees, no matter how severe the winter.' The 'sagum' was a woollen mantle, and implies a knowledge of spinning or weaving. Pliny speaks of the weaving of flax as pretty general among the Gauls in his day and already practised by 'the enemy across the Rhine,' whose women knew no finer dress than one of linen[2]. He adds that the work was carried on in holes dug out beneath the ground, whereby we are reminded of what Tacitus (G. 16, § 4) says of the subterranean storehouses for grain among the Germans. The same author (G. 17, § 3) corroborates Pliny by Clothing.

[1] Servius, commenting on Verg. Geor. iii. 383 'Et pecudum fulvis velatur corpora saetis,' explains the last word by 'renonibus' (the h is often omitted), adding 'Nam ut Sallustius dicit in historiis: "Vestes de pellibus renones vocantur."' Cp. the fragment of Sallust (assigned by Cortius to the sixth book of the Histories) which is quoted by Isodorus 'Germani intectum renonibus corpus tegunt.' Varro (L. L. v. § 167) says that 'sagum' and 'reno' are Gallic words.

[2] N. H. xix. § 8 'Cadurci, Caleti, Ruteni, Bituriges ultumique hominum existumati Morini, immo vero Galliae universae vela texunt, iam quidem et transrhenani hostes, nec pulchriorem aliam vestem eorum feminae novere.'

remarking that the only difference in dress between the men and women among the Germans was that the latter more often wore linen garments. According to Tacitus the usual dress of the men was the sagum, fastened with a brooch or, failing that, a thorn [1]. He distinctly asserts that they wore nothing more, at least indoors in their own ingle-nooks. It was only the very rich who were distinguished by what a Roman would regard as clothing [2], and this, adds the historian, was not loose, like that of the Sarmatians and Parthians, but tight-fitting and such as to display the limbs. Still, even in the time of Tacitus the primitive garments of wild beasts' skins were to be seen. Those who dwelt near the Roman border, where they were worn probably only from poverty, were clad rather than dressed in them; but the more distant tribes expended all the resources of savage dandyism in varying their mantles of hide by sewing on patches of what we may suppose to be sealskin.

The scanty clothing of the Germans, notwithstanding the rigour of their climate, combined with their habit of bathing in rivers (iv. 1, § 10; vi. 21, §§ 3, 5), gave the southern nations an impression of great hardihood. Mela notices their fondness for swimming [3]. This was specially characteristic of the Batavians, whose position gave them plenty of opportunities for practising the art [4]. But though the Germans could endure cold and want, they were like the Gauls in their inability to bear heat; like them also, their strength in the field lay rather in a sudden rush than in a steady endurance of the stress and toil of battle (Tac. G. 4, § 3).

Government. With regard to the government of the Germans Caesar has hardly anything definite to tell us. He speaks, as we have seen, of 'magistrates and chiefs,' who made the assignments of

[1] Furneaux on Tac. G. 17, § 1 notices that the phrase used by Tacitus 'tegumen . . . spina consertum' is drawn from Verg. Aen. iii. 594.

[2] 'Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur,' Tac. G. 17, § 1.

[3] iii. § 27 'Nandi non patientia tantum illis, studium etiam est.'

[4] See Tac. A. ii. 8, § 3; H. iv. 12; Agr. 18 'Patrius nandi usus.'

land. At the same time he says that in peace there was no common magistracy, but that justice was administered in the several districts and cantons (*pagi*) by the local authorities (vi. 23, § 5). We are therefore led to conclude that it was these 'principes regionum atque pagorum' in their assembly ('cum una coierunt,' vi. 22, § 2), who constituted the governing power in the states described by Caesar: for governing power there must have been to effect the arrangement that one-half of the male population should stay at home every year to cultivate the ground, and the other half go out to war (iv. 1, §§ 4, 5). This loose organization sufficed for their needs in time of peace: but in war a more stringent discipline was required, and officers were then chosen who could say, like Agamemnon in Aristotle's Homer (Pol. iii. 14, § 5)—

πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος.

This is all that we learn from Caesar: but, when we turn to Tacitus, we are presented with a more varied political picture. We find not only free states controlled by councils, as in Caesar, but kings also, and kings too of different types, ranging from the most limited monarchy to a real power, which however always fell short of being despotic (G. 44, § 1). Caesar's description therefore is only a partial one. It is as though one were to take the constitution of a single country, say that of Great Britain, as representative of Europe generally. 'The kings,' Tacitus tells us, 'were chosen from their nobility, but leaders (*duces*) from their valour' (G. 7, § 1). Whether these kings and leaders were in the same state he does not explain. But he seems purposely to contradict Caesar by denying that the leaders in war had power of life and death or even to flog or imprison. These penalties could only be inflicted by the priests, who were supposed to act under the sanction of the God of Battles, whose symbols they bore into the field from the sacred groves where they were wont to hang (G. 7, § 2). The priests too, we read, were armed with power to procure silence in the national assemblies (G. 11, § 4). In some

measure therefore the real government of the Germans may be said with truth to have been a theocracy.

Courage in war.

The Germans belonged to those barbarous nations mentioned by Aristotle (Pol. vii. 2, §§ 10, 12), among whom civic courage was fostered by manners and institutions. Foremost among these was the custom in battle that members of the same family and clan[1] should fight side by side. Caesar (i. 51, § 2) has recorded how this arrangement was adopted by the Germans in their first encounter with the Romans. Another great incentive to valour was the habit of placing the women and children in the rear of the forces. It was thus that Ariovistus did (i. 51, § 3), though the measure on that occasion failed to secure its end; and thus also did Civilis (Tac. H. iv. 18). The women, who had vowed to share their husbands' fortunes in war as in peace, were not there as mere onlookers. They brought refreshments to the fighters, as farmers' wives might to reapers; and they acted as an ambulance corps, attending to the wounded. Thus early do we find the female leech, who figured so prominently in the Middle Ages, and who is beginning to make her appearance among us once more as a qualified M.D. Sometimes their services were of a sterner kind; for Plutarch (Marius 19) tells us that when the Ambrones fled before the soldiers of Marius, the women met them and their pursuers with swords and hatchets[2]. For a soldier to have left his shield was regarded among the Germans as the deepest disgrace, entailing excommunication and exclusion from the national council. They had not reached the stage when it was possible to compose a playful poem upon such an incident. Instead of that, the unfortunate warrior often went and hanged himself (Tac. G. 6, § 6). The devotion to chiefs too of personal retainers was another stimulus to valour which acted

[1] 'Familiae et propinquitates,' Tac. G. 7, § 3.

[2] Some people think that the Ambrones were not Teutons, but the fourth pagus of the Helvetii, the name of which does not otherwise figure in history.

both on the leader and his followers. No chief should be surpassed in courage by his retainers, and no retainer should survive his chief (Tac. G. 14, §§ 1, 2). We do not meet with this trait in Caesar. But he tells us that when a chief in the council had proposed a fray, and men had risen to volunteer, all confidence was withdrawn from them if they failed to keep their word.

The prowess of the Germans in war rested simply on their courage and personal strength: it was in no way assisted by science. As among the Gauls, there was an almost total absence of defensive armour (Tac. G. 6, § 3). Even their weapons of offence are represented as of a meagre description, which Tacitus sets down to the scarcity among them of iron. Their front rank might have the enormous spears or lances[1] of which we hear, but the rear had sometimes to content themselves with burnt stakes. The usual weapon was a short spear with a small point, which could be used either for hurling or thrusting. Tacitus informs us that the native name for this was *framea*. Their shields were not strengthened with metal or hide, but were of plaited osier or mere wooden boards, on the painting of which however they expended no little care[2]. Armour.

The only thing that we gather from Caesar as to the tactics of the Germans relates to their formation into *phalanges* protected by a wall of shields, which the lithe Romans met by leaping on to them and striking at the bare heads of the barbarians (i. 52, §§ 4–6). Tacitus (G. 6, § 5) speaks of the usual formation of their infantry as being a *cuneus*, consisting of members of the same family or clan (G. 7, § 3). The same was the case with their squadrons of horse. The Germans, we are told, thought it no shame to retreat, provided it was with a view to a more successful advance[3]. Tactics.

[1] Tac. A. ii. 14, § 3, 'enormis hastas'; G. 6, § 1, 'maioribus lanceis.'

[2] Tac. A. ii. 14, § 4; G. 6.

[3] G. 6, § 6: A. i. 56, § 6; cp. ii. 14, § 5.

Horses.

The small size of the German horses has been already alluded to. They were ugly and possessed of no great speed, but they made up for these deficiencies by their powers of endurance [1]. They were ridden barebacked, the German regarding a saddle as a sign of effeminacy (iv. 2, § 4). They were rather means of locomotion than aids in actual fighting. For, when serious work had to be done, the rider would dismount and stab his opponent's horse under him, trusting to find his own trained animal waiting for him on his return (iv. 2, § 3; 12, § 2). It was thus that the cavalry of the Usipetes and Tencteri, though themselves not more than 800, put to flight 5,000 of Caesar's horse.

Mixed infantry and cavalry.

Tacitus pronounces that on the whole the strength of the Germans lay in their infantry rather than in their cavalry, and gives this as the reason why they combined the two in the 'hundreds' (G. 6, § 5). Caesar (i. 48, §§ 5-7) has described with admiration this mixed force as used by Ariovistus. In the army of that chief there were 6,000 cavalry, supported by the same number of infantry, the swiftest and strongest that could be found, each 'man picked by man,' and chosen by the horsemen with the care which was likely to be displayed in a matter where their own safety was at stake. The foot-soldiers were such practised runners that, aided by the manes of the horses, they could keep up with their pace.

Although this mixture of cavalry and infantry is dwelt upon by Caesar and Tacitus in special connexion with the Germans, yet the practice was not confined to them. Vercingetorix had light-armed infantry mingled with his cavalry (vii. 18, § 1); the 'Trimarcisia' described by Pausanias among the Gauls that invaded Greece was instituted on a similar principle (see p. 59); and at a period less remote from Caesar's time (B.C. 168) a body of Gauls under Clondicus, consisting of 10,000 cavalry and the same number of infantry, who could equal the speed of the horses and were ready to take the place of the riders if they

[1] 'Equi non forma non velocitate conspicui,' Tac. G. 6, § 3; cp. Hdt. v. 9 on the horses of the Sigynnae.

fell, offered their services to Perseus, which were rejected owing to the injudicious parsimony of that monarch (Liv. xliv. 26). Caesar displayed his appreciation of the German cavalry in the most practical way, by having 400 of them in his service from a period which he describes as 'ab initio' (vii. 13, § 1). When he was hard pressed by the cavalry of Vercingetorix, it was across the Rhine that he looked for aid, importing from there a body of mixed cavalry and infantry. So much store did he set by these allies, that he thought it worth while to dismount his own officers, in order to supply the riders with better horses (vii. 65, §§ 4, 5). His German auxiliaries contributed largely to his ultimate success (vii. 13, § 1; 67, § 5; 70, §§ 2–7; 80, § 6).

Caesar's German auxiliaries.

From war we turn to religion, a subject which we have reserved to the last, but which Caesar has treated first, under the impression, it would seem, that here lay the most marked distinction between the Germans and the Gauls. 'For,' says our author, 'the Germans have no Druids [1] to preside at divine worship, nor do they attend to sacrifices. They recognise as gods only those whom they see and by whose aid they are manifestly assisted, namely, the Sun, Vulcan, and the Moon; the rest they have not so much as heard of.'

Religion of the Germans.

Such then is the picture that was drawn of the Germans the first time they ever sat for their portrait. We see a people, hardly emerged from the nomad state, shifting their quarters from year to year, and liking to have plenty of elbow-room in the way of territory; a people split up into a number of tribes engaged in constant war with one another; raising corn crops, but without any study of the finer methods of cultivation; engaged still to a great extent in hunting; their habitations mere temporary huts; their sole garments the trophies of the chase; their main diet the produce of their own flocks and herds, or, by preference, of those of others; a people to whom private property was unknown, and whose political organization was of the loosest description; a people of great size and

General view of the Germans.

[1] They had priests. Tac. G. 7, 10, 11, 40, 43: Str. vii. 1, § 4; 3, § 5.

strength, who, notwithstanding their barbarism, were possessed of sundry virtues, having a high courage, an unusually strict code of sexual morality, and a sacred sense of the duties of hospitality; lastly, a people tinged with superstition, and practising a primitive form of nature-worship, their only deities the Sun and Moon and the all-pervading and mysterious element of Fire.

Is it a true one?

The picture is consistent with itself. But is it consistent with reality? There seems no reason to doubt of its substantial truthfulness, but it is obvious to remark that it is based on a narrow experience. Caesar's account of the Germans in the sixth book is only a slightly enlarged edition of his account of the Suebi in the fourth; and of the Suebi themselves Caesar could only have known what he learnt from the Ubii. They were the only Germans whom he saw across the Rhine, for both the Sugambri and the Suebi retired further than Caesar cared to follow them. Of his friends the Ubii themselves Caesar (iv. 3, § 3) tells us that they were a little more civilised than the rest, having frequent intercourse with merchants, and having become habituated to Gallic customs. The account of the Germans therefore is not meant to apply in its full strictness to them.

French criticism.

Monsieur Fustel de Coulanges, in his brilliant and careful essay on the tenure of land among the Germans[1], has not ventured to dispute the authority of Caesar, though he minimises its force by maintaining that there must have been in Germany a variety of divergent and even contradictory usages. The passage in Tacitus[2], which might be thought, and generally has been thought, to corroborate Caesar's statements, is declared by the French historian to contain no reference

[1] Du Régime des Terres en Germanie, contained in a volume entitled Recherches sur quelques Problèmes d'Histoire, Paris, Hachette et Cie, 1885.

[2] G. 26 'Agri pro numero cultorum ab universis in vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur. Facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia praestant. Arva per annos mutant et superest ager.'

to the possession of land, but only to the mode of cultivation. It is therefore, he maintains, as consistent with the idea of private property as it is with that of communism. And to say that private property existed at this time among the Germans he thinks is nearer to the truth than to speak of a system of communism. Only, the kind of private property then in force must be carefully distinguished from that known to us at the present day. It was a system of family proprietorship which was in vogue among the Germans, with rights of property not vested in the soil, but in the family itself, so that on changing the area of cultivation each family was entitled to the same amount of land that it had occupied previously. In support of this conclusion he cites the facts mentioned by Tacitus (G. 20, § 5) of heredity without testament and of males only inheriting. He finds the German family at this early period one and indivisible in the two main concerns of life—agriculture and war. Monsieur Fustel de Coulanges, as we have seen, has not attempted to reconcile these views with Caesar's statements. But it might be said that a proprietorship which was not confined to any given tract of soil might well have appeared to Caesar to be no proprietorship at all, and a system of annual[1] reassignment of land to be practically indistinguishable from its possession by the state.

German criticism.

While Caesar's views on the land-question have been treated with deference in France, his statements about religion have been brusquely rejected in Germany. Jacob Grimm combats with all the resources of his immense learning the opinion held by some people that the earliest inhabitants of Germany 'knew nothing better than a gross *worship of nature without gods*[2].' On the contrary, he declares that 'in the first century of our era the religion of the Germans rested mainly upon gods.' At

[1] The only instance in which M. de Coulanges' interpretation seems to do any violence to the text of Tacitus is where (p. 282, note 1) he makes 'per annos' signify 'every three or four years.'

[2] Teutonic Mythology, translated by Stallybrass, p. 100.

the same time he concedes to Tacitus (G. 9, § 3; 43, § 5) that the German gods were not represented by images. Here we are face to face with a flat contradiction between ancient and modern authority. It is not necessary to maintain the infallibility of an author simply because one happens to be editing him. I must therefore leave it to more competent judges to decide between Caesar and the great German philologist. But one remark I will venture to make at the risk of incurring a charge of temerity. Religion, strange to say, is generally an exotic product: very few nations have evolved and retained their own. Now a good many things may have happened in the century and a half that intervenes between Caesar and Tacitus. Perhaps somebody may yet be found to maintain that the gods whom the Germans were worshipping in the time of Tacitus were imported from Gaul[1].

[1] Cp. Caes. B. G. vi. 17 with Tac. G. 9. Is it possible that the kings of the Thracians, of whom Herodotus (v. 7) says *σέβονται Ἑρμῆν μάλιστα θεῶν*, were of Celtic origin? Their having a separate worship from their subjects would seem to argue a difference of race.

CHAPTER VII

THE ROMAN ARMY

HAVING spoken already of the general and of the enemy, it now remains for us to say something about the instrument wherewith the general overcame the enemy. That instrument was the Roman army. We are concerned with it only as it was in the time of Caesar; but the two most detailed accounts of it which we possess were written, one of them some two centuries before, the other at least four centuries after that date. The former is by Polybius, who brought down his history to B.C. 146, the year which marked the fall of Carthage and, what to him was more vital, of Corinth; the latter is by Vegetius, who wrote after the death of the Emperor Gratian (A.D. 383)[1]. Sources.

The account which Polybius gives of the Roman army, as it was in the days of the younger Africanus, is the basis of all our knowledge on this subject. It has the peculiar value for us of being written by one who, though intimately acquainted with the Roman military system, was still a foreigner writing for foreigners, and so thinks it worth his while to explain things, the knowledge of which a Roman addressing his countrymen would take for granted. The same sort of interest attaches to Polybius.

[1] According to Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c., end of ch. 27, the emperor, to whom the work of Vegetius is dedicated, is Valentinian III, A.D. 425–455. This is also the opinion of the Teubner editor, Karl Lang.

Josephus.

the short account given by Josephus in his Jewish War[1] of those Roman armies, against which he had himself contended. In his pages we seem to hear the tramp of the legions as they pursue their march, inexhaustible in resources, irresistible in might, and can still feel the shiver which their approach sent through the hearts of the brave but undisciplined 'barbarians.'

Vegetius and his authorities.

Of Vegetius personally nothing is known. It cannot even be inferred from his work that he was himself a military man. He wrote in a time of degeneracy and defeat with a view to restoring the old Roman training and in particular the use of defensive armour, the discontinuance of which Gibbon declares to have been 'the immediate cause of the downfall of the empire.' Vegetius mentions as his authorities Cato the Censor, Cornelius Celsus, Frontinus, and Paternus, together with the 'constitutions' of Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian: but the use which he makes of these materials is so uncritical that we never know of what period he is speaking. Cato died in B.C. 149. His work De Re Militari is quoted also by Aulus Gellius (vi. 4, § 5). Cornelius Celsus (about A.D. 50) is better known to us as the Latin writer on medicine: but his was an encyclopaedic genius, which embraced all subjects, though Quintilian (xii. 11, § 24) pronounces him to have been a man of only moderate ability. Julius Frontinus was succeeded by Agricola in the command of Britain in the year A.D. 78. He is called 'a great man' by Tacitus (Agr. 17), and he had shown his practical acquaintance with the art of which he wrote by the subjugation of the Silures, the most powerful tribe in South Wales. He took part also in putting down the revolt of Julius Civilis, and received the surrender of the Lingones (Front. iv. 3, § 14). The work of his which has come down to us under the name of 'Strategematon' is not his treatise on the art of war, which has unfortunately perished, but a series of anecdotes after the manner of Valerius Maximus, only shorter and more scrappy, intended to equip the general with examples

[1] Bk. iii. chs. 5 and 6.

of the skilful conduct of his business both in and out of action. Paternus, whom Vegetius (i. 8) calls 'diligentissimus iuris militaris adsertor,' may be assumed to be the 'Tarruntenus Paternus,' author of a work in four books De Re Militari, who is quoted in the Digest (xlix. 16, 7) as an authority on martial law. He was at one time in command of the Praetorians, and afterwards fell a victim to the tyrannical suspicions of the Emperor Commodus (D. C. lxxii. 5). Of more value perhaps even than the work of Cato would have been that of the historian L. Cincius Alimentus, had it been preserved to us. The reader of Livy (xxi. 38, § 3) will remember that he was taken prisoner by Hannibal in the Second Punic War. He wrote at least six books De Re Militari, from which we know that Livy borrowed [1]. Had we these books before us perhaps Livy's account (viii. 8) of the early Roman army would be less perplexing than it is.

Law and arms.

Among the Romans there were but two professions, arms and the law. By the one they conquered the world, by the other they governed it. Law in both its branches of jurisprudence and forensic oratory offered a career to the educated and ambitious young Roman. It may suit a passing purpose of Cicero to depreciate the former in comparison with oratory and the art of war, but from a less biassed source we get a juster judgment, which puts all three pursuits on a level [2]. And as in law, so in war the Romans displayed that wise conservatism, which gave them their hold upon history.

The Roman army an historic growth.

The Roman army was an institution, whose growth was coeval with that of the city itself. The very name of 'maniples, if we may trust the antiquarian lore of Plutarch, carries us back to the rustic army of Romulus, marching to attack Amulius in

[1] Cp. Liv. i. 32, § 13 with Aul. Gell. xvi. 4, § 1.

[2] Cp. Cic. Mur. § 30 'duae sunt artes, quae possunt locare homines in amplissimo gradu dignitatis: una imperatoris, altera oratoris boni' with Dialogus de Oratoribus, ch. 28, where the 'artes honestae' are thus divided, 'sive ad rem militarem, sive ad iuris scientiam, sive ad eloquentiae studium inclinasset.'

bodies of a hundred, each headed by a man who carried on a pole an armful of hay and brushwood[1].

The early Roman army was simply the Roman people in the field, the dictator, who was also called 'magister populi,' being the supreme head of the people, who formed the legions, while the master of the horse had the command of the 'equites' and 'accensi' (Varr. L. L. v. § 82). In dealing with an historical growth like this we should naturally expect to encounter anomalies, and herein our anticipation will not be disappointed. We shall meet with 'centuriae' which consisted of anything but a hundred men, with 'principes' who did not form the front line, with 'hastati' who had no 'hasta,' and with 'pilani' who alone were not armed with the 'pilum.' Such discrepancies as these were a puzzle to the Romans themselves, and can only be accounted for by the conservative tendency to cling to names after the thing itself has been altered[2].

Power of adaptation possessed by the Romans.

All professions and ancient institutions tend to run into red tape and formalism. This is due partly to the effect of tradition on the imagination, partly to the fact that it is easier to do things as one has seen them done than to strike out a better but untried way. Experience is the great corrective of this tendency; and in war the lessons of experience are more sharp and peremptory than in other departments of life. Cumbrous and unwieldy methods of law are vexatious and injurious to individuals: but in war a blind conservatism may imperil the very existence, and not merely the welfare, of a nation. Even the Chinese will not come out a second time with bows and

[1] Rom. 8 *Πολλὴν δὲ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν ἦγε συλλελοχισμένην εἰς ἑκατοστύας· ἑκάστης δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀφηγεῖτο χόρτου καὶ ὕλης ἀγκαλίδα κοντῷ περικειμένην ἀνέχων· μανίπλα ταύτας Λατῖνοι καλοῦσιν· ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασι τούτους μανιπλαρίους ὀνομάζουσιν.* Cp. Ovid, Fast. iii. 117, 8

'Pertica suspensos portabat longa maniplos:
Unde maniplaris nomina miles habet.'

[2] Varr. L. L. v. § 89 '*Hastati* dicti qui primi hastis pugnabant, *pilani* qui pilis, *principes* qui a principio gladiis: ea post commutata re militari minus illustria sunt.'

arrows to encounter modern artillery. The wise power of adaptation possessed by the Romans was nowhere more conspicuous than in military matters. 'Fas est et ab hoste doceri' is a motto on which they were prompt to act. Polybius noticed this feature in their character, and tells his readers of the quickness with which they adopted the Greek cavalry armour, when they found it to be superior to their own [1].

Sallust, speaking through the person of Caesar (Cat. 51, § 38), tells us that the armour of the Romans, both for offence and defence, was borrowed from the Samnites, as most of 'the pomp and circumstance' of government was from the Etruscans. It was the way with the Romans to beat the enemy at his own weapons. In early times they turned the Etrurian phalanx against the Etruscans (Athen. vi. 273 f.); later on they conquered the Carthaginians at sea in vessels modelled on a stranded galley of their own; and finally they battered down the Greek cities with the siege apparatus and the engineering skill which they had derived from the Greeks themselves. The same readiness to learn from the enemy was displayed by Caesar, when he borrowed from the Germans some of that mixed cavalry and infantry with which he had been so much struck in the army of Ariovistus (i. 48, 5–7). The employment of such a force was evidently a new idea to Caesar, though it was not new in the annals of Roman warfare, as we shall see later. The 'scutum' of the Roman legionary was adopted from the Samnites, the 'gaesum' which the light-armed carried at an early period (Liv. viii. 8, § 5) from the Gauls [2]; the short sword, which became so distinctive of the Romans, is said to have been borrowed from the Spaniards after the Second Punic

[1] Polyb. vi. 25 ad fin. *ἃ συνιδόντες ἐμιμήσαντο ταχέως· ἀγαθοὶ γάρ, εἰ καί τινες ἕτεροι, μεταλαβεῖν ἔθη καὶ ζηλῶσαι τὸ βέλτιον καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι.* Cp. Sall. Cat. 51, § 38 'postremo quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur: imitari quam invidere bonis malebant.'

[2] Servius on Verg. Aen. vii. 664; cp. B. G. iii. 4, § 1. According to Athenaeus vi. 273 f., the 'gaesum' was borrowed from the Spaniards.

War; even the national weapon of the 'pilum' was believed by some to be of Sabellian origin[1].

Three periods of the Roman army.

The history of the Roman army naturally divides itself into three periods—

1. The citizen army under the Kings and the early Republic.
2. The army of the last century of the Republic.
3. The standing army of the Empire.

The second of these periods forms merely a transition stage from the first to the third: but, as it is the period to which Caesar's army belonged, it is the only one with which we are directly concerned. Of the first period we shall touch only on the close.

Close of the first period. Divisions of the army.

The army, as described by Polybius, consisted of three divisions, the 'hastati,' 'principes,' and 'triarii,' of whom the 'hastati' occupied the front rank and were the youngest of the heavy-armed troops, the 'triarii' being the veterans. In addition to these there were light-armed troops ('velites'), who consisted of the youngest men and were distributed equally among the three divisions (Polyb. vi. 24, § 4). The number of 'triarii' was definitely limited to 600; the 'hastati' and 'principes,' and apparently also the 'velites,' were 1200 each, which brings the total up to 4200. If a larger legion were required, the additional men were distributed equally among all the divisions except the 'triarii.' These differed from the 'hastati' and 'principes' in *not* carrying the 'pilum,' but being armed with what Polybius (i. 23, § 16) calls *δόρατα*. Yet the 'triarii' were otherwise known as 'pilani[2].' Beyond this difference in the missile the equipment of all three divisions was alike. They bore the 'scutum,' the Spanish sword on the right thigh, brazen helmets and greaves. The majority wore besides

[1] In Vergil, Aen. vii. 664, 5

> 'pila manu saevosque gerunt in bella dolones
> et tereti pugnant mucrone veruque Sabello,'

the second line was taken by some ancient critics as merely explaining the first, with which it formed a chiasmus. See Servius on the passage.

[2] Varro, L. L. v. § 89 'Pilani triarii quoque dicti.'

a metal guard to the heart a span square, but those whose fortune was above 10,000 drachmas, that is, the first class under the Servian census, wore a complete corslet of chain-mail. To increase the terrors of their appearance, all three divisions had their helmets surmounted by a crown of feathers with three purple or black plumes a foot and a half long.

The triarii.

The 'triarii' acted principally as a reserve. The word 'subsidium' is declared by the etymologists to be derived from their couching posture (Varr. L. L. v. § 89; Fest. Müll, p. 306). This idea is borne out by a line from the Frivolaria of Plautus—

'Agite nunc, subsidite omnes quasi solent triarii.'

We sometimes find the 'triarii' left to guard the camp[1], and sometimes employed to make it, while the younger men are in action[2].

Arrangement of the maniples.

The three divisions were arranged in quincuncial order, unless there were some reason to the contrary, as when Scipio at Zama posted the maniples of each directly behind those of the other, so as to leave a free passage for the elephants (Polyb. xv. 9, § 7; Liv. xxx. 33, § 1).

The velites.

The 'velites' did yeoman's service in the attack upon the Galatians on Mount Olympus in B.C. 189, in connexion with which operation Livy (xxxviii. 21, § 13) takes occasion to describe them. They carried a round buckler ('parma'), three feet in diameter, and in their right hand spears ('hastae') for use at a distance. By their side was a Spanish sword, which they would draw, after shifting the spears to their left, if there were need for action at close quarters. The poet Varro Atacinus thus contrasts the 'velites' with the heavy-armed—

'Quem sequuntur cum rotundis velites parmis leves,
Antesignani quadratis, multis tecti insignibus.'

[1] Liv. xl. 27 'duae cohortes et triarii duarum legionum in praesidio castrorum manere iussi': cp. ii. 47, § 5.

[2] Ib. vii. 23, § 7 'Ab Romanis nec opus intermissum (triarii erant qui muniebant) et ab hastatis principibusque . . . proelium initum.'

From another poet, Lucilius, we gather that the 'veles' was the same as the 'rorarius,' that he carried five 'hastae,' and wore a golden belt—

'Quinque hastae, aureolo cinctu rorariu' veles.'

We may also fairly infer his identity with the 'accensus velatus' from another line of the same author—

'Pone paludatus stabat rorariu' velox,'

though we are under no necessity of connecting 'veles' etymologically with 'velatus.'

These nimble light infantry were of special use against elephants. We find them so employed in the First Punic War (Polyb. i. 33, § 9), at the battle of the Trebia (B.C. 218, Liv. xxi. 55, § 11) and again (Liv. xxx. 33, § 3) at Zama (B.C. 202), where they were posted in the gaps between the maniples, to tempt the beasts under a double fire. On ordinary occasions the 'velites' were stationed partly among the 'antesigani' and partly behind the standards[1].

The 'vēlītes' are called by Polybius *γροσφομάχοι* (i. 33, § 9; vi. 21, § 7) or *γροσφοφόροι* (vi. 21, § 9), and are described by him much in the same way as they are by Livy as carrying a round buckler (*πάρμη*), three feet in diameter, and being armed with a sword and with light spears (*γρόσφοι*). He adds that their head-gear was generally plain, but occasionally covered with wolf-skin, partly for protection, and partly to draw the attention of the officers, and let them see whether they were playing their part manfully. The *γρόσφος* or 'hasta' is described by him as having a shaft three feet long and of a finger's breadth and a point a span long, so attenuated as to break at the first cast and prove useless to the enemy.

Velites mixed with cavalry.

During the siege of Capua in B.C. 211 the Romans found themselves overmastered by the enemy's cavalry, though they

[1] Liv. xxiii. 29, § 3 'Triplex stetit Romana acies; velitum pars inter antesignanos locata, pars post signa accepta': cp. viii. 8.

were themselves superior on foot. They accordingly trained young and active men, carrying each a buckler and seven darts ('iacula') with points like those used by the 'velites,' to ride behind the cavalry-soldier and dismount when they came to the scene of action. This device is said to have been invented by a centurion, Q. Navius, who received honours in consequence from the general Fulvius Flaccus. After this time 'velites' in this special sense were made an integral part of the Roman legions (Liv. xxvi. 4; Val. Max. ii. 3, § 3). This mixed force, which combined the velocity of cavalry with the stability of infantry, was found extremely effective in Macedonia against King Philippus (B.C. 200)[1]. We read also of mounted 'velites' being employed by Metellus against Jugurtha in B.C. 109 (Sall. J. 46), but after this they disappeared, when the whole legion was made uniform by Marius. It seemed therefore to Caesar a new idea when he encountered such a force among the Germans, and he was not slow in availing himself of it (vii. 65, § 4; viii. 13, § 2). But the custom was Gallic as well as German. Livy (xliv. 26) describes it among the Gauls in Illyricum, and Caesar himself mentions its use by Vercingetorix (vii. 18, § 1; cp. 80, § 3). Vegetius (iii. 16) speaks of the employment of 'velites' as an excellent device for strengthening cavalry and as being in accordance with the custom of the ancients, but he is mistaken when he tells us in another place (iii. 24) that it was these mounted 'velites' that were employed against elephants.

Survival of old names in Caesar's time.

At the same time that the 'velites' disappeared, the whole tripertite organization of the army was swept away. But Rome never broke entirely with the past, so that in Caesar's time we find the once famous names of 'hastati,' 'principes,' and 'triarii' still surviving in the titles of the centurions.

The Roman cavalry in the time of Polybius.

In the time of Polybius (vi. 25, § 2) the Roman cavalry was divided into ten troops (ἶλαι='turmae'), consisting, it would

[1] Liv. xxxi. 35, from which we learn that the 'velites' carried their swords also.

seem, of thirty-three men each, including the officers [1]. From each of these troops three men were selected as commanders (ἰλάρχαι); these in their turn selected three others to look after the rear. These subordinate officers are called by Polybius οὐραγοί, but their proper Latin name was 'optiones [2].' The officer first selected had the command of the whole troop; the second and third were in a strict sense commanders of ten (δεκάδαρχοι), but all three were called decurions (δεκουρίων = 'decŭrio'), and the whole 'turma' was regarded as consisting of three 'decuriae.' In the absence of the first officer the second took the command of the troop. The origin of this organization is traced back by Varro to the three primaeval tribes of Rome, which puts it on a level with that of the primordial legion. Varro notices that in his own time, which was also Caesar's time, the 'optiones' were no longer selected by the decurions, but appointed by the tribunes, a change which he attributes to the spread of patronage and favouritism.

Cavalry armour. The weak point about the Roman cavalry was originally the insufficiency of their armour. They wore no breastplates, but only bands round the waist, like those of the common soldier. While this light equipment enabled them to mount and dismount with facility, it at the same time rendered an encounter extremely hazardous. Moreover their spears were so slender that the heads sometimes broke off from the mere motion of the horses, and, as they were destitute of a spike at the other end (σαυρωτήρ), all use was gone from them when this happened. Lastly, their shields of cowhide were not strong enough for the press of battle, and were liable to rot from damp. These defects had been remedied before the time of Polybius (vi. 25) through the adoption by the Romans of the full cavalry armour of the Greeks.

Tactics. The cavalry used to charge in their 'turmae' in close order [3],

[1] Veget. ii. 14 'xxxii equites ab uno decurione sub uno vexillo reguntur.'

[2] Varro, L. L. v. § 91 'Quos hi (sc. decuriones) primo administros ipsi sibi adoptabant, "optiones" vocari coepti.'

[3] Sall. J. 101, § 4 'turmatim et quam maxime confertis equis.'

the better to bear down all opposition. When there was special need, the 'turmae' would be doubled by employing the cavalry of two legions, as in B.C. 180, when it became necessary to break a 'cuneus' of Celtiberians; in emergencies also they would take the bits out of the horses' mouths, so that there might be nothing to stop the fury of the charge (Liv. xl. 40, § 5). At no time, however, were the Romans themselves particularly strong in cavalry. Accordingly, while the infantry forces which they borrowed from their allies were on an average equal to their own, the cavalry were three times as numerous [1].

Organization of the allies.

The allies ('socii') as a whole were commanded by twelve prefects (πραίφεκτοι='praefecti'), appointed by the consuls, and whom we gather from Livy to have been Roman citizens [2]. The first care of these officers was to select the very flower of the whole force, both horse and foot, for special service in a body known as 'extraordinarii [3].' About a third of the cavalry and a fifth part of the infantry were thus told off. The rest of the allies were divided into two bodies known as the right and left wing (Polyb. vi. 26, §§ 5–9). Hence, the allied cavalry were called 'alarii equites' to distinguish them from the 'legionarii equites' (Liv. xl. 40). The infantry of the allies were not enrolled into separate legions of their own, nor did they form part of the Roman legions. Their unit was the cohort. Hence they were known as 'cohortes alariæ [4].' They were distinguished from one another by local appellations, such as 'cohors Lucana, Suessana, Peligna, Placentina [5].' By Caesar's time the distinction between the Italian allies and the legionaries

[1] Polyb. iii. 107, § 12; vi. 26, § 7; vi. 30, § 2, where the mode of statement is different, but the meaning the same.

[2] Liv. xxiii. 7, § 3 'praefectos socium civesque Romanos alios.'

[3] Ἐκτραορδινάριοι, ἐπίλεκτοι, Polyb. vi. 26, § 6; 'extraordinariae cohortes,' Liv. xl. 27.

[4] Liv. x. 43, § 3 'cum legione prima et decem cohortibus alariis'; xxx. 41, § 5 'is ex duobus exercitibus in unam legionem conscriberet Romanos milites et in quindecim cohortes socios Latini nominis.'

[5] Liv. x. 33, § 1; xxv. 14, § 4; xli. 1.

had been done away with, owing to the extension of the franchise to Italy at the close of the Social War.

Property qualification for service.

Under the Servian constitution the property qualification for the lowest class in the legions is stated to have been 11,000 *asses*. This rating has been deemed far too high for so early a period. In order to explain it Mommsen (Hist. of Rome, vol. i. p. 96) assumes 'that the assessments were originally reckoned in land, and were converted into money at a time when landed property had already attained a high money-value.' If this be so, perhaps no real fall in the assessment had taken place by the time of Polybius (vi. 19, § 2), who fixes the minimum at 400 drachmas or 4000 *asses*.

Innovation of Marius in enlisting the poor.

Except in times of great emergency, as during the Second Punic War, service in the legions was thus rigorously confined to the propertied classes: but with the increase of opulence at home and the extension of the empire abroad, a strong disinclination began to be felt among the upper classes to a long absence on foreign service. Marius, a bold innovator[1], dexterously availed himself of the indolence of the rich to violate the law by enlisting the poor. When appointed to the command in the war against Jugurtha he contravened all precedent by enrolling under his banners the 'capite censi[2].' It was open to the respectable classes to protest against this preference of their wishes to their interests: but then they would have had to suffer themselves instead of availing themselves of a scapegoat. So insidiously was the change brought about which was to prove fatal to the continuance of the commonwealth. For so long as Rome was protected by the arms of men who had a stake in the country, though there might be oppression of faction by faction, it was hardly likely that the liberties of the state would be entirely overthrown: but when an army of mercenaries got a leader like Cæsar, whom they adored, they were ready to dare

[1] 'Vetustati non sane propitius,' Val. Max. ii. 3, § 1.

[2] Sall. J. 85, § 3; 86, § 3: Plut. Mar. 9: Aul. Gell. xvi. 10, § 14: Val. Max. ii. 3, § 1

all and do all, not for their country, but for their commander. Another cause was operating at the same time in the same direction, and that was the specialisation of functions required by the principle of the division of labour. The professional soldier and a standing army were becoming necessary to a more highly organized community. The awful lesson taught to the Romans by the Cimbri and Teutoni made them realise that the art of war was not a matter which could be entrusted with impunity to amateurs; and they became anxious to compensate by skill for their deficiency in strength. A new training in arms, on the same lines as that of gladiators, was devised by P. Rutilius (Val. Max. ii. 3, § 2), the colleague in the consulship in B.C. 105 of that Cn. Manlius who, together with two armies (p. 76), was wiped out of existence by the barbarians. During these reforms the old tripertite division of the Roman army into 'hastati,' 'principes,' and 'triarii,' with their contingents of 'velites,' was, as we have already indicated, swept away. In the new legion, which was evolved from the process, the cohort supplanted the maniple as the tactical unit.

Increasing necessity for a standing army.

Introduction of a new training in arms.

Transformation of the army.

Besides the enrolment of the 'capite censi' the innovations of Marius seem to have included a substitution of more or less voluntary enlistment for the old system of enforced service[1]. The admission of the Italians too to the franchise, and consequently to the legions, after the Social War must have abolished the need, which had previously been felt, of compelling the upper classes to serve. Certain it is that between the time of the younger Africanus and that of Caesar a radical change had passed over the Romans in this respect. Polybius (vi. 19, § 4) tells us that no one was allowed to accept political office, unless he had served ten campaigns. This condition was manifestly not fulfilled by Cicero, though he did serve in his youth in

Voluntary service.

Effect of the enfranchisement of the Italians.

[1] Sall. J. 86, § 2 'ipse interea milites scribere, non more maiorum neque ex classibus, sed uti cuiusque libido erat, capite censos plerosque': cp. 85, § 3 'cogere ad militiam eos quos nolis offendere,' which shows that the exigencies of electioneering led to this change.

the Social War (B.C. 89); nor was it fulfilled by Caesar himself.

Second period. The army in Caesar's time.

Having traced the development of the Roman army, so far as was necessary for our purpose, we are now free to dwell more particularly on its constitution in the time of Caesar. We shall be obliged, however, often to refer back to an earlier state of things in elucidation of a later one.

(1) Its main divisions.

Let us begin with the main divisions of the army.

What we may call the table of the Roman army appears in its familiar form as far back as Cincius Alimentus. In the sixth book of his De Re Militari (Aul. Gell. xvi. 4, § 6) it is given by that author in a form which we may put as follows:—

2	centuries	make	1 maniple.
3	maniples	„	1 cohort.
10	cohorts	„	1 legion.

To the above table there might be added another denomination, namely, that two legions with their contingents of allies make one consular army. Such at least was the practice in old times, when it was usual to enroll four legions, two for each consul.

Meaning of *exercitus*,

The word 'exercitus' by its very meaning carries us straight to the secret of Roman success[1]. It was training and skill that a Roman army matched against the swarming multitudes of the Gauls, against the big limbs of the Germans, against the wiliness of the Africans, against the intellect of the Greeks (Veget. i. 1). The courage of experience is more effective on the field of battle than that of native spirit. When a man is confident that he has learnt to do a thing well, including the murder of his brother, he takes a pride in putting it into practice.

of *legio*,

'Legio' is derived by Varro from 'legere,' in which case

[1] Cic. T. D. ii. § 37 'nostri exercitus primum unde nomen habeant vides': Varro, L. L. v. § 87 'Exercitus, quod exercitando fit melior': Veget. ii. 23.

it means a 'picking,' and is equivalent to 'delectus[1].' By Greek writers the legion is variously called στρατόπεδον, στράτευμα, τάγμα, or τέλος.

The word 'cohort' meant originally an enclosure. Varro's explanation of its transference to a military sense, namely, that, as several buildings made up the enclosure of the farm-yard, so several maniples made up the cohort, may be taken for what it is worth. He quotes Hypsicrates[2] as connecting 'cohort' with the Greek χόρτος[3], which may very well be true (L. L. v. § 88). By the Greek writers the cohort is called σπεῖρα[4]. *of cohors,*

The word 'manipulus,' like 'cohors,' is drawn from the rural life of Italy. In its contracted form 'maniplus' it is found in good authors in its original sense of a wisp or bundle[5]. In its technical military sense it is defined by Varro (L. L. v. § 88) as 'the smallest band which follows a single standard (signum).' The proper name for it in Greek is σημαία, though, to our confusion, it is sometimes also called σπεῖρα and τάγμα (Polyb. vi. 24, § 5). *of manipulus.*

The maniple was the original century in the legion of 3000. The century so-called may be supposed to have arisen by the duplication of the maniple[6]. Hence the centurion was always regarded as the commander of a maniple, not of a century. The maniple the original century.

[1] Varro, L. L. v. 87 'legio, quod leguntur milites in delectu': cp. Plut. Rom. 13 Ἐκλήθη δὲ λεγεὼν τῷ λογάδας εἶναι τοὺς μαχίμους ἐκ πάντων. There is no need to question Varro's etymology on this point, but it is interesting as pointing to an earlier formation of abstract nouns straight from the verbal stem, instead of through the supine, 'legio' = 'lectio.'

[2] A grammarian who wrote a once famous treatise 'super his quae a Graecis accepta sunt.' Aul. Gell. xvi. 12.

[3] Il. xi. 774 αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτῳ; xxiv. 640 αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτοισι.

[4] Under the word σπεῖρα Liddell and Scott's dictionary has 'manipulus' by mistake for 'cohors' in connexion with Polybius xi. 23, § 1, where the words are as follows: τρεῖς σπείρας—τοῦτο δὲ καλεῖται τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν πεζῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κοόρτις.

[5] Verg. Geor. i. 400; iii. 297; Juv. Sat. viii. 153.

[6] Liv. i. 52, § 6 'geminatis manipulis centuriones imposuit.'

Slight importance of the century.

The importance of the centurion is apt to make us think that the century also was important as a division of the army, whereas this was not the case. The word 'centuria' occurs only twice in Caesar's Commentaries, both times in the Civil War, and 'centuriatim' once[1].

Strength of the legion.

With regard to the legion itself the chief question to be asked is—How many men did it contain? If any one were to ask how many men there are in an English regiment, it would be impossible to return a precise and definite answer. The Romans were a far more systematic people than the English: nevertheless, we must not be surprised that the answer to such a question is a somewhat hazy one. We seem on firm ground when Polybius (i. 16, § 2) begins by telling us that the Romans were in the habit of raising every year four legions consisting each of 4000 foot and 300 horse. But later on (iii. 107, § 10) he alters this statement as far as the horse are concerned, making the usual number to be 200, but adding that in emergencies the legion consisted of 5000 foot and 300 horse. As this statement is confirmed by Livy (xxii. 36, § 3), we may accept it as an improvement on the former. This ordinary legion of 4000 infantry, which is perhaps a round number for 4200, was called 'legio quadrata' (Festus, p. 336). In the time of Marius the normal number of the infantry was raised to 6200. The cavalry are never expressly stated to be more than 300: but as there were ten 'turmae' in the 'ala' of Roman horse, this may again be a round number for 330. In Appian Mith. 72, we get 320 horse as the average of five legions under Lucullus.

The following conspectus of variations may aid the reader in forming his own judgment:—

Foot.	Horse.	
4,000	200	Polyb. iii. 107, § 10: Liv. xxii. 36, § 3; xl. 1, § 6.
4,000	300	Polyb. i. 16, § 2: Liv. xxi. 17, § 5.
4,200	300	Polyb. vi. 20, § 8: Liv. vii. 25, § 8.
5,000	200	Liv. xli. 31, § 2.

[1] C. i. 64, § 5; iii. 91, § 3; i. 76, § 3.

Foot.	Horse.	
5,000	300	Polyb. vi. 20, §§ 8, 9: Liv. viii. 8, § 14; xxvi. 28, § 7: App. Annib. vii. 8: Plut. Caes. 32; Pomp. 60.
5,200	300	Polyb. ii. 24, § 3: Liv. xl. 1, § 5.
6,000	300	Liv. xlii. 31, § 2.
6,000	320	App. Mith. 72.
6,200	300	Liv. xxix. 24, § 14: Festus, p. 336.

Of what strength then, were the legions that served under Caesar in Gaul? At first sight it seems natural to suppose that their full number would be that of the Marian legion. But Plutarch evidently did not think thus. We know from Caesar himself (C. i. 7, § 7) that he had only one legion with him when he determined to march on Rome. Now Plutarch twice tells us (Caes. 32; Pomp. 60) that he had not more at that time than 5,000 foot and 300 horse. After they had been long in the field Caesar's legions, unless reinforced, naturally fell far below this figure. Thus in the winter of B.C. 54, after the return from the second expedition to Britain, we find Caesar incidentally reckoning two legions (v. 48, § 1) and about 400 cavalry (v. 46, § 4) at 7,000 men (v. 49, § 7). This would give us 3,300 foot-soldiers for each legion. At Pharsalia the effective strength of the legion was reduced still lower, owing, among other causes, to the serious losses at Dyrrhachium.

Caesar (C. iii. 89, § 2) estimates the eighty cohorts which he drew up in line at Pharsalia at a sum total of 22,000 men, which gives an average of 275 men for the cohort or 2,750 for the legion. Labienus (C. iii. 87) reckons up for us the causes of depletion. There were deaths in battle, deaths from disease, departures home, and the leaving men behind invalided. We may regard the figure just stated as the ebb-tide in the numerical strength of Caesar's legions. After Pharsalia he regards it as an instance of extreme attenuation that there were only 3,200 men apiece in the two legions which he took with him to Alexandria (C. iii. 106, §§ 1, 2.)

When Caesar arrived in Further Gaul he found there one Number of

Caesar's legions.

legion (i. 7, § 2; 8, § 1). He at once raised soldiers from the Province, levied two legions in Cisalpine Gaul, and brought out three from their winter-quarters at Aquileia (i. 10, § 3).

The soldiers from the Province seem to have come under the head of auxiliaries. Thus Caesar started at once with six legions, though he had only been appointed to the command of four. Of these six, four were composed of veterans and the two levied in Cisalpine Gaul of tiros; to these latter was assigned the care of the baggage during the battle with the Helvetii (i. 24, §§ 2, 3). Of the four veteran legions one was the famous Tenth (i. 40, § 15; 42, § 5).

During the winter which followed the first campaign two new legions were levied in Cisalpine Gaul; in the spring of B.C. 57 these were sent into Further Gaul under the command of Quintus Pedius (ii. 2, § 1). Thus Caesar had eight legions at his disposal when he commenced operations against the Belgae. Six of these were now seasoned veterans and bore the brunt of the fighting in the battle of the Sambre (ii. 20, § 3), while the two recent levies were again assigned the charge of the baggage (ii. 19, § 3; 26, § 3). In the account of this battle we get the names, or rather the numbers, of the six legions engaged. The IXth and Xth were victorious over the Atrebates (ii. 23, § 1); the XIth and VIIIth drove back the Veromandui (§ 3); the XIIth and VIIth were roughly handled by the Nervii (§ 4). Thus we get a continuous series of legions—VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII; and, as Dio Cassius (xxxviii. 47, § 2) informs us that Caesar's legions were numbered according to the order of their enlistment, it follows that the two which were not actively engaged were the XIIIth and XIVth. If we conjecture that X was the legion which was in Gaul from the first, it will follow that VII, VIII, and IX were the three that were brought from Aquileia, and XI and XII the two first levied in Cisalpine Gaul. Soon after the battle the VIIth legion was despatched under Publius Crassus to the Armorican states and spent the winter in Anjou (ii. 34; iii. 7, § 2). We hear of

this legion as taking part in both the expeditions to Britain (iv. 32, § 1; v. 9, § 7); it was afterwards with Labienus at Paris (vii. 62, § 3). The XIIth legion under Servius Galba was exposed to great danger in attempting to pass the winter of B.C. 56–7 near Martigny (iii. 1, § 1); it too was at Paris with Labienus.

At the time of the second expedition to Britain the number of Caesar's legions is still eight. There were three left with Labienus, while five accompanied Caesar himself to Britain (v. 8. § 1). In the unquiet winter which followed (B.C. 54–3) there were apparently eight and a-half legions quartered about the country (v. 24), but we may fairly infer that the five extra cohorts intrusted to Sabinus and Cotta were contingents drawn from the rest of the army and were meant to impart strength to the legion of tiros which was being sent into the country of the Eburones (v. 24, § 4). These fifteen cohorts were lost at Aduatuca, but in place of them thirty cohorts, or three new legions, were brought into Gaul (vi. 1, § 4). The entire legion which perished must have been XIV, for in v. 24, § 4 Caesar speaks of it as one of those which he had most recently levied beyond the Padus. It is only XIII and XIV which answer to this description, and we know that XIII passed the winter safely among the Esuvii under the command of Lucius Roscius (v. 53, § 6). Of the three new legions one took the place and number of the lost XIVth (vi. 32, § 5; viii. 4, § 3), whose ill-fortune it inherited, for two of its cohorts were destroyed at the same camp of Aduatuca by the unexpected incursion of the Sugambri (vi. 37, § 8; 44, § 1); another was the Ist, lent by Pompeius (viii. 54, § 2; C. iii. 88, § 1; Lucan vii. 218), but which had been raised in Caesar's own province of Cisalpine Gaul (vi. 1, § 1; viii. 54, § 2); the third we must suppose to have been the XVth. The two legions last mentioned, I and XV, were those that were sent by Caesar, in accordance with the decree of the Senate, as though to the Parthian war. They formed the left wing under Pompeius himself at the battle

of Pharsalia. Legion XV in Caesar's army became III in that of Pompeius, but I is thought to have retained its number in both armies (viii. 54, §§ 2, 3, compared with C. iii. 88, § 1). About this however it will be necessary to speak more particularly later on.

The number of the legions has now mounted to ten, of which in the winter of 53–2 B.C. two were located in the country of the Treviri, two in that of the Lingones, and the remaining six at Agedincum (vi. 44, § 3). Their numbers were I, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV.

In the spring of B.C. 52 Caesar brought a reinforcement ('supplementum') with him from Italy (vii. 7, § 5), which we find afterwards left in charge of Labienus' baggage at Agedincum (57, § 1). The ten legions already in the field were divided between Caesar and Labienus in the proportion of six to the commander and four to the lieutenant (vii. 34, § 2). We know that VII and XII were with Labienus (vii. 62, § 3), and that he had one legion of raw recruits, whom he did not trust for fighting (60, § 2). The two tiro legions were now XIV and XV. Caesar is hardly likely to have given both these to Labienus; hence we may reasonably infer that one was with Labienus and the other with Caesar. With Caesar also were X (vii. 47, § 1; 51, § 1), VIII (47, § 7), and XIII (51, § 2), so that we have only one of Labienus' legions and two of Caesar's left unaccounted for. The 700 men lost at Gergovia (vii. 51, § 4) seem to have belonged mainly to the VIIIth legion (vii. 47, § 7; 50, § 4).

So far it appears clear that Caesar had only ten legions and a reinforcement, which was probably intended to be drafted off into the existing legions to repair their losses. The account of winter-quarters at the end of Caesar's Seventh Book seems to confirm this view; for the location of nine legions is specifically given, after which we have the addition—'he himself determined to winter at Bibracte.' Now Hirtius (viii. 2, § 1) tells us that Caesar, when he made his winter sally against the Bituriges,

left his own camp in charge of his quaestor Marcus Antonius, and later on (viii. 24, § 2) that he joined to himself Marcus Antonius the quaestor with the XIIth legion.

Difficulty about one legion.

But now a difficulty emerges. For in viii. 4, § 3 Hirtius mentions a legion VI, which we have never heard of before, and mentions it too in a way which shows that it was one of those engaged in the siege of Alesia (cp. vii. 90, § 8). Napoleon III surmises (vol. ii. p. 357, n.) 'that it had remained in garrison among the Allobroges or in Italy'; Göler (i. 333) suggests that VI is here a mistake for I. On the whole perhaps we should do better to follow the latter view. Only there is no need to suppose a mistake. There is no mention in Caesar's narrative of legion I. The sole mention we have of it is by Hirtius (viii. 54, § 2), who is speaking for the moment from the point of view of Pompeius, and doubtless gives it the number which it bore in the army of that general. If we accept this identification of I and VI, we are relieved from an awkward breach of continuity and have an uninterrupted series of ten legions in Caesar's army from VI to XV. Another presumption in favour of this hypothesis is that, if Caesar, as we have seen reason to believe, had only legion XII with himself at Bibracte, there is no room for legion I in the account of winter-quarters in vii. 90; since by a comparison of texts we can assign their proper legions to the several commanders. For his expedition against the Bellovaci Caesar drew two legions from Fabius, which were all he had, and one of his two from Labienus (viii. 6, § 3). These three legions we find were VII, VIII, and IX (viii. 8, § 2). Let us suppose that VII and VIII came from Fabius. This leaves IX to Labienus, and we know that his other legion was XV (viii. 24, § 3). C. Antistius Reginus had XI (vii. 90, § 7, compared with viii. 2, § 1); T. Sextius XIII (viii. 2, § 1; 11, § 1); Cicero and Sulpicius had XIV and VI (viii. 90, § 8, compared with viii. 4, § 3); Caesar himself had XII: it follows by the method of residues that C. Caninius Rebilus had X. Hence Caesar's statement in vii. 90 may be filled out thus:—

	Legions.	Numbers.
Labienus	2	IX, XV.
C. Fabius	2	VII, VIII.
C. Antistius Reginus	I	XI.
T. Sextius	I	XIII.
C. Caninius Rebilus	I	X.
Q. Tullius Cicero	I	XIV.
P. Sulpicius	I	VI.
Caesar	–	XII.

Napoleon III gives Caesar X and XII and assigns I to Rebilus, making the number eleven in all. It must be conceded as a strong point to his view that after XV had been sent across the Alps (viii. 24, § 3) there were still ten legions in Gaul in the winter of B.C. 51–50 (46, § 4), and that there were eight left in 50–49 after two had been surrendered to Pompeius and XIII had taken the place of XV in Northern Italy (viii. 54, §§ 3, 4). But this mysterious appearance on the scene of a new legion at the end of the war may perhaps be accounted for in another way. Suetonius speaks of a legion known by the Gallic name of Alauda or 'the Lark.' This he says was raised by Caesar, at his own expense entirely, from dwellers in Transalpine Gaul, was trained and equipped in the Roman fashion, and afterwards presented as a whole with the citizenship (Caes. 24). We find this legion threatening Rome in B.C. 44 in the train of Antonius[1]. By that time 'the Larks' are regarded as veterans[2]. It would be out of keeping with Caesar's frankness of statement to suppose that this legion was raised before the close of his narrative: it follows that it was raised after it[3].

The legion Alauda.

Names of legions.

Many of the practices of the imperial army originated in Caesar's time; among them was that of giving a name to a legion as distinct from its number. In the war against Antony we read of the 'legio Martia,' whose members were

[1] Cic. ad Att. xvi. 8, § 2 'Antonium cum legione Alaudarum ad urbem pergere.'

[2] Phil. xiii. § 3 'Huc accedunt Alaudae ceterique veterani': cp. v. § 12.

[3] On Caesar's legions, see also Note A in vol. ii.

called 'Martiales' (Cic. Phil. iv. 2, §§ 5, 6; ad Fam. x. 30); later on the practice became habitual, as in the case of the 'Rapax' and 'Adiutrix' (Tac. H. ii. 43).

The Tenth Legion.

Of all Caesar's legions the Tenth was the most famous, and this was the one in which he himself placed the greatest reliance. This was the one which he said should serve as his body-guard ('praetoria cohors') if no one else followed him (i. 40 § 15; 42, § 5); this he himself calls 'a picked legion' (46, § 3); this was the one which he found himself addressing when 'he ran down, as chance offered, to encourage the soldiers,' before the battle on the Sambre, and this was the one which in that battle saved him from the Nervii (i. 21, § 1; 26, §§ 4, 5). It was the eagle-bearer of this legion who led his comrades through the waves to the unknown shore of Britain (iv. 25, §§ 3–5). This was the one which Caesar himself commanded at Gergovia, and which there repressed the victorious onset of Vercingetorix (vii. 47, § 1; 51, § 1). It was this legion which occupied the right wing at Pharsalia (C. iii. 89, § 1), and to it belonged the hero Crastinus, whom Caesar deemed to have done him the doughtiest service in that crowning victory (C. iii. 91; 99). Lastly, this was the legion which, when it mutinied, Caesar bent to his will by the use of the single word 'Quirites' (Suet. J. C. 70; Tac. A. i. 42).

The praetoria cohort.

Before we treat of the cohort proper let us say something as to the 'praetoria cohors' (*στρατηγὶς τάξις*, App. Civ. iv. 7), or body-guard of the general, to which we have seen Caesar alluding. This was no new institution among the Romans. To say nothing of its appearing in Livy (ii. 20, § 5) as early as the battle of Lake Regillus (B.C. 498), its introduction is ascribed by Festus (p. 223) to Scipio Africanus—he does not say whether the elder or the younger—but his words seem to have no reference to the body of 500 clients and friends which Aemilianus brought with him from Rome to Numantia, and which he called 'amicorum cohors' (*φίλων ἴλη*, App. Hisp. 84). According to Festus the pay of the praetorian cohort was half

as much again ('sesquiplex stipendium') as that of the common soldier, and Polybius (vi. 39, § 12) tells us that the Roman knight received triple pay, which would be double that of the praetorian cohort. This gives point to the remark of the wag in the tenth legion, who declared that Caesar, in mounting it, was doing more than he promised (i. 42, § 6). Caesar does not seem to have had a regular praetorian cohort at all, but it was quite a usual thing at this period. Petreius, acting as 'legatus' to C. Antonius, had one in the engagement with Catiline (Sall. Cat. 60, § 5); afterwards, when he fought against Caesar in Spain, he had one on his own account (C. i. 75, § 2). Each member of the second triumvirate, Octavian, Mark Antony, and Lepidus, had his special praetorian cohort (App. Civ. iv. 7); so had Silanus and Hirtius (Cic. Fam. x. 30, § 1); so even had Cicero in his warlike exploits in Cilicia (Fam. xv. 4, § 7). This was the germ out of which were developed the Praetorians or household troops at Rome under the Empire.

The cohort proper.

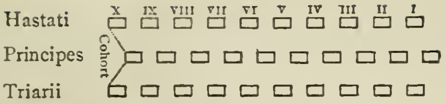
The normal cohorts in Caesar's army seem, so far as we can gather, to have been of uniform strength.

It is one of the anomalies of the Roman army that the cohort, notwithstanding its importance after the reforms of Marius, never seems to have had a definite officer of its own[1].

It was not so with the maniple, which at all times had its proper officer in the centurion. Hence the juxtaposition of 'centurio' and 'manipulares sui[2].' In the pre-Marian army each of the three divisions, 'hastati,' 'principes,' and 'triarii,' was divided into ten parts, thus giving the thirty maniples which made up the legion, exclusive of the 'velites' assigned to each (Polyb. vi. 24, § 3). The cohort is supposed to have consisted of a maniple from each division.

[1] Vegetius (ii. 12) says that the legionary cohort in imperial times was commanded by a tribune or a provost (praepositus) at the pleasure of the Emperor.

[2] E. g. vii. 47, § 7; 50, § 4: C. ii. 27, § 1.



The maniple.

The first mention that we have of the maniple in Caesar is when in the battle on the Sambre he gives the order 'laxare manipulos' (ii. 25, § 2). In vi. 34, § 6 he speaks of the theory and practice of the Roman army requiring that the maniples should be kept about the standards ('ad signa') on the march (cp. vi. 40, § 1)[1].

Caesar's cavalry.

In Caesar's army there was no Roman cavalry. That arm of the service consisted entirely of auxiliary troops. This was why the crafty Ariovistus stipulated that there should not be a single foot-soldier at the conference (i. 42, § 4), and why Caesar had recourse to the expedient of mounting his trusty Tenth. It shows the marvellous training of the Roman legionary that such a manœuvre was possible. Imagine Tommy Atkins being suddenly called upon to act as a 'plunger'! But it was part of the exercise of the Roman soldier to vault into the saddle, at first unarmed, and then armed, and this either from right or from left. Wooden horses were provided him to practise on, under cover in the winter and during summer in the open (Veget. i. 18).

At the outset of his first campaign Caesar had a force of 4,000 cavalry, collected partly from the Province and partly from the Aedui and their allies (i. 15, § 1).

In his Belgian campaign of B.C. 57 the cavalry of the Treviri, who had a high reputation for courage, were sent by the State to his assistance, but proved of little service, as in the battle of the Sambre they too hastily concluded that the Romans were defeated, and rode off with the news to their countrymen (ii. 24, §§ 4, 5). In the operations against the Usipetes and Tencteri (B.C. 55) Caesar's cavalry amounted to 5,000, a force which

[1] C. i. 76, § 1 'manipulos circumit'; ii. 28, § 1 'iidem ordines manipulique'; Sall. J. 49, § 6 'inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit'; Tac. A. i. 34 'discedere in manipulos iubet.'

was ignominiously put to flight by 800 German horsemen (iv. 12, § 1)—a striking illustration of Caesar's own remark that the bare-backed German riders thought themselves a match for any number of cavalry who were effeminate enough to use housings (iv. 2, § 5). At the time of the second invasion of Britain Caesar's cavalry is again down to 4,000 (v. 5, § 3; 8, §§ 1, 2), though this is called 'the cavalry of the whole of Gaul.'

The Gallic cavalry, at least such part of it as was permanently attached to Caesar's army, seems to have been organized in Roman fashion. It was divided into 'turmae' (vi. 8, § 5; vii. 45, § 1; viii. 18, §§ 2, 3), and had Roman officers called 'decuriones' (i. 23, § 2). It was commanded as a whole, first by the young Publius Crassus (i. 52, § 7), afterwards by C. Volusenus Quadratus, with the title of 'praefectus equitum' (viii. 48, § 1; cp. C. iii. 60, § 4). This title is also bestowed on Quintus Atius Varus (viii. 28, § 2), who may have been intermediate between the two.

Allied Gallic infantry.

The aid which Caesar derived from the Gauls was not confined to cavalry. He did not however count much on the Gallic infantry, regarding them as rather for show than for use[1]. At the time of the great revolt he called upon the Aedui for 10,000 foot-soldiers, which he got, but not for long (vii. 34, § 1).

Other auxiliaries.

We have already had occasion to allude to the mixed force of cavalry and infantry which Caesar imported from beyond the Rhine (vii. 65, § 4)[2]. Besides these foreigners he had in his service Numidian and Cretan archers and Balearic slingers (ii. 7, § 1)[3].

[1] i. 24, § 3 'omnia auxilia'; 51, § 1 'omnes alarios'; viii. 5, § 2 'auxiliarios pedites.'

[2] Cp. viii. 10, § 2 'nostra auxilia Gallorum Germanorumque'; 13, § 2 'Germani, quos propterea Caesar transduxerat Rhenum, ut equitibus interpositi proeliarentur.'

[3] Cp. ii. 10, § 1 'levis armaturae Numidas, funditores sagittariosque'; 24, § 4 'calones, equites, funditores, Numidas.'

Troops in the Province.

In addition to the forces which have been enumerated as serving under Caesar himself, there were twenty-two cohorts in garrison in the Province, which were utilised by his kinsman and 'legatus' Lucius Caesar, when the tide of war turned against the Romans and the Province itself was invaded.

(2) Its officers and other functionaries.

From the constituent parts of the army we now turn to its personalty, and must say something about its officers and other functionaries.

The *Imperator*.

When the officers have to be spoken of collectively, as opposed to the men, they are called by the vague name 'duces'; but in a special sense there was only one 'dux,' and that was the 'imperator,' who had the auspices. Caesar speaks of Marius (i. 40, § 5) and also of himself (ii. 25, § 3) as 'imperator.' It was not necessary for a general to have been proclaimed 'imperator' on the field by his soldiers in order to be called by that name, though that does seem to have been a condition of its being used as a title of honour. Caesar's men however had doubtless proclaimed him 'imperator' with due honours, though he has not thought it worth his while to record the incident. It is as 'imperator' that they are represented as speaking of him (iv. 25, § 3) and to him (c. iii. 91, § 3). In the case of others than himself Caesar is not so reticent. He does full honour to Curio by mentioning the acclamation of his army (C. ii. 26, § 1; cp. 32, § 14), sneers at Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey, as having assumed the title in consequence of some reverses in Cilicia, and mentions how Pompey himself was given it by his soldiers on the field of victory at Dyrrhachium, but did not assume it in his despatches nor wear the laurel for the slaughter of his countrymen (C. iii. 71, § 3). It was Caesar who began the practice, continued by the emperors, of using 'imperator' as a praenomen (Suet. J. C. 76).

The special dress of the commander-in-chief was the purple 'paludamentum,' in which he went from the Capitol after the solemn utterance of public prayer (C. i. 6, § 6; Liv. xxi. 63, §§ 8, 9). Caesar (vii. 88, § 1) gives us to understand that he

wore this garb in battle, in order to be recognised by his men. Many generals, we may surmise, laid it aside, in order not to be recognised by the enemy.

The *Quaestor.*

Next in official dignity to the general in the Roman army came the paymaster or 'quaestor' (ταμίας). Three night-watches were set round his quarters in the camp, but only two round those of each of the 'legati' (Polyb. vi. 35, § 4). Hence Caesar is following the order of precedence when he says (iv. 22, § 3) 'quaestori, legatis, praefectisque.' The paymaster's quarters ('quaestorium,' ταμιεῖον) were at the back of the camp near the decuman gate (Liv. x. 32, § 8; Polyb. vi. 31, § 1). The general had no power to select his own 'quaestor,' who was assigned to him by lot. Caesar's 'quaestor' is not mentioned by name till late in the narrative (v. 24, § 3; 46, § 1; vi. 6, § 1), when we find him to have been M. Crassus, the son of the triumvir. Whether he was Caesar's first 'quaestor' in Gaul does not appear. He was succeeded by Marcus Antonius (viii. 2, § 1). Though the special functions of the 'quaestor' were financial, yet he was utilised, like the 'legati,' for military commands[1].

In v. 47, § 2 we find Crassus very appropriately left at Samarobriva with a legion, in charge of the stores of war, hostages, and state papers.

The *Legati.*

'Legati' (πρεσβευταί or σύμβουλοι), in their original conception, were persons publicly appointed by the State to assist the commander. A skilful soldier, who was not at the time being in office, could in this way be made use of in the service of his country.

In B.C. 190, when the Senate were in doubt whether to assign the critical command against Antiochus to Scipio Asiaticus or to Laelius, the question was at once settled when Africanus offered to go as 'legatus' to his brother (Liv. xxxvii. 1). In such a case as this a 'legatus' might be by force of nature the real commander: but with a powerful general the 'legati' formed

[1] i. 52, § 1: iv. 13, § 4; 22, § 3: v. 24, § 3; 46, § 3: vii. 2, § 1.

only what we should call a 'staff.' Their number was not fixed. The outside limit would seem to have been attained by Pompey in the Mithridatic war, when he was assigned twenty-five legati[1]. Caesar at first had five (i. 52, § 1 n.); afterwards the number was raised to ten by a decree of the Senate, which was supported by Cicero (Prov. Cons. § 28; Balb. § 61). This was in B.C. 56, the year before that in which Caesar's command in Gaul was prolonged for a second period of five years. Of Caesar's first batch of five lieutenants we know definitely the names of four. They were Labienus (i. 21, § 2 n.: ii. 11, § 3), Q. Titurius Sabinus (ii. 5, § 6), L. Aurunculeius Cotta (ii. 11, § 3), Q. Pedius (ii. 2, § 1). The fifth was probably Servius Galba (iii. 1, § 1), an officer of age and experience. Publius Crassus when first mentioned (i. 52, § 7) is said to have been in command of the cavalry. Afterwards we find him employed as a lieutenant (ii. 34, § 1: iii. 7, § 2; 11, § 3), but he is nowhere given the title. Other officers of whom the term 'legatus' is definitely used are P. Sulpicius Rufus (iv. 22, § 6), C. Fabius (v. 24, § 2), L. Munatius Plancus and C. Trebonius (v. 24, § 3), M. Silanus, C. Antistius Reginus, and T. Sextius (vi. 1, § 1), Q. Fufius Calenus (viii. 39, § 4) and P. Vatinius (viii. 46, § 6). These with the former five make fourteen in all. If we subtract Cotta and Sabinus, who were killed, and Pedius and Galba, who were respectively aedile and praetor in 54 B.C., we have exactly ten left. Out of the first batch Labienus was the only one who survived to the end. He was Caesar's second in command and had a special title (i. 21, § 2 n.), which marked him out from the rest, and perhaps made him rank above the quaestor.

Caesar had very decided notions of his own as to the duties of lieutenants and their relation to the commander-in-chief. They were bound by orders, and must err on the side of

[1] App. Mith. 94: *ὑπηρέται δ' ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οὓς καλοῦσι πρεσβευτάς, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν.*

caution, rather than of daring, their position being one of trust; whereas the 'imperator' was free to consult for the best[1].

It seems to have been an innovation of Caesar's to assign the charge of a particular legion to a particular 'legatus'; but this practice was kept up under the Empire.

The *Tribuni Militum.*

The tribunes ('tribuni militum'), according to Varro (L. L. v. § 81), contain in their name a reference to the primitive division into three tribes and the original army of three thousand. This view is at all events supported by their Greek name *χιλίαρχοι* (Polyb. vi. 19, § 1: Acts xxi. 31), and is in keeping with the title 'tribunus Celerum' as that of the original master of the horse[2].

In the Roman army as described by Polybius the tribunes formed the nucleus of the legions. After the consuls had been appointed, fourteen tribunes were chosen from among men who had served five yearly campaigns, and then ten more from men who had served ten campaigns. As there were four legions, this gives six tribunes to each legion. When the manhood of Rome were assembled on the Capitol, the fourteen younger tribunes distributed themselves thus—four for the first legion, three for the second, four for the third, three for the fourth; then the ten elder ones joined them as follows—two for the first legion, three for the second, two for the third, three for the fourth. After this the tribunes proceeded to pick men in turn in such a way as to make the strength of the legions as nearly equal as possible. The appointment of the tribunes themselves rested partly with the people and partly with the consuls or dictators (Polyb. vi. 12, § 6; 19, § 7: Liv. ix. 30, § 3).

In 362 B.C. the people first laid claim to elect six tribunes

[1] iii. 17, § 7: C. ii. 17, § 2; iii. 51, § 4 'Aliae enim sunt legati partes atque imperatoris: alter omnia agere ad praescriptum, alter libere ad summam rerum consulere debet.'

[2] Servius on Verg. Aen. v. 560 confirms the opinion of Varro: 'Sic autem in tres partes divisum fuisse populum [Romanum] constat, adeo ut etiam qui praeerant singulis partibus tribuni dicerentur. Unde etiam sumptus, quos dabant populo, tributa nominarunt.' Cp. Liv. i. 43, § 13: Cic. Rep. ii. § 14.

of the soldiers (Liv. vii. 5, § 9); in 311 they advanced their pretensions so far as to appoint sixteen for the four legions, or two-thirds of the whole number (Liv. ix. 30, § 3); in 207, when there were no less than twenty-three legions in the field, the people elected all the tribunes for the first four, but left the rest to be appointed by the consuls (Liv. xxvii. 36, §§ 12–14). Livy (vii. 5, § 9) mentions that in his own day the tribunes appointed by the commanders were called 'rufuli.' Asconius (on Verr. i. § 30) adds that the elected tribunes were called 'comitiati.'

Thus we see that twenty-four of the tribunes were appointed by the people, and the tenure of this command was with many the first rung on the ladder of official promotion. The elder Africanus was a tribune at an early age, but he, we may suppose, was appointed by his father (Liv. xxii. 53, §§ 2, 3); Marius first experienced the favour of the people in his election to this post by the tribes (Sall. J. 63, § 4); Caesar himself, after his retirement to Rhodes and his escape from the pirates, began his career at Rome by a successful contest for the military tribunate (Suet. J. C. 5: Plut. Caes. 5).

In Caesar's own time the appointment by the general was evidently very much abused. His tribunes were not seasoned soldiers, but personal adherents, whom he found it convenient to keep in good-humour: the panic about the Germans began with them (i. 39, § 2). We are let into the secret of how things were managed by reading Cicero's correspondence with Trebatius, a very unmilitary person, for whom the orator's influence secured a sinecure appointment to the tribunate in Caesar's army (Cic. ad Fam. vii. 8, § 1). Among all Caesar's tribunes the only one who seems to have distinguished himself much as a soldier was Gaius Volusenus (iii. 5, § 2).

The tribunes are spoken of as Roman knights[1]. They were mounted, certainly on the march (vii. 65, § 5), and presumably in the field also (i. 25, § 1). They formed the natural channel

[1] iii. 7, § 3, compared with iii. 10, § 2; vii. 65, § 5: C. i. 77, § 2.

of communication between the men and the commander-in-chief (i. 41, §§ 2, 3; Tac. A. i. 19, § 4). They were superior officers to the centurions[1], by whom the rough work of command was principally done. In iii. 7, § 3 we find them sent out by Crassus along with the praefects to get supplies. It may have been on some work of this kind that Marcus Aristius was engaged at Châlon-sur-Saône, when he was caught by the revolt of the Aedui (vii. 42, § 5).

The *Praefecti.* The term praefect ('praefectus') is a very loose one. It may be said to be a general name for any subordinate officer, who has not a more definite title. It was used more especially of the commanders of the auxiliary forces. These latter are perhaps the praefects who are spoken of in the following passages—i. 39, § 2; iii. 7, § 3; iv. 22, § 3. Like the tribunes, they were Roman knights. But besides these officers there were others, called also 'praefecti,' who were not necessarily Romans (iii. 26, § 1; iv. 11, § 6). In viii. 12, § 4 we find Vertiscus, a chieftain of the Remi, described as 'praefectus equitum.' He did not, we are told, let his age interfere with his undertaking the 'praefectura' (§ 5). In the same way, in the time of the Italian 'socii,' there were praefects who were not Romans (Liv. xxv. 14, § 4).

The *Centuriones.* We come now to the officers who formed the real backbone of the army, and who were themselves the most characteristic product of the Roman military system—I mean the centurions. The philosophical Greek, who has described this system for us, has caught the Roman ideal in his sketch of what the centurions were expected to be—'not so much daring and adventurous, as men with a turn for command, of a steady disposition, and with no moral shallowness about them[2]; their place was not in the first assault nor their time the beginning of the fray, but, if

[1] vi. 39, § 2; Tac. H. i. 84 'ne miles centurioni, ne centurio tribuno obsequatur.'

[2] Βαθεῖς μᾶλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς seems to be as near as the Greek can get to the Roman notion of gravitas; 'ad ducendum apti, constantes, graves' must have been running in the head of Polybius.

the enemy were getting the mastery and their own men were being hard pressed, it was theirs to stand their ground and die rather than desert their posts' (Polyb. vi. 24, § 9). Even amid the decay of the Roman arms the ideal of the centurion was still cherished. 'He must be chosen,' says Vegetius (ii. 14), 'as being of great strength and tall stature, able to discharge spears and other missiles with dexterity and force, skilled in sword-play and shield-play, acquainted with the whole art of fighting, vigilant, sober, active, more ready to obey orders than to talk, able to keep his camp-mates up to discipline, to force them to drill, to see that they are well clothed and well shod, and that their arms are bright and polished.' Such officers as these were no carpet-knights; they were not the butterflies of battle and the boudoir, but serious and far-seeing men, whose fault lay in the direction of avarice rather than of luxury or prodigality. Such men are open to the influences of religion; nor need we be surprised that the Roman centurion, who had all the earnestness and tenacity of the Hebrew, should, when exposed to the proper circumstances, catch the contagion of Hebrew devotion. Of this stamp was the centurion at Capernaum, of whom the Jewish elders said to Jesus, 'He loveth our nation, and himself built us our synagogue' (Luke vii. 5), and who, with his military ideas of discipline and belief in the efficacy of command, was made a lesson of faith to Israel. Such too was the centurion Cornelius of the Italian cohort, 'a devout man and one that feared God with all his house,' who, owing to what we should call nowadays 'a remarkable instance of thought-transference,' became the first convert to Christianity (Acts x). Such also perhaps was the centurion called Julius, of the Augustan cohort, who, in his desire to save Paul, prevented the soldiers from killing the prisoners in the shipwreck at Malta (Acts xxvii).

But the centurion withal was essentially what the French call 'bourgeois,' that is to say, he belonged to the great middle class, to which the bulk of people, especially in

France, belong, and ought to be proud of belonging. It was seldom indeed that he burst his way into the charmed circle of the nobility or allied himself with a haughty patrician house, as Marius did with the Julii. People laughed at the uncouth personal appearance of the centurion, at his big calves and huge hob-nailed boots, at his ignorance of literature and philosophy[1]. When he retired he became a local magnate in some rural district, and his boys attended a second-class school like that of Flavius, where a pushing freedman might not think the hulking sons of the centurion fit company for his own talented offspring (Hor. Sat. i. 6, 72, 3).

Number of the centurions.

In the time of Polybius there were sixty centurions in the legion, and we have no reason to suppose that the number was different in Caesar's period[2]. The manner of their appointment is described by that author as follows. First thirty were chosen, ten from each of the three divisions of 'hastati,' 'principes,' and 'triarii'; then a second selection was made of another thirty on the same principle. 'All these,' he says, 'they called centurions' (ταξίαρχοι)[3]. Then these sixty men themselves chose another sixty, whom Polybius calls οὐραγοί, and whom the Romans called 'optiones.'

The centurion the commander of a maniple.

Polybius expressly tells us that the body of which the centurion had the command was the maniple[4], but that two officers were appointed, to provide against the hazards of fortune, so that the maniple might not be left without a com-

[1] Juv. xiv. 194, 5; xvi. 14, 24, 25: Pers. iii. 77; v. 189.

[2] Tac. A. i. 32, § 3 'sexageni singulos, ut numerum centurionum adaequarent.' Vegetius (ii. 8) says, 'In tota autem legione erant centuriones quinquaginta quinque.'

[3] Besides ταξίαρχος the centŭrio is called in Greek κεντυρίων (Polyb. vi. 24, § 5; Mark xv. 39), ἑκατόνταρχος (Matt. viii. 5; xxvii. 54: Luke vii. 2; xxiii. 47: Acts xxvii. 43), and ἑκατοντάρχης (Acts x. 1, 22; xxvii. 1).

[4] The name must have come down from the time of the army of 3,000, when the maniple was the century. Varr. L. L. v. § 88 'Centuria qui sub uno centurione sunt, quorum centenarius iustus numerus.' In the time of Vegetius (ii. 14) the century amounted to more than a hundred: 'Centum enim decem pedites ab uno centurione sub uno vexillo gubernantur.'

mander. In action the centurion of the first choice commanded the right of the maniple and the centurion of the second choice the left. If only one were present, he commanded the whole (Polyb. vi. 24, §§ 7, 8). The symbol of authority carried by the centurion on duty was a cudgel of vine-wood ('vitis'), nor was it always carried in vain. Every reader of Tacitus will remember the centurion Lucilius, who, when he had broken one vine-stick on the back of a soldier was in the habit of calling out for a second, and so received from the men the nick-name of '*cedo alteram*' (Tac. A. i. 23)[1].

His vine-wood cudgel.

The system of patronage and favouritism, which corrupted the appointments to the higher posts in the army, did not extend itself to what we should call the non-commissioned officers. Polybius (vi. 24, § 1) expressly tells us that the centurions were chosen on grounds of merit (*ἀριστίνδην*).

Chosen by merit.

It will be instructive to follow the career of a single soldier, who began service about the time when the Greek historian was born. Spurius Ligustinus was a Sabine, who belonged to the 'tribus Crustumina.' His father left him a 'iugerum' of land, together with the small cottage in which he was born and bred. As soon as he came of age, he married, by his father's desire, his first cousin, who brought him nothing but free birth, chastity, and a large family. He entered the army in B.C. 200, and served for two years in Macedonia against King Philippus as a common soldier ('miles gregarius'). In the third year his merits were rewarded by T. Quinctius Flamininus with the command of the 'decumus ordo hastatus,' the first rung in the ladder of the centurionate. After the defeat of Philip at Cynoscephalae (B.C. 197) the army was transported to Italy and disbanded. Ligustinus at once volunteered for service in Spain under Cato, the consul of 195. There was no keener judge of merit than that great man, and he singled out our soldier for the command of the 'primus hastatus prioris centuriae.' Ligus-

Career of Spurius Ligustinus.

[1] Ovid, A. A. iii. 527 'Dux bonus huic centum commisit vite regendos': Plin. N. H. xiv. § 19 (Detlf.): Juv. viii. 247; xiv. 193.

tinus was now among the upper centurions, and fairly advanced among them. Once more he volunteered for service against the Aetolians and King Antiochus, against whom war was declared in B.C. 191. This time he was promoted by the consul Acilius to the command of the 'primus princeps prioris centuriae.' After the expulsion of King Antiochus and the subjugation of the Aetolians the army was shipped back to Italy, where he served for two years. After this he fought twice in Spain, once under Q. Fulvius Flaccus and again under Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the famous tribunes, who was praetor in Spain in B.C. 181. No sooner had he been brought home by Flaccus to share his triumph than he started for Spain again at the request of Gracchus. Four times within a few years he was leader of the 'primus pilus'; he received rewards for gallantry thirty-four times from his commanders; and was presented with six crowns for saving the life of a fellow-countryman. The last thing we know of him is that he was appointed, when over fifty, to the command of the 'primus pilus' in the first legion which was to serve against Perseus in B.C. 171 (Liv. xlii. 34, 35).

Titles of the centurions.

This digression has not been irrelevant; for, though the distinction between 'hastati,' 'principes,' and 'triarii' or 'pilani,' was swept away when the army was remodelled by Marius, yet the centurions even in Caesar's time retained the titles which had a meaning only under the old system. Thus P. Sextius Baculus, the leading centurion of the twelfth legion, is called by Caesar (iii. 5, § 2) 'primi pili centurio,' and by a convenient, but illogical abbreviation, 'primipilus' (ii. 25, § 1)[1].

[1] Cp. vi. 38, § 1 'Publius Sextius Baculus, qui primum pilum ad Caesarem duxerat'; v. 35, § 6 'Tito Balventio, qui superiore anno primum pilum duxerat.' The full form 'primi pili centurio' is common everywhere: e.g. C. i. 13, § 4 'L. Pupius primi pili centurio'; i. 46, § 5: Cic. Balb. § 34 'L. Marcius primipili centurio': Liv. ii. 27, § 6; xxxiv. 46: Tac. H. iii. 22: Veget. ii. 8, 21. Tacitus (A. i. 29, § 2) has the expression 'primi ordinis centurio'; he also uses 'primipilaris' (H. ii. 22). Caesar's form 'primipilus' may have arisen from 'primi pili' with an ellipse of 'centurio.' In Livy we find an

The rank of another centurion is indicated by the expression 'ex primo hastato legionis XIIII' (C. i. 46, § 4), and a third is called 'primae cohortis princeps prior' (C. iii. 64, § 4). In Livy these titles of centurions occur pretty often; they are found also in Cicero; in inscriptions they are very common.

The centurionate in Caesar's time.

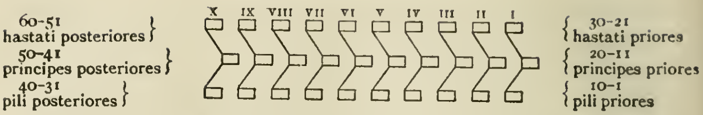
There are passages in Caesar which show that the centurions in his time, as in that of Polybius, were promoted by merit and according to some more or less definite order [1]. He contrasts the 'inferiores' with the 'superiores ordines,' and often speaks of the 'primi ordines' in the same breath with the tribunes [2]. The whole subject of the centurionate has afforded a fertile field for discussion, and authority is divided on the point. It will be sufficient for me to indicate the view which commends itself as the true one for Caesar's period. It is in the main the view of Marquardt [3] and not that of Mommsen.

intermediate form 'primus pilus' (applied to the centurion, not to the 'ordo'), the genesis of which we may trace by a comparison of passages. In vii. 41, § 5 he has these words, 'qui alternis prope annis et tribunus militum et primus centurio erat, quem nunc "primi pili" appellant'; here there is clearly an ellipse: in viii. 8, § 16 he says, 'Duo primi pili ex utraque acie inter triarios erant,' where there *may* still be an ellipse; in xliv. 33 he declines this form in the singular—'tribunum militum primo pilo legionis secretum edere imperium.' In Suetonius, Caligula, 44, 'primus pilus' has the sense of 'primipilatus'—'nonnullis ante paucissimos, quam consummaturi essent, dies, primos pilos ademit.'

[1] v. 44, § 1 'fortissimi viri, centuriones, qui primis ordinibus appropinquarent'; vi. 40, § 7 'Centuriones, quorum nonnulli ex inferioribus ordinibus reliquarum legionum virtutis causa in superiores erant ordines huius legionis traducti': C. i. 46, § 4 'Q. Fulginius ex primo hastato legionis XIIII, qui propter eximiam virtutem ex inferioribus ordinibus in eum locum pervenerat'; iii. 53, § 5 'ab octavis ordinibus ad primipilum se traducere pronuntiavit.'

[2] i. 41, § 3 'cum tribunis militum et primorum ordinum centurionibus'; v. 28, § 3 'tribuni militum et primorum ordinum centuriones'; 37, § 1 'tribunos militum . . . et primorum ordinum centuriones'; vi. 7, § 8 'tribunis militum primisque ordinibus.' Cp. also v. 30, § 1 'cum a Cotta primisque ordinibus acriter resisteretur': C. i. 74, § 3 'legatosque de pace primorum ordinum centuriones ad Caesarem mittunt.'

[3] Römische Staats-Verwaltung, vol. ii. pp. 357-362.



By Caesar's 'inferiores ordines' then let us understand what Polybius meant by the centurions of the second choice, who commanded the left of the maniple in battle (60–31 above), and by his 'superiores ordines' the centurions of the first choice, who commanded the right of the maniple (30–1 above). Each cohort consisted of one maniple called 'hastatus,' one called 'princeps,' and one called 'pilus,' and thus contained six centurions in all, three of the lower and three of the higher grade. The 'ordo' or maniple and the officer who commanded it were spoken of by the same name; hence 'primi ordines' means certain centurions. When it was necessary to distinguish the centurion of the higher from that of the lower grade in the same maniple, it was done by adding 'prior' or 'posterior.' The number of the cohort was indicated by the ordinal numerals. Thus 'princeps prior' and 'princeps primus' are different in meaning and both ambiguous. A centurion might be 'princeps prior' in any of the ten cohorts; if called 'princeps primus' or 'primus princeps' he must belong to the first cohort, but might be of the higher or lower grade. Caesar allows of no misunderstanding when he speaks (C. iii. 64, § 4) of 'primae cohortis princeps prior,' but the title of the same officer is cut down by Livy (xxv. 14, § 7) to 'princeps primus centurio' and even to 'princeps' (Ibid. § 13). By the 'primi ordines' we may understand the ten 'pili priores,' whom Marquardt plausibly conjectures to have had the command of the whole cohort.

Changes since the time of Polybius.

In the time of Polybius (vi. 24. § 2) it would appear that only the first centurion in the legion took part in the military council, whereas in Caesar's time the 'primi ordines' as a whole were admitted. This is perhaps a natural consequence of the decline in the efficiency of the tribunes between the two periods.

To the same cause may be ascribed the fact that at an earlier date the centurions were promoted by the tribunes (Liv. xlii. 34, 35), whereas in Caesar's time this was done by the 'imperator' himself.

Only one *primipilus* in the legion.

That there was only one 'primipilus' in the legion is sufficiently evident from many passages, more especially from Livy xliv. 33; nevertheless, it has been maintained that the term was equally applicable to the ten 'pili priores,' that is, to the chief centurion of any cohort.

The *optio*.

Each centurion, as we have seen, had an 'optio,' or assistant appointed by himself, to look after the rear of the maniple; but these were hardly counted as officers[1].

Duration of service

What was the duration of service in the time of Caesar does not plainly appear. The citizen-soldiers in the period described by Polybius had to serve, if they were cavalry, for ten campaigns, and, if infantry, for sixteen, before the age of forty-seven[2]. Early in the reign of Tiberius we find the length of service one of the causes of complaint among the legions in Pannonia. The twenty years, which was then supposed to be the legal period, was extended in some cases to thirty or even forty[3], and it was one of the demands of the soldiers that they should be discharged after sixteen years' service (Tac. A. i. 26, § 2), a demand which was subsequently evaded by Tiberius (Tac. A. i. 78, § 2).

The *evocati*.

The 'evocati[4],' whom we find mentioned by Caesar[5], were men of individual prowess, whose services were requested after their legitimate time was up. They joined the army again on special invitation from the general, and seem to have been exempt from all duties except those of combatants. They are often spoken of along with the centurions and appear to have

[1] Tacitus, H. i. 25, says of a 'tesserarius' and an 'optio,' 'Suscepere duo manipulares imperium populi Romani transferendum, et transtulerunt.'

[2] Polyb. vi. 19, § 2 ἐν τοῖς τετταράκοντα καὶ ἓξ ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.

[3] Tac. A. i. 17, § 3. See Furneaux's note on the passage.

[4] ἀνάκλητοι = ἠουόκατοι, D. C. xlv. 12, § 3.

[5] iii. 20, § 2; vii. 65, § 5: C. i. 3, §§ 1, 2, 3; 17, § 4; 85, § 9; iii. 53, § 1; 91, § 1.

ranked on a level with them. Sometimes they had themselves been centurions, like Crastinus (C. iii. 91, § 1), who met his death as an 'evocatus' at Pharsalia, after having served the year before as 'primipilus' of the tenth legion: but the numbers in which they are sometimes found forbid the supposition that this was always the case[1]. From vii. 65, § 5 it appears that some of the 'evocati' were mounted on the march like the tribunes and other Roman knights. The same system of special invitation to a campaign was applied to the auxiliaries as well as to Roman soldiers (vii. 39, § 1: C. i. 39, § 2).

The eagle-bearer.

The 'centurio primi pili,' as head of the legion, had special charge of the eagle[2], which symbolized it[3]. He did not carry it himself, but committed it to an 'aquilifer[4],' specially chosen on account of his strength and courage. The choice of the centurion was generally justified by the fidelity of the eagle-bearer, and we have many instances of conspicuous gallantry on the part of these functionaries.

The eagle.

The eagle is identified in our minds with the legion, as it was in that of the Romans themselves[5], but it was only in the last century of the Republic that it became the exclusive ensign; before that time it had been only first among five. The other four were the wolf, the minotaur, the horse, and the boar. But first it became usual to leave these in camp and take the eagle into battle, and then Marius in his second consulship (B.C. 104) dropped the others altogether (Plin. N. H. x. § 16 Detlf.). The self-same silver eagle which was borne by Marius against the Cimbri was the standard round which Catiline and his crew of

[1] There were 2,000 'evocati' sprinkled among the lines of Pompeius at Pharsalia; C. iii. 88, § 4.

[2] For the description of the eagle given by Dio Cassius, see iv. 25, § 3 n.

[3] Tac. H. iii. 22: Veget. ii. 8.

[4] iv. 25, § 3 'qui decimae legionis aquilam ferebat'; v. 37, § 5 'Lucius Petrosidius aquilifer': C. iii. 64, § 3 'cum gravi vulnere esset affectus aquilifer.'

[5] The author of Bellum Hispaniense uses 'eagle' for 'legion.' H. 30, § 1 'Erat acies XIII aquilis constituta.'

desperadoes rallied in the fight near Pistoria (Sall. Cat. 59, § 3: Cic. Cat. i. § 24).

Other standards.

There were other standards besides the eagle, which are confused under the general name of 'signa.' The bearer of one of these was called 'signifer' (ii. 25, § 1: C. iii. 74, § 1). It is plain from the former of these passages[1] that each cohort had its own standard[2]. At the same time there are passages where 'signum' must be understood of the standard of the maniple[3]. It is possible that the separate standard for the cohort only came in with the Marian organization. We may notice that the term used by Polybius for standard-bearers is *σημαιαφόροι* (vi. 24, § 6), and that *σημαία* is his word both for 'maniple' and for 'standard' (ii. 32, § 6). When Caesar (C. iii. 99, § 4) tells us that after Pharsalia there were brought in to him 180 'signa militaria' and nine eagles, it is impossible to confine the former to the standards of cohorts.

Flags.

A 'signum' was a graven image of some kind, and must be distinguished from 'vexillum,' which was more like a flag. When the soldiers saw a red 'vexillum' hoisted over the general's tent, they knew that they must rush to arms (ii. 20, § 1 n.). Another kind of 'vexillum' is described by Dio Cassius (xl. 18, § 3) as inscribed with purple letters indicating the army and the general. This is in connexion with the ill-fated Parthian expedition of Crassus (B.C. 53), and so we may suppose that such flags were in Caesar's camp also. Dio Cassius speaks of it as about as large as a sail.

A body of men under a special commander, who did not belong to the force with which they were serving, would have a 'vexillum' for their ensign. Thus the 300 convalescent soldiers, who were left with Quintus Cicero at Aduatuca, were

[1] 'Quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis signiferoque interfecto.'

[2] Cp. Tac. H. i. 44 'inter signa cohortium, iuxta aquilam legionis'; iii. 22. In B. G. vi. 40, § 1 'se in signa manipulosque coniciunt.' Allen and Greenough translate 'signa' by 'cohorts.' There were five cohorts present. See 36, § 2.

[3] E. g. Liv. xxvii. 14, § 8 'signo arrepto primi hastati, manipulum eius sequi se iussisset'; cp. xxv. 14, § 7.

sent out to forage under a 'vexillum' and were commanded by a Roman knight named Gaius Trebonius, who is not to be confused with the 'legatus' of that name (vi. 36, § 3; 40, § 4). The term 'vexillarius' for the bearer of a flag (Liv. viii. 8, § 4: Tac. H. i. 41) does not occur in Caesar.

Scouts. Scouts ('exploratores') are a necessary accompaniment of any army. They are frequently mentioned by Caesar[1]. We read also of 'speculatores' (ii. 11, § 2; v. 49, § 8). If there was any difference between the two, it may have consisted in the latter not being mounted[2]. Under the Empire 'speculatores' became the name of a regular force of body-guards, who had their own officers (Tac. H. i. 25).

Music. Music has always played its part in war in warming men's hearts to valour, whether in the form of the lyre of Tyrtaeus or of the tom-toms of the dusky warriors of the Niger; it has also had a direct practical utility, since the sound of an instrument is more penetrating than the voice of man. In the Servian army there were 'cornicines' and 'tubicines' or 'liticines.' None of these names happen to occur in Caesar, but in one passage (C. ii. 35, § 7) he uses 'bucinator.' The word 'būcina[3]' (βυκάνη) is suggestive of oxen, but the etymology is matter of dispute; at all events 'cornu' carries us back to days of rustic simplicity. But in the times we have to deal with the 'cornu' was made of brass[4], differing from the 'tuba' in being crooked, while that was straight[5].

Caesar speaks in ii. 20, § 1 of having to give the signal on the trumpet ('tuba'). This, as the context shows, was not the signal to engage, but a call to the men to rally round their

[1] E.g. i. 12, § 2; 21, § 1; 41, § 5: ii. 5, § 4; 11, § 3; 17, § 1.

[2] Af. 12, § 1 'per speculatores et antecessores equites nuntiatur.'

[3] Verg. Aen. xi. 475:

'Bello dat signum rauca cruentum
bucina.'

[4] Varro, L. L. v. § 117 'Cornua, quod ea quae nunc sunt ex aere, tunc fiebant bubulo e cornu.'

[5] Ovid. Met. i. 98 'Non tuba directi, non aeris cornua flexi.'

standards. Again, in vii. 47, §§ 1, 2, after mentioning that he had sounded the signal for retreat, he says that the trumpet was not heard by the soldiers. These passages are in exact agreement with the words of Vegetius (ii. 22), 'Tubicen ad bellum vocat milites et rursum receptui canit.' The signal for battle, according to the same author, was given by a blare of trumpets and horns [1]. The 'bucina' was specially employed for marking the watches of the night, so that the word itself was used interchangeably with 'vigilia [2]. The 'classicum' Vegetius tells us was sounded by the 'bucinatores' on the horn. It was distinctive of the 'imperator.' Hence the significance of Pompeius allowing it to be sounded by his father-in-law Scipio, when he joined him before Pharsalia [3].

The engineers ('fabri') come into view as early as the Servian organization of the army. Under Caesar they had plenty of work to do, but they did not form a separate body, for we find him speaking (v. 11, § 2) of picking them out from the legions and sending to the Continent for others, when the fleet had to be repaired in Britain. Care was taken in the levy to select a certain number of men who were skilled artificers (Veget. i. 7; ii. 11). Still there was a special officer, called 'praefectus fabrum,' of whom we find mention not infrequently [4]. The historian Velleius Paterculus tells us that his grandfather C. Velleius served in this capacity under Pompeius, Brutus, and Tiberius Nero. Caesar, both in his praetorship and consulship, recommended Balbus for the like post (Cic. Balb. § 63), which shows that it was a government appointment. Engineers.

[1] ii. 22 'quotiens autem pugnatur, et tubicines et cornicines pariter canunt.' Cp. Tac. A. i. 68 'datur cohortibus signum cornuaque ac tubae concinuere.'

[2] Liv. xxvi. 15, § 6 'ut ad tertiam bucinam praesto essent.' Cp. vii. 35, § 1: Prop. iv. 4, 63: Sall. J. 99, § 1.

[3] C. iii. 82, § 1 'classicumque apud eum cani et alterum illi iubet praetorium tendi.' Cp. Liv. xxviii. 27, § 15 'In praetorio tetenderunt Albius et Atrius; classicum apud eos cecinit.'

[4] C. i. 24, § 4: Cic. Mur. § 73; Balb. § 64; ad Att. ix. 7, C: V. P. ii. 76, § 1.

The common soldier.

We come now to the rank and file, the mere food for spears, the patient instrument of Rome's imperial destiny, known as the 'manipularis' or 'gregarius miles.'

Statue of the legionary at Saint-Germain.

In the French Museum of National Antiquities at Saint-Germain there is a statue of a Roman legionary executed by the sculptor Bartholdi after the bas-reliefs on the column of Trajan. It presents to us the Roman soldier in his habit as he lived. But as the period to which it belongs is a century and a half after the Gallic war, we cannot safely use it for our present purpose. The 'braccae' in which the figure is clad, cut short below the knees, after the fashion of our modern athletes, are alone sufficient to put us on our guard. The obvious advantages of breeches led to their introduction into the soldier's garb, in or before Trajan's time, but we may safely assume that they were not worn under the Republic, when the army was still Roman and not cosmopolitan. Even so late as the time of Vitellius (A. D. 69), Caecina, one of his generals, gave a shock to all 'right-thinking' Romans[1] when he appeared amid the townships and colonies of Northern Italy arrayed in the plaid and breeks of Gaul.

Dress and equipment. Tunica.

The private appears to have worn a close-fitting sleeveless tunic, which was fastened in at the waist by a belt, and reached down to about the knees.

Lorica.

Over this was the 'lorica,' protecting breast, back, and shoulders. This, Varro tells us, was first made of untanned leather, but afterwards the Gallic coat of ring-mail came to be called by the same name[2].

Galea.

His head was protected by a leathern helmet ('galea[3]'),

[1] Spooner, Tac. H. v. 23, l. 4 n.

[2] Varro, L. L. v. § 116 'Lorica, quod e loris de corio crudo pectoralia faciebant: postea subcidit Gallica e ferro sub id vocabulum, ex anulis ferrea tunica.'

[3] ii. 21, § 5: C. iii. 62, § 1; 63, § 7: Af. 12, § 3, 'milites in campo iubet galeari.' Propertius, iv. 10, 20:

'et galea hirsutis compta lupina iubis.'

adorned with a device ('insigne'), which required to be fitted on (ii. 21, § 5: vii. 45, § 7).

Instead of the 'galea' the cavalry wore a metal helmet ('cassis')[1]. Cassis.

The 'balteus,' which Caesar mentions in v. 44, § 7, was not a waist-belt, but a sword-belt, passing over the left shoulder, and with the sword attached to it on the right side[2]. It was of leather, and adorned with metal studs ('bullae')[3], which seem sometimes to have made it very heavy[4]. Balteus.

The shield ('scutum,' v. 44, § 7) was carried by the legionary on the left arm. When not in use it was covered by a wrapping ('tegimentum,' ii. 21, § 5). Its shape was four-cornered, but curved, so as to fit closely to the body. The breadth of the convex surface was 2½ feet, and its length 4 feet. The basis of its structure was boards[5] strongly glued together. These were covered, first with linen cloth[6], and then with leather. Above and below it had an iron border, to protect it against descending blows and from being injured when rested on the ground. Attached to the middle also was an iron boss ('umbo,' ἡ κόγχος), which served to deflect missiles, and could be used on occasions as a weapon of offence (Liv. ix. 41, § 18). Polybius (vi. 23, §§ 2–5), from whom this description is taken, calls the Scutum.

Varro, L. L. v. § 116, connects 'galea' with 'galerus.' Cp. Verg. Aen. vii. 688:

'fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros
tegmen habent capiti.'

[1] vii. 45, § 2: Af. 78, § 10. In Af. 16, we find a veteran soldier of the tenth legion described as wearing a 'cassis,' which so covered his face that he had to take it off before he could be recognized by Labienus.

[2] Verg. Aen. xii. 942:

'humero cum apparuit alto
balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis.'

[3] Varro, who calls it 'balteum,' derives its name from this fact. L. L. v. § 116 'Balteum, quod cingulum e corio habebant bullatum, balteum dictum.'

[4] Verg. Aen. x. 496 'immania pondera baltei.'

[5] Varro, L. L. v. § 115 'Scutum a sectura, ut secutum, quod e minute consectis fiat tabellis.'

[6] ὀθονίῳ, Polyb. vi. § 3, = the 'linea terga' of Verg. Aen. x. 784.

weapon θυρεός, possibly from its shape, but more probably from its material[1].

Ocreae. Of greaves ('ocreae') there is no mention in Caesar. From Vegetius (i. 20) we gather that they were worn by the common soldiers only on the right shin. This points to the fact that it was the right leg which was advanced in combat[2].

Caligae. The soldier's hob-nailed boots ('caligae') have been already alluded to. It was from these that the emperor Gaius got his sobriquet of Caligula, when, as a child, he was the soldiers' pet in Germany.

Sagum. As a protection from the weather the soldier wore a thick woollen cloak called 'sagum,' which ended in a fringe ('fimbria,' Varr. L. L. v. § 79). This may have been originally borrowed from the Gauls (v. 42, § 3), but it became as distinctive of the Romans in war as the 'toga' was in peace. When a 'tumultus' was declared, it was worn even by those who were not actually in the field[3]. We see from a passage in the Civil War (i. 75, § 3) that it could be used in emergencies as a protection, wrapped round the left arm, in place of a shield.

Pilum. The two offensive weapons carried by the legionary were the javelin ('pilum') and the sword ('gladius'). The former was a missile weapon used to discompose the ranks of the enemy before the deadly attack at close quarters took place; if time were pressing, it might be dispensed with. It was thus like a round of musketry preluding a charge with the bayonet[4].

The 'pilum,' which was a distinctively Italian weapon, was much heavier than the 'hasta,' several of which were carried by a single light-armed combatant[5]. It was called by the Greeks

[1] θύρα = a plank. Hdt. viii. 51 φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρῃσί τε καὶ ξύλοισι.

[2] Cp. Verg. Aen. vii. 689, 90:

'vestigia nuda sinistri
instituere pedis, crudus tegit altera pero.'

[3] Cic. Phil. v. § 31: vi. § 9: viii. § 32.

[4] vii. 88, § 3 'Nostri omissis pilis gladiis rem gerunt.' Cp. i. 52, § 3; ii. 23, § 1; vi. 8, § 6; vii. 62, § 4: Liv. ii. 46, § 3.

[5] Liv. ix. 19, § 7 'pilum, haud paulo quam hasta vehementius ictu missuque telum.'

ὑσσός, probably an onomatopoetic word representing the 'hiss' of the weapon as it flew through the air, and is described by Polybius (vi. 23, §§ 9–11), by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (v. 46), by Plutarch (Marius 25), and by Appian (iv. 1). Dionysius, who lived nearest to the time of Caesar, describes it as consisting of a long and massive shaft, from the end of which there projected an iron spit, not less than three feet long. With the exception of the head the spit was of soft iron, so as to bend when it had lodged in its mark, and not only trammel the enemy, but be useless for return. This describes the general type of the weapon as seen in the specimens which have been preserved to us, but it varied of course at different periods, and even at the same period all 'pila' were not alike. Polybius says that the soldiers carried two—one heavy and one light, but that in all cases the length of the shaft was 3 cubits (=4½ feet), and the length of the iron the same, only that part of it was hidden in the shaft. Of the more massive kind, he tells us, some had a round and others a square shaft, a palm (=3 inches) in diameter or 'superficies.' Such a weapon as this could hardly be used in ordinary fighting, but it might be launched with great effect from a height, and so may correspond to what Caesar calls 'muralia pila' (v. 40, § 6: vii. 82, § 1). Up to the time of Marius the 'pilum' was confined to the 'hastati' and 'principes,' the 'triarii' being armed with the 'hasta.' Before the battle of Vercellae Marius is recorded to have devised a means of still more effectually attaining the result desired with regard to the 'pilum.' Taking out one of the two iron rivets, with which the shank was attached to the shaft, he inserted instead a wooden peg, which would easily break and let the weapon hang sideways, thus making it difficult to draw it out (Plut. Mar. 25). Caesar seems to have trusted to the bending of the iron to produce this hampering effect upon the foe (i. 25, § 3). The 'pilum' had a spike at the lower end, so that it could be fixed into the ground[1].

[1] Liv. ii. 30, § 12 'defixis pilis stare.'

Gladius.

Nothing is more characteristic of the Roman soldier than his short pointed sword, used for stabbing rather than cutting. Yet this weapon, unless its name belies it, was an introduction from Spain. It was known as 'the Spanish sword[1],' and it is stated in the lexicon of Suidas to have been adopted by the Romans only after the Second Punic War. Suidas has just quoted Polybius (vi. 23, § 7) incorrectly and without naming him, and then adds this statement. Whether this evidence is sufficient must be left to the reader's judgement. Livy and Claudius Quadrigarius, the latter of whom wrote about a century before Christ, evidently thought that the Spanish sword had been in use long before, for they arm Titus Manlius Torquatus with it in his fight with the Gaul. The sword, according to Polybius (vi. 23, § 6), was carried on the right side, but, according to Josephus (B. J. iii. 5, § 5), it was worn on the left and a dagger on the right. Neither of these authors are likely to have been mistaken: so we must suppose that the practice varied.

Only the statics of the subject have been considered.

Herewith we close our account of the Roman army. The reader will perceive that we have dealt only with what may be called the statics of the subject. The dynamics—the army on the march, in camp, in action—may be left to the future editor of Caesar's Civil War.

[1] 'Gladius Hispanicus,' Quadrigarius in Aul. Gell. ix. 13, §§ 14, 17: 'Hispanus,' Liv. vii. 10, § 5: 'Hispaniensis,' Liv. xxxviii. 21, § 13: *μάχαιρα Ἰβηρική*, Polyb. vi. 23, § 6.

CAESAR

DE BELLO GALLICO

BOOKS I–VII

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ACCORDING TO THE TEXT

OF

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C. IULII CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

LIBER PRIMUS

B.C. 58

SUMMARY.

THE first book contains two episodes, the war with the Helvetii and the war with Ariovistus.

The narrative begins in the year B.C. 61—three years before the appearance of Caesar himself on the scene—with the designs of Orgetorix, who persuaded his countrymen, the Helvetii, to emigrate in a body. There must have been powerful reasons for this movement, since the decision to adopt it outlived its author. Caesar gives us to understand (2, §§ 4, 5) that the Helvetii felt cramped for want of room; Mommsen suggests that they may have acted under pressure from the flood of German immigration. At all events their minds were made up, and their start was fixed for the day of the spring equinox in the year 58. So another of those human avalanches was about to descend, which the Romans had such good reason to dread.

Caesar was in Rome when the news reached him that the Helvetii meant to pass through the Province, with or without the permission of the Allobroges. In a week he was on the banks of the Rhône. As Caesar's object was to reach Geneva, we may assume him to have come over the Great St. Bernard.

The city of Geneva now stands on both sides of the Rhône. In Caesar's time it was confined to the south or left bank. It was

thus wholly in the country of the Allobroges, but there was even then a bridge connecting it with that of the Helvetii. This bridge it was Caesar's first care to break down. In answer to a request from the Helvetii that they might pass peaceably through the Roman province Caesar replied that he would take time to consider the matter. 'Come back to me,' he said, 'on the Ides of April.' Meantime with the one legion which was then in Further Gaul and recruits which he had levied on his arrival he contrived by availing himself of natural advantages to render the south bank of the Rhône impregnable over the nineteen Roman miles which is the distance in a straight line between Geneva and the present Fort de l'Écluse, or rather the Montagne du Vuache, which faces it. When the Helvetian ambassadors returned on the day appointed his answer was a decided refusal. After this they attempted to force the passage, but found the task too much for their strength.

The only other route that seemed open to the Helvetii was through the Pas de l'Écluse, a narrow gorge on the north or right bank of the Rhône, where it is hemmed in by a spur from Mount Jura. This would bring them into the country of the Sequani. Through the good offices of Dumnorix, an ambitious but patriotic Aeduan, who had married the daughter of Orgetorix, they obtained the consent of the Sequani to use this exit.

The supposed object of the Helvetii was to reach the country of the Santoni, which was on the Bay of Biscay. Caesar regarded their presence there as likely to prove a danger to the Province; for, though as a matter of geography they would be further off from it there than they had been in their old home, yet there were no natural obstacles to their progress on that side like that which we have seen offered by the Rhône.

Accordingly leaving his chief lieutenant Labienus to guard the river, Caesar returned with all speed into Italy, that is, into Cisalpine Gaul, levied two legions there, summoned out three others that were wintering in the neighbourhood of Aquileia, and returned by the nearest route into Gaul. This was by the valley of the Po and the Pas de Suse (Segusio), which brought him into the territory of the Vocontii. Having to fight his way against the mountain-tribes, he was six days in coming from Ocelum, the last place of any importance in the Hither Province. From the

country of the Vocontii he marched his army into that of the Allobroges, and from there transported it across the Rhône into the land of the Segusiavi, whose capital was afterwards Lugdunum (Lyon).

Napoleon III assigns two months for Caesar's various operations since he refused a passage to the Helvetii. By this time the migrating horde had already cleared the pass, and loud complaints were now made to Caesar by the Aedui, the Ambarri, and such of the Allobroges as had possessions on the north bank of the Rhône, before its junction with the Saône, that their lands were being made the prey of the invaders. At this conjuncture an excellent opportunity presented itself. The barbarians were slowly crossing the Saône, an operation which took them twenty days, and which was not yet completed. A quarter of their number were still on the left or east bank. As Caesar has not spoken yet of his crossing the Saône, but only the Rhône, we must suppose that the territory of the Segusiavi into which Caesar crossed was just the corner between the two rivers where part of Lyon now stands[1]. Caesar then also was on the left bank of the Saône. By one of his rapid movements he fell upon this detachment of the enemy, who happened to be the Tigurini, and cut to pieces all of them who did not escape into the woods. Then he impressed the minds of the remainder by crossing the river by a bridge in one day. The consequence was that the Helvetii again tried to make terms with the Romans. But their choice of a representative was an unfortunate one. For they sent the aged Divico, who nearly fifty years before had inflicted the crushing and ignominious defeat upon Cassius, under which the pride of the Romans was still smarting. Caesar demanded hostages from the Helvetii, which Divico in his turn was too proud to give.

Next day the spirits of the barbarians were raised by a slight loss which they inflicted upon Caesar's Gallic cavalry, who had been sent to keep them in view. For the present Caesar thought it sufficient to restrain them from devastation and kept following them for a fortnight at an interval of some five or six miles. Meantime provisions began to run short. The harvest was not yet ripe in the fields, and even forage was scanty. Caesar had had corn brought up the Saône, but he could not get at it without

[1] The quarter known as the Perrache has been reclaimed since 1770.

giving up his pursuit of the Helvetii. Under these circumstances Caesar called together the leading men among the Aedui and upbraided them with their failure to keep the promises of support which they had given when they appealed to him for protection. The 'vergobret,' or chief magistrate among the Aedui, whose name was Liscus, threw the blame on certain personal influence, which was responsible also for treachery in the camp. In a private interview with Liscus Caesar elicited the fact that the force which was secretly working against him was Dumnorix. Now Dumnorix was the brother of Divitiacus the Druid, than whom there was no more staunch upholder of the alliance with the Romans. The position was therefore a delicate one. Caesar sent for Divitiacus and laid before him the complaints against his brother. Divitiacus acknowledged their justice, but declared with tears that he would lose all influence with his countrymen, if his brother were harshly treated by Caesar. All that could be done was to send for Dumnorix and warn him in his brother's presence to avoid all suspicion for the future. The past was forgiven—so Caesar said—but it was not forgotten, as Caesar's spies were set to 'shadow' Dumnorix.

The same day a favourable opportunity seemed to present itself for an attack upon the Helvetii. Caesar's scouts brought him word that they were encamped at the foot of a hill about eight miles off. During the night Labienus was sent with two legions to occupy the summit of the hill, while towards morning Caesar advanced against the enemy by the same road by which they had come themselves. He had got within a mile and a half of their camp without his approach being discovered, when an officer, named Considius, who had been sent to explore, rode up with the intelligence that the Gauls were in possession of the hill-top. If this were so, Labienus must have been defeated, and Caesar might expect an immediate attack. So he drew his forces up the nearest hill and waited, while the Helvetii were quietly pursuing their march. It was late in the day before the true facts of the case were ascertained.

Ever since their passage of the Saône the Helvetii had been tracking northwards, and Caesar was now within eighteen miles of Bibracte, which stood on the summit of Mont Beuvray; thither he turned aside to get supplies. The Helvetii now became

pursuers instead of pursued, thinking perhaps that Caesar's movements were dictated by fear. They ventured to attack the Romans when they were drawn up on rising ground. A long and desperate battle ensued, which ended in the complete defeat of the Helvetii and their allies. About 130,000 men who escaped from the field marched night and day for three days until they reached the territory of the Lingones (Langres). Caesar was occupied during this time with the care of the wounded and the burial of the dead, but he sent despatches to the Lingones not to assist the fugitives. When he started in pursuit of them again they all surrendered unconditionally, except 6,000, who tried to escape by night, but who were brought back and slaughtered in cold blood.

Why, it may be asked, were the Helvetii heading northwards, if their object was to reach the country of the Santoni? The answer to this question is to be found in the fact that the mountains which lie between the Saône and the Loire rendered their march due west a practical impossibility. The Emperor Napoleon has pointed out that in the old coaching days the way from Lyon to La Rochelle was first northward to Autun and then westward to Nevers. As regards the point at which the Helvetii crossed the Saône and the locality of the battle-field, Caesar has not afforded us sufficient data from which to determine them. We must be content to know that the battle took place within a radius of eighteen miles from Bibracte, at a place which is now generally admitted to be Mont Beuvray.

After the submission of the Helvetii and their allies Caesar restored them to their country, preferring them as neighbours to the Germans who were pretty certain to step into their place. The Boii however at the request of the Aedui were settled in the corner of the Aeduan territory which lies between the Loire and the Allier, near the junction of those rivers.

By turning back the invasion of the Helvetii Caesar had undoubtedly done a service to Gaul, and the Gauls showed themselves sensible of the fact; they exhibited that gratitude which has been defined as a lively expectation of favours to come. If Caesar had disposed of the Helvetii, might he not rid them also of Ariovistus and his Germans? Accordingly they requested that a general council of Gaul might be held with Caesar's special sanction. This

council was secret, but the results soon became apparent. The chiefs came before Caesar and asked for a private and confidential interview. Divitiacus acted as spokesman. He laid before Caesar the state of politics in Gaul, the mistake that had been made in inviting aid from the Germans, the oppression under which the Sequani were now suffering from their allies, and the imminent danger which threatened all Gaul of a German empire being established in the country. Caesar was bound to Ariovistus by the conciliatory advances which he had himself made to him in his consulship of the year before. But he did not let this stand in his way. He knew that Gaul could not serve two masters, and so he did not hesitate to undertake the championship of the country, which was thus opportunely thrust upon him. An embassy to Ariovistus summoning him to meet Caesar half-way with a view to a conference elicited the reply from that potentate that, if Caesar wanted to confer with him, Caesar might come to him, and that he wondered what Caesar or the Roman people had to do in a country which he had conquered. Caesar's rejoinder to this was an ultimatum to the effect that, if Ariovistus wished to continue on friendly terms with the Romans, he must not bring any more Germans across the Rhine, must restore their hostages to the Aedui, and allow the Sequani to do the same, and must abstain in future from aggression on the Aedui or their allies. These demands were met by Ariovistus with an open defiance. At the same time fresh embassies came to Caesar from the Aedui to complain that the Harudes, who had lately been brought into Gaul by Ariovistus, were ravaging their territory, and from the Treveri with the still graver intelligence that 100 cantons of Suebi were ready to cross the Rhine under the command of two brothers, Nasua and Cimberius. It was plain that there was no time to be lost, lest these new invaders should unite themselves with the old.

Caesar's first move was to forestall Ariovistus in occupying Besançon, which was then as now a formidable fortress and well supplied with material of war. Here his difficulties were increased by a panic among his own officers, owing to the exaggerated accounts they received of the size and fighting power of the Germans. The general's genius however rose equal to the occasion, and the dexterous touch with which he concluded

a speech by saying that, if no one else would follow him, he would go with only the 10th legion, about which he had no doubt, restored all ranks to a rivalry of trust and devotion. Seven days' continuous marching, which included a détour of fifty miles so as to keep in the open country, brought Caesar's army within twenty-four miles of Ariovistus and his forces. The German chief, consistently enough, offered to renew negotiations now that Caesar had come to him. This offer was not refused, although it was coupled with the embarrassing condition that none but cavalry soldiers should accompany the commanders to the conference. Caesar's cavalry with the exception of the officers were all Gauls, to whom he did not dare to confide his safety; so he kept the condition in the letter, if not in the spirit, by mounting his trusty 10th legion on Gallic horses, and drawing them up dismounted near the place of meeting. This was a mound in the middle of a plain about half-way between the two camps. The conference by the desire of Ariovistus was held on horseback, and only ten on each side attended it beside the two principals. As neither party was prepared to budge from the position already taken up, it came to nothing, and it was ultimately broken off owing to hostile demonstrations on the part of Ariovistus' cavalry. A subsequent offer for the renewal of formal negotiations was refused by Caesar, and the irregular envoys whom he did send, his own Gallic interpreter and a person named Marcus Metius, who was on terms of hospitality with Ariovistus, were instantly put in irons by the truculent barbarian on the pretence that they were spies.

Ariovistus now endeavoured to cut off Caesar from the supplies which were being brought up to him from the Sequani and Aedui by pitching his camp two miles beyond that of the Romans. For five days the two armies lay facing one another, contending only in cavalry skirmishes, until Caesar found it necessary to restore communication with his base by establishing a second camp about 600 paces from that of the Germans. This led to some severe fighting, but even now Ariovistus did not seem inclined for a general engagement. On inquiring from captives the reason for this hesitation Caesar discovered that the wise women among the Germans had declared that they would not be victorious, if they fought before the new moon. Next day accordingly the Roman general forced an engagement upon them, and after a fiercely

contested battle, in which the success of the Romans was due largely to the judicious action of young Publius Crassus, the Germans fled in the direction of the Rhine, which was fifty miles from the place of battle. Many were cut down by the cavalry. Ariovistus himself escaped in a boat, but his two wives perished, and of two daughters, one was slain and the other taken prisoner. Caesar's emissaries were fortunately recovered.

The news of this victory deterred the Suebi from crossing the Rhine, and they were followed when they turned homeward by the Ubii, who cut down a good many of them. Caesar withdrew his troops early into winter-quarters among the Sequani, where he left Labienus in command; he himself set out for Hither Gaul to hold the assizes.

The geographical indications are too vague to allow us to fix the site of the battle with Ariovistus. The one definite statement that we seem to have, namely, that the place was fifty miles from the Rhine, is rendered uncertain by a difference in the MSS., some of which have 'five.' Cernay, where Napoleon III locates the battle, does not agree with either reading.

Description of Gaul.

GALLIA est omnis divisa in partes tres; quarum unam 1
incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum
lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes 2

1. § 1. omnis, 'as a whole.' This word distinguishes the present use of Gallia from that in § 6, where it stands only for Celtic Gaul. This collective use of 'omnis' is very common in Caesar, but not confined to him. Thus Tacitus begins his account of Germany with 'Germania omnis . . . separatur,' and Cicero (De Inv. 1, § 59) has 'omnis' for 'totus' in a passage where we might least expect it—'nihil autem omnium rerum melius quam *omnis* mundus administratur.'

tres. Exclusive of Provence. Caesar is thinking of the Gaul he conquered, and so does not take account either of the Cisalpine or Transalpine province, which also went under the name of Gaul. In the time of Augustus, when all Transalpine Gaul was alike Romanised, it was naturally regarded as divided into *four* parts—

1. Narbonensis (= Provincia),
2. Aquitania,
3. Lugdunensis,
4. Belgica.

But of these the second portion was made larger than the Aquitania of Caesar by the addition of fourteen tribes dwelling between the Garonne and the Loire. Strabo iv. 1, § 1; 2, § 2.

Celtae . . . Galli. Galli is said to mean 'warriors,' being connected with the Irish 'gal' = valour. The meaning of Celtae is uncertain.

lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Se-
3 quana dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant atque ea, quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important, proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt.
4 Qua de causa Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere cotidianis proeliis cum Germanis contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi
5 in eorum finibus bellum gerunt. Eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano; continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum; attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis
6 flumen Rhenum; vergit ad septentriones. Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur; pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni; spectant in septentrionem et
7 orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceani, quae est

§ 2. **Garumna.** A comparison of the Greek form of the name, Γα-*ρουνᾶς*, seems to show that the 'm' was very slightly sounded, thus giving rise to the modern pronunciation, 'Garonne.'

§ 5. **Eorum.** Carrying on 'Hi omnes' in § 2, and 'Horum omnium' in § 3: but in what follows there is a confusion of expression. The words referred to in 'dictum est' are 'incolunt . . . tertiam (partem) . . . Galli' in § 1, where 'pars' refers to the country, while here it refers to the people. It is therefore necessary to take 'Eorum' loosely in translating —'One part thereof, which it has been said that the Gauls occupy.'

ab Sequanis, 'on the side of the Sequani.' Their country stretched from the Saône to the Rhine, through the departments of Jura, Doubs, and Haute-Saône, and the province of Alsace.

§ 6. **Galliae.** In the same way in ii. 3, § 1 Belgium is excluded from Gallia—'Remi, qui proximi Galliae ex Belgis sunt.'

septentrionem. We had 'septentriones' in § 5 and it recurs in § 7 and in 16, § 2. The singular, though ungrammatical, is used by good writers both in prose and verse. All the parts of Gaul are spoken of as lying to the north, because Gaul as a whole is north of Italy. Cp. iv. 20, § 1, 'omnis Gallia ad septentriones vergit.'

ad Hispaniam, pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones.

War with the Helvetii, 1–29. Ambition of Orgetorix. He persuades the Helvetii to emigrate in a body.

Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus fuit et ditissimus **2**
Orgetorix. Is M. Messala et M. Pisone consulibus
regni cupiditate inductus coniurationem nobilitatis fecit
et civitati persuasit, ut de finibus suis cum omnibus
copiis exirent: 'perfacile esse, cum virtute omnibus 2
praestarent, totius Galliae imperio potiri.' Id hoc 3
facilius eis persuasit, quod undique loci natura Helvetii
continentur: una ex parte flumine Rheno, latissimo
atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis
dividit; altera ex parte monte Iura altissimo, qui est
inter Sequanos et Helvetios; tertia lacu Lemanno et
flumine Rhodano, qui provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis
dividit. His rebus fiebat, ut et minus late vagarentur et 4
minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possent, quo aperte
homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore afficiebantur;
pro multitudine autem hominum et pro gloria belli 5
atque fortitudinis angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur,

2. § 1. **Orgetorix.** The termination -rix, which occurs in so many Gallic names (cp. Ambiorix, Cingetorix, Dumnorix, Eporedorix, Lugotorix, Vercingetorix) means 'king.' Monsieur D'Arbois de Jubainville would assign to this name the truculent signification of 'king of murderers.'

consulibus, B.C. 61. On the Ides of March in the following year Cicero writes to Atticus—'et Helvetii sine dubio sunt in armis, excursionesque in provinciam faciunt' (Ad Att. i. 19, § 2).

§ 3. **monte Iura.** Mount Jura has retained its name to the present day. The mountain which overhangs the Fort de l'Écluse is a spur from the range.

lacu Lemanno. The Lake of Geneva: still called Léman by the French.

§ 4. **quo aperte.** A conjecture of Hoffmann's for the 'qua ex parte' of the MSS. Translate 'at which, being men with a thirst for war, they did not disguise their indignation.' With 'qua ex parte' we may compare the phrase used by Vegetius i. 3, 'de qua parte,' which means no more than 'concerning which.'

§ 5. **multitudine.** In 29, § 2 the sum total of their population is given as 263,000.

angustos, 'too narrow.' So in Greek πολύ and ὀλίγον are used for 'too much' and 'too little,' e.g. Arist. E. N. ii. 7, § 7.

qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in latitudinem CLXXX patebant.

3 His rebus adducti et auctoritate Orgetorigis permoti constituerunt ea, quae ad proficiscendum pertinerent, comparare, iumentorum et carrorum quam maximum numerum coëmere, sementes quam maximas facere, ut in itinere copia frumenti suppeteret, cum proximis civita-
2 tibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt: in tertium annum profectionem lege confirmant. [Ad eas res con-
3 ficiendas] Orgetorix [deligitur. Is] sibi legationem ad
4 civitates suscepit. In eo itinere persuadet Castico, Catamantaloedis filio, Sequano, cuius pater regnum in Sequanis multos annos obtinuerat et a senatu populi Romani amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate
5 sua occuparet, quod pater ante habuerat; itemque Dumnorigi Aeduo, fratri Divitiaci, qui eo tempore principatum in civitate obtinebat ac maxime plebi acceptus erat, ut idem conaretur, persuadet eique filiam suam in matri-
6 monium dat. 'Perfacile factu esse' illis probat 'conata perficere, propterea quod ipse suae civitatis imperium

patebant. This may be regarded as a statement added by Caesar or it may merely be an instance of the indic. in oblique narration. See 40, § 5 *n.* The particulars as to the dimensions of the country were no doubt derived from the Helvetii themselves. Walckenaer calculates that the breadth is rightly given, but that the length is over-estimated by ten miles.

3. § 1. **carrorum.** Pl. 'carri' in 6, § 1. In H. 6, § 2 we have the heterogeneous pl. 'carra.'

§ 2. **Ad eas res, &c.** The words enclosed in brackets are found in the MSS., but were suspected by Dübner of being spurious.

§ 4. **amicus.** The same compliment was paid to Ariovistus by the senate in B.C. 59, the year of Caesar's consulship, 35, § 2; also to the father of Piso Aquitanus, iv. 12, § 4, and to Ollovico, the king of the Nitiobriges, vii. 31, § 5. Ptolemy Auletes spent much money in the attempt to procure himself the same title, which he regarded as a guarantee of permanence to his throne. See D. C. xxxix. 12 and Suet. J. C. 11. Cp. 35, § 2, 'rex atque amicus'; 43, § 4, 'paucis.'

§ 5. **qui,** i. e. Dumnorix.

obtenturus esset: non esse dubium, quin totius Galliae 7
plurimum Helvetii possent; se suis copiis suoque exercitu illis regna conciliaturum' confirmat. Hac oratione ad- 8
ducti inter se fidem et iusiurandum dant et regno occupato per tres potentissimos ac firmissimos populos totius Galliae sese potiri posse sperant.

Attempt to bring Orgetorix to trial. His death.

Ea res est Helvetiis per indicium enuntiata. Moribus 4
suis Orgetorigem ex vinculis causam dicere coëgerunt. Damnatum poenam sequi oportebat, ut igni cremaretur.
Die constituta causae dictionis Orgetorix ad iudicium 2
omnem suam familiam, ad hominum milia decem, undique coëgit et omnes clientes obaeratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit: per eos, ne causam diceret, se eripuit. Cum civitas ob eam rem 3
incitata armis ius suum exsequi conaretur multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratus cogerent, Orgetorix mortuus est; neque abest suspicio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.

The Helvetii persist in their design and get other tribes to join them.

Post eius mortem nihilo minus Helvetii id, quod con- 5
stituerant, facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant. Ubi iam se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, 2
oppida sua omnia, numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata aedificia incendunt, frumentum 3
omne, praeterquam quod secum portaturi erant, comburunt, ut domum reditionis spe sublata paratiores ad

§ 6. **obtenturus esset**, 'meant to hold.' Here and in 18, § 9 'obtinere' seems to have the sense of 'getting,' but the more usual one of 'holding' may still be put on it in both passages.

§ 8. **posse sperant**. 'They expect to be able.' 'Spero' with the pres. infin. 'posse' recurs in 40, § 9: v. 26, § 4: vi. 10, § 2. It could not have a fut. infin., since 'possum' does not possess one. But, apart from this, 'spero,' as a verb of thinking, may be constructed with a pres. infin.

4. § 1. **igni cremaretur**. For the practice of burning to death in Gaul cp. vi. 16, §§ 4, 5; 19, § 3: vii. 4, § 10.

5. § 3. **domum reditionis**. This verbal substantive here governs a case like the gerund. So Cic. de Div. i. § 68, 'domum itionem.'

omnia pericula subeunda essent, trium mensium molita
4 cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre iubent. Persuadent
Rauracis et Tulingis et Latovicis finitimis, uti eodem usi
consilio oppidis suis vicisque exustis una cum iis pro-
ficiscantur, Boiosque, qui trans Rhenum incoluerant et
in agrum Noricum transierant Noreiamque oppugnarant,
receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt.

6 Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo By what
exire possent: unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, route are they to go?
inter montem Iuram et flumen Rhodanum, vix qua
singuli carri ducerentur; mons autem altissimus im-
2 pendebat, ut facile perpauci prohibere possent: alterum
per provinciam nostram, multo facilius atque expeditius,
propterea quod inter fines Helvetiorum et Allobrogum,
qui nuper pacati erant, Rhodanus fluit isque nonnullis

§ 4. **Rauracis, &c.** The Rauraci or Raurici lived about Angst near Bâle; the Tulingi and Latovici are placed conjecturally in South Baden.

cum iis. Used for 'secum' for the sake of clearness, owing to the 'suis' preceding.

Boiosque. It is not known what was the relation of this small tribe to the Boii of Cisalpine Gaul.

Noreiamque. Noreia is identified with Neumarkt in Styria.

6. § 1. **duo.** The possibility of the Helvetii issuing from their country to the north is not contemplated. There was no physical obstacle to their doing so, but probably the army of Ariovistus acted as a deterrent.

per Sequanos. The pass under the Fort de l'Écluse, through which the modern traveller passes in the train on the way from Geneva to Mâcon.

vix qua. Hyperbaton is common with the word 'vix.' We have 'vix ad' in ii. 28, § 2; 'vix ut' in iii. 4, § 1: Cic. Brut. § 82: Prov. Cons. § 5: Liv. xxvii. 50, § 2.

§ 2. **Allobrogum.** The country of the Allobroges lay between the Isère and the Rhône, having Vienne as its capital. The name Allobrox (All-fro) is explained to mean a foreigner as opposed to Combrox (Cym-bro, Kymro) a compatriot. Kymry is the name which the Welsh give to themselves. Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 139.

nuper. The Allobroges had surrendered to the Romans as far back as B.C. 121, in which year they were defeated first by Cn. Domitius the proconsul and afterwards by the consul Q. Fabius Maximus, who gained the surname of Allobrogicus. But in B.C. 62 after the failure of their ambassadors—the same who had revealed the conspiracy of Catiline—they had broken out into rebellion, and had been put down by the praetor C. Pomptinus in the following year. See Introd. pp. 81, 2.

locis vado transitur. Extremum oppidum Allobrogum 3 est proximumque Helvetiorum finibus Genava. Ex eo oppido pons ad Helvetios pertinet. Allobrogibus sese vel persuasuros, quod nondum bono animo in populum Romanum viderentur, existimabant, vel vi coacturos, ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur. Omnibus rebus ad 4 profectionem comparatis diem dicunt, qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes conveniant. Is dies erat a. d. V. Kal. Apr. L. Pisone, A. Gabinio consulibus.

Caesar comes into Gaul. Helvetian embassy to him.

Caesari cum id nuntiatum esset, eos per provinciam 7 nostram iter facere conari, maturat ab urbe proficisci et quam maximis potest itineribus in Galliam ulteriorem contendit et ad Genavam pervenit. Provinciae toti 2

§ 4. **qua die . . . Is dies.** The variation of gender here has a parallel in two other passages—iv. 36, §§ 1, 2, 'Eodem die . . . propinqua die aequinoctii': vi. 33, § 4, 'Discedens post diem septimum sese reversurum confirmat; quam ad diem,' &c. If Caesar has a rule with regard to the gender of dies in the singular, it is this—that, when 'dies' means a fixed day or date, it is fem.; when it means a day in the ordinary sense, it is masc. But it is difficult to draw such a distinction between 'ad certam diem' in v. 1, § 8 and 'certum diem conveniendi' in v. 57, § 2. In 'altera die' in C. iii. 19, § 3 the rule is certainly violated.

a. d. V. Kal. Apr. In the reformed calendar this would correspond to March 28, but Le Verrier has calculated that it really corresponded to March 24. The Helvetii evidently selected the season of the spring equinox for their exodus.

consulibus, B.C. 58.

7. § 1. **id.** 'id' here is little more than our 'it,' anticipating the coming subject, 'eos . . . conari.' Cp. iii. 2, § 2—'Id aliquot de causis acciderat, ut . . . caperent.'

quam maximis. Plutarch (Caes. 17) gives it as an instance of the celerity of Caesar's movements, that he reached the Rhône on this occasion a week (ὀγδοαῖος) after leaving Rome.

ad Genavam. For the prep. to denote motion with the name of a town cp. vii. 41, § 1 'castra ad Gergoviam movit,' 79, § 1 'ad Alesiam perveniunt': H. 4, § 1—'Hoc misso ad Uliam praesidio Caesar . . . ad Cordubam contendit': Liv. xxv. 19, § 1 'castra ad Capuam quum movisset,' § 8 'ad Capuam rediit,' 22, § 6 'ad Capuam regressus': Cic. Cat. Mai. § 10 'miles ad Capuam profectus sum,' Rosc. Am. § 105 'ad Volaterras . . . nuntiatur,' T. D. i. § 98 'qui maximas copias duxit ad Troiam.' The supposed rule that names of towns dispense with the prep. is sometimes saved by the refinement that when only the vicinity of the town is meant 'ad' may be used. But the fact seems simply to be that names of towns may or may not take a prep., when motion is expressed.

quam maximum potest militum numerum imperat (erat
omnino in Gallia ulteriore legio una), pontem, qui erat
3 ad Genavam, iubet rescindi. Ubi de eius adventu Hel-
vetii certiores facti sunt, legatos ad eum mittunt nobilis-
simos civitatis, cuius legationis Nammeius et Verucloetius
principem locum obtinebant, qui dicerent, 'sibi esse in
animo sine ullo maleficio iter per provinciam facere,
propterea quod aliud iter haberent nullum: rogare, ut
4 eius voluntate id sibi facere liceat.' Caesar, quod
memoria tenebat L. Cassium consulem occisum exer-
citumque eius ab Helvetiis pulsum et sub iugum
5 missum, concedendum non putabat; neque homines
inimico animo data facultate per provinciam itineris
faciundi temperaturos ab iniuria et maleficio existimabat.
6 Tamen, ut spatium intercedere posset, dum milites, quos
imperaverat, convenirent, legatis respondit, 'diem se ad
deliberandum sumpturum: si quid vellent, ad Id. April.
reverterentur.'

8 Interea ea legione, quam secum habebat, militibusque, qui ex provincia convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, qua in flumen Rhodanum influit, ad montem Iuram, qui fines

The Rhône fortified against the Helvetii.

§ 2. **ad Genavam**, 'at Geneva.' 'Ad' here indicates vicinity, but not motion. Cp. ii. 19, § 7 'ad silvas': vi. 44, § 3 'ad fines': vii. 16, § 2 and 52, § 2 'ad Avaricum,' 53, § 4 'ad flumen Elaver pontes reficit,' 55, § 1 'ad ripas Ligeris . . . positum.'

§ 4. **L. Cassium.** L. Cassius Longinus consul B.C. 107. Livy Epit. 65—'L. Cassius consul a Tigurinis Gallis, pago Helvetiorum, qui a civitate secesserant, in finibus Allobrogum cum exercitu caesus est.' Livy adds that the surviving Roman soldiers purchased their freedom at the cost of half of all that they possessed. Appian (De Reb. Gall. 3) says that they were sent under the yoke by the Helvetii, ὡς ἐν χρονικαῖς συντάξεσι δοκεῖ Παύλῳ τῷ Κλαυδίῳ—apparently a mistake for Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius. Introd. p. 76.

§ 6. **ad Id. April.** 'On the 13th (=the 9th) of April.' Cp. v. 1, § 8 'ad certam diem': vi. 33, § 5 'ad eum diem revertantur': vii. 64, § 1 'ad hunc (diem), 77, § 10 'quod ad diem non venerunt.'

8. § 1. **qua.** 'qua' is an emendation for the 'qui' of the MSS.

montem Iuram. As the fortification was constructed on the south bank of the Rhône, this must be understood of the Montagne du Vuache, which is a continuation of

Sequanorum ab Helvetiis dividit, milia passuum decem novem murum in altitudinem pedum sedecim fossamque perducit. Eo opere perfecto praesidia disponit, castella 2
communit, quo facilius, si se invito transire conarentur, prohibere possit. Ubi ea dies, quam constituerat cum 3
legatis, venit, et legati ad eum reverterunt, negat 'se more et exemplo populi Romani posse iter ulli per provinciam dare et, si vim facere conentur, prohibiturum' ostendit. Helvetii ea spe deiecti navibus iunctis rati- 4
busque compluribus factis, alii vadis Rhodani, qua minima altitudo fluminis erat, nonnumquam interdiu, saepius noctu, si perrumpere possent conati, operis

the chain of the Jura. To the north of the Rhône the Jura divided the Sequani from the Helvetii. Cp. Strabo iv. 3, § 4 *ἐν δὲ τοῖς Σηκοιανοῖς ἔστι τὸ ὄρος ὁ Ἰουράσιος· διορίζει δ' Ἑλουηττίους καὶ Σηκουάνους.*

decem novem. This form of numeral is peculiar. With 'et' it is not uncommon. Cp. ii. 4, § 9 'Aduatucos decem et novem milia': iv. 19, § 4 'diebus omnino decem et octo trans Rhenum consumptis.' Livy sometimes uses the same form, e.g. xxvi. 47, § 7 'decem et octo millia': xxvii. 29, § 8 'decem et octo navibus captis': Vegetius iii. 8 'pedibus decem et septem': Flor. i. 45, § 25 'decem et octo castellis.' The distance between the Lake of Geneva and the Pas de l'Écluse is 27 kilomètres in a straight line, without following the windings of the river. (Desjardins, vol. ii. p. 598.) This is nearly 19 Roman miles.

murum. Caesar's language here lends itself to misconstruction. The non-military reader pictures to himself a continuous wall nineteen miles long and sixteen feet high. The late Emperor Napoleon divined that 'murus' might here mean 'a natural escarpment rendered steeper by a slight work,' and sent Baron Stoffel to inspect the localities, whose researches fully confirmed his supposition. The statement of Dio Cassius (xxxviii. 31) is in accordance with this conclusion—*κἀν τούτῳ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα διετάφρευσε καὶ ἀπετείχισεν, ὥστε ἄπορον αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁδὸν γενέσθαι.* Appian (iv. 15) says more vaguely *διετείχισεν ὅσα περὶ Ῥοδανόν ἐστι ποταμὸν ἐς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους μάλιστα.*

§ 2. **conarentur . . . possit.** With the historic present either sequence is permissible. Here we have both, but the historic depending on the primary. Cp. v. 46, § 4.

§ 4. **alii vadis Rhodani.** The few who tried to ford the river are contrasted with the main body who attempted to cross by a bridge of boats. It is not necessary to supply a preceding 'alii,' as in Tac. Ann. i. 63, § 7—'ut opus et alii proelium inciperent.'

si . . . conati. Lit. 'having made an attempt in case they should be able to break through,' which accidentally assimilates itself to our idiom—'tried if they could break

munitione et militum concursu et telis repulsi hoc conatu destiterunt.

Dumnorix obtains a passage for them through the territory of the Sequani.

9 Relinquebatur una per Sequanos via, qua Sequanis
2 invitis propter angustias ire non poterant. His cum sua sponte persuadere non possent, legatos ad Dumnorigem Aeduum mittunt, ut eo deprecatore a Sequanis impe-
3 trarent. Dumnorix gratia et largitione apud Sequanos plurimum poterat et Helvetiis erat amicus, quod ex ea civitate Orgetorigis filiam in matrimonium duxerat, et cupiditate regni adductus novis rebus studebat et quam plurimas civitates suo beneficio habere obstrictas volebat.
4 Itaque rem suscipit et a Sequanis impetrat, ut per fines suos Helvetios ire patiantur, obsidesque uti inter sese dent, perficit: Sequani, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant; Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et iniuria transeant.

Caesar brings five new legions into Gaul.

10 Caesari renuntiatur Helvetiis esse in animo per agrum Sequanorum et Aeduorum iter in Santonum fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas
2 est in provincia. Id si fieret, intellegebat magno cum periculo provinciae futurum, ut homines bellicosos, populi Romani inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque
3 frumentariis finitimos haberet. Ob eas causas ei muni-

through.' Somewhat similar is the use of 'si' after 'exspectare.' See ii. 9, § 1 'si nostri transirent.'

9. § 1. **per Sequanos.** See 6, § 1.

§ 2. **sua sponte,** 'unaided.' Cp. v. 28, § 1.

§ 3. **filiam . . . duxerat:** 3, § 5.

10. § 1. **Aeduorum.** Their territory lay between the Saône and the Loire. Its stronghold was Bibracte. A society of antiquaries at Autun, calling themselves the Société Eduenne, still celebrate the ancient glories of the Aedui.

Santonum. In 11, § 6 we have 'Santonos' and in iii. 11, § 5 and vii. 75, § 3 'Santonis.' Strabo (iv. 2, § 2) has *Σαντονοί.* The Santoni are to be looked for at Saintes in the department of Charente Inférieure, which is on the Bay of Biscay. The designs of the Helvetii upon the Province were still more clear to Livy or his epitomizer than to Caesar. See Epit. 103—'Caesar, in provinciam Galliam profectus, Helvetios, vagam gentem, domuit: quae, sedem quaerens, per provinciam Caesaris Narbonem iter facere volebat.'

§ 2. **maximeque frumentariis.**

tioni, quam fecerat, T. Labienum legatum praefecit:
ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit duasque ibi
legiones conscribit et tres, quae circum Aquileiam hiema-
bant, ex hibernis educit et, qua proximum iter in
ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque
legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Centrones et Graioceli et 4
Caturiges locis superioribus occupatis itinere exercitum
prohibere conantur. Compluribus his proeliis pulsis ab 5
Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciae extremum, in fines
Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae die septimo pervenit;
inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Segusiavos

Superlative. This form of comparison is especially used with long words. Cp. iii. 15, § 4 'maxime opportuna': Al. 71, § 1 'res magis necessarias': Cic. Lael. § 4 'maxime memorabilem.'

§ 3. in **Italiam.** Here = Cisalpine Gaul. See Index and cp. note on § 5 'Ocelo.'

Aquileiam. As Caesar speaks in iii. 7, § 1 of Illyricum as a region with which he wished to make acquaintance, we may infer that he did not go in person to Aquileia. This town, which is on the Gulf of Trieste, is still called by its ancient name.

proximum iter. This is the route described by Strabo (iv. 1, § 3) as leading through the country of the Vocontii and over the Cottian Alps.

§ 4. **Centrones.** The reading varies between Centrones and Ceutrones: but in any case these mountaineers are to be distinguished from the Centrones of v. 39, § 1, a Belgian tribe living just south of the Menapii. The Centrones or Ceutrones are mentioned by Pliny (N. H. iii. § 135, Detlefsen) as next neighbours to the Octodurenses and as having, like them, been presented with the 'jus Latii.'

Caturiges. The Caturiges figure among the tribes enumerated in an inscription on 'the trophy of the Alps,' which celebrated their final subjugation under Augustus. The inscription is quoted by Pliny, N. H. iii. §§ 136, 137. Their name is supposed to be preserved in Chorges in the department of the Hautes Alpes. As *cath* in Irish and *cad* in Welsh mean 'war,' or 'battle,' Caturiges is interpreted to mean 'battle-kings.'

§ 5. **Ocelo.** Cp. Strabo iv. 1, § 3 *Ὤκελον τὸ πέρας τῆς Κοττίου γῆς.* A place called Scingomagus, twenty-seven miles from Ocelum, was the last station in Gaul—*καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Σκιγγομάγου δὲ ἤδη Ἰταλία λέγεται.* The Κόττιος γῆ of Strabo is the same as the Cottianae civitates xv. of Pliny N. H. iii. § 138. The position of Ocelum is matter of dispute.

Vocontiorum. In the departments of Isère and Drôme.

Segusiavos. The position of the Segusiavi is roughly marked by the fact that their capital was afterwards Lugdunum (Lyon).

exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra provinciam trans Rhodanum primi.

1 Helvetii iam per angustias et fines Sequanorum suas copias traduxerant et in Aeduorum fines pervenerant
2 eorumque agros populabantur. Aedui, cum se suaque ab iis defendere non possent, legatos ad Caesarem
3 mittunt rogatum auxilium: 'ita se omni tempore de populo Romano meritos esse, ut paene in conspectu exercitus nostri agri vastari, liberi eorum in servitutem
4 abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint.' Eodem tempore [Aedui] Ambarri, necessarii et consanguinei Aeduorum, Caesarem certiorem faciunt sese depopulatis agris non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere.
5 Item Allobroges, qui trans Rhodanum vicos possessionesque habebant, fuga se ad Caesarem recipiunt et demonstrant 'sibi praeter agri solum nihil esse reliqui.'
6 Quibus rebus adductus Caesar non exspectandum sibi statuit, dum omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis in Santonos Helvetii pervenirent.

The Aedui and others implore Caesar's aid against the Helvetii.

11. § 1. **iam.** Napoleon III calculated the time required for Caesar's movements in raising troops at two months. Taking them to have begun in April (see 7, § 6), it would now be June. We need not wonder that the Helvetii should not have got further on their way when, we consider that the Pas de l'Ecluse admitted of only one waggon at a time (6, § 1), and that the Helvetii had to get through it with the baggage of a whole nation.

§ 3. **eorum.** For 'sui,' notwithstanding the 'se' preceding.

§ 4. **Ambarri.** They are supposed to have dwelt between the Rhône and the Saône in what is now the department of Ain. De Jubainville regards the name as a contraction from Ambi-arari. If this be so, it would point to their having possessions on both sides of the Saône.

§ 5. **nihil . . . reliqui.** For this idiomatic use of the gen. after the neut. sing. cp. i. 21, § 2 'quid sui consilii sit': ii. 26, § 5 'nihil ad celeritatem sibi reliqui fecerunt': v. 53, § 4 'quid reliqui consilii caperent': vi. 7, § 8: vii. 5, § 5; 45, § 4; 77, § 12: C. iii. 109, § 3 'quid esset suae voluntatis.'

§ 6. **fortunis.** Like our own word 'fortunes,' this means sometimes 'wealth' or 'substance,' as here and in v. 43, § 4, but more often 'welfare' or 'prospects,' as in iii. 12, § 3: v. 3, § 7: vi. 7, § 6: vii. 8, § 4; 77, § 1.

in Santonos. See 10, § 1.

Destruction of the Tigurini.

Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Aeduorum et Sequa- 12
norum in Rhodanum influit, incredibili lenitate, ita ut
oculis, in utram partem fluat, iudicari non possit. Id
Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus iunctis transibant. Ubi per 2
exploratores Caesar certior factus est tres iam partes
copiarum Helvetios id flumen traduxisse, quartam fere
partem citra flumen Ararim reliquam esse, de tertia
vigilia cum legionibus tribus e castris profectus ad eam
partem pervenit, quae nondum flumen transierat. Eos 3
impeditos et inopinantes aggressus magnam partem
eorum concidit; reliqui sese fugae mandarunt atque in
proximas silvas abdiderunt. Is pagus appellabatur 4
Tigurinus: nam omnis civitas Helvetia in quattuor

12. § 1. **Arar.** This river was also called Sauconna (Amm. Marc. xv. 11, § 17 'Ararim, quem Sauconnam appellant') which gives the modern name Saône. It has not quickened its course since Caesar's day, and the loiterer on its banks may still throw a stick into the current without discovering in which way it is flowing. Mela (iii. § 40) copies Caesar's language in speaking of the Araxes as it flows through Armenia—'labitur placidus et silens, neque in utram partem eat, quamquam intuearis, manifestus.'

transibant. The slowness of the Helvetian movements may be gathered from the fact that they took twenty days to effect this passage. See 13, § 2.

§ 2. **tres . . . partes.** In such expressions the denominator is understood to exceed the numerator by one.

de tertia vigilia. The 'de' in such expressions indicates that part of the period referred to has already elapsed, so that we may render 'in the course of the third watch.' Cp. 21, § 2: v. 9, § 1: C. i. 64, § 8. So 'de quarta vigilia,' 21, § 3; 40, § 14. The night, from sunset to sunrise, was divided by the Romans into four watches, the length of which varied with the season of the year.

§ 3. **concidit.** On the principle of 'qui facit per alium facit per se' (cp. ii. 35. § 3), if we may trust Plutarch (Caes. 18), who expressly tells us that it was *not* Caesar, but Labienus sent by him who achieved this success. The same statement is made in two fragments of Appian (De Reb. Gall. 3 and 15). In the latter of these passages Appian mentions that Caesar had with him 20,000 Gallic mountaineers, a fact which we do not learn elsewhere.

in proximas silvas abdiderunt. Compressed construction = fled into the woods and hid themselves there.

§ 4. **Tigurinus.** Another of the four cantons of the Helvetii, namely, the Verbigenus, is mentioned in 27, § 4. A third is spoken of by Strabo (vii. 2, § 2) under the name of Τωυγενοί. It has been conjectured that the Ambrones, the allies of the Cimbri (vol. i. p. 76 n.), were the fourth (Bunbury, Hist. of Anc. Geog., vol. ii. p. 112 n.).

5 pagos divisa est. Hic pagus unus, cum domo exisset
patrum nostrorum memoria, L. Cassium consulem inter-
6 fecerat et eius exercitum sub iugum miserat. Ita sive
casu sive consilio deorum immortalium, quae pars civi-
tatis Helvetiae insignem calamitatem populo Romano
7 intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit. Qua in re Caesar
non solum publicas, sed etiam privatas iniurias ultus est,
quod eius soceri L. Pisonis avum, L. Pisonem legatum,
Tigurini eodem proelio, quo Cassium, interfecerant.

Helvetian embassy under Divico.

13 Hoc proelio facto reliquas copias Helvetiorum ut
consequi posset, pontem in Arare faciendum curat atque
2 ita exercitum traducit. Helvetii repentino eius adventu
commoti, cum id, quod ipsi diebus xx aegerrime con-
fecerant, ut flumen transirent, illum uno die fecisse
intellegerent, legatos ad eum mittunt; cuius legationis
Divico princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiano dux Helvetiorum
3 fuerat. Is ita cum Caesare egit: 'si pacem populus
Romanus cum Helvetiis faceret, in eam partem ituros
atque ibi futuros Helvetios, ubi eos Caesar constituisset
4 atque esse voluisset; sin bello persequi perseveraret,
reminisceretur et veteris incommodi populi Romani et
5 pristinae virtutis Helvetiorum. Quod improviso unum
pagum adortus esset, cum ii, qui flumen transissent, suis
auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suae
6 magnopere virtuti tribueret aut ipsos despiceret. Se ita

§ 5. **L. Cassium consulem**: 7, § 4 n.

§ 6. **sive consilio deorum.** Cp. 14, § 5: v. 52, § 6 'beneficio deorum immortalium.' Introd. p. 23.

§ 7. **soceri L. Pisonis.** As L. Piso, the father of Calpurnia, was Caesar's third, if not fourth (Plut. Caes. 5), father-in-law, this far-reaching vindictiveness is the more amusing.

13. § 2. **ut flumen transiret.** Explanatory of 'id'—'namely, to cross the river.' Cp. Cic. Rosc. Am. § 127 'Ego haec omnia Chrysogonum fecisse dico, ut ementiretur, ut' &c.

§ 5. **magnopere.** Here practically a substantive, 'overmuch.' Cp. 18, § 6 n.

ipsos. 'suae' having been used of the dependent subject, recourse is now had to 'ipsos' for distinctness.

a patribus maioribusque suis didicisse, ut magis virtute quam dolo contenderent aut insidiis niterentur. Quare 7
ne committeret, ut is locus, ubi constitissent, ex calamitate populi Romani et internecione exercitus nomen caperet aut memoriam proderet.'

His Caesar ita respondit: 'eo sibi minus dubitationis 14
dari, quod eas res, quas legati Helvetii commemorassent, memoria teneret, atque eo gravius ferre, quo minus merito populi Romani accidissent: qui si alicuius iniuriae 2
sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum, quod neque commissum a se intellegeret, quare timeret, neque sine causa timendum putaret. Quod si veteris contumeliae oblivisci vellet, num etiam 3
recentium iniuriarum, quod eo invito iter per provinciam per vim temptassent, quod Aeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrogas vexassent, memoriam deponere posse? Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur quodque 4
tam diu se impune iniurias tulisse admirarentur, eodem

§ 6. **didicisse** 'had been taught.' 'Discere' is virtually the passive of 'docere,' as *μανθάνειν* is of *διδάσκειν*.

aut insidiis niterentur. This is an afterthought, and comes under the government of 'quam.' Translate 'as to contend with valour, rather than to contend with craft or rely upon ambushes.' The character which the Helvetii here give of themselves is borne out by the author of the Bellum Africanum, who may have served under Caesar in Gaul, as he certainly did in Africa. Af. 73, § 2 'Gallos, homines apertos minimeque insidiosos, qui per virtutem, non per dolum dimicare consuerunt.'

14. § 1. **His.** Not = 'ad haec,' but referring back to 'legatos' in 13, § 2.

§ 2. **qui,** i. e. the Roman people, which is the subject to all the verbs down to 'deponere posse,' with the exception of 'temptassent' and 'vexassent.'

§ 3. **Allobrogas.** For the Greek acc. cp. C. iii. 63, § 5 'per Allobrogas perfugas': ch. 26, § 6 'Lingonas,' as also in Lucan i. 397: ii. 34 'Curiosolitas': viii. 7, § 4 'Atrebatas.' Eutropius has Samnitas, Teutonas, Dalmatas, Arabas, Lingonas. Florus has Samnitas, Liguras, Teutonas, Macedonas, Caledonas, Biturigas, Carnutas, Senonas. Livy has Allobrogas, Dalmatas. It has been assumed that this acc. is Gallic: but it appears in names that are neither Gallic nor Greek, and is probably an extension by analogy of the Greek form.

§ 4. **impune tulisse,** 'carried off with impunity,' 'escaped unpunished for.' Cp. Lucan i. 289—

'gentesque subactas
'Vix impune feres.'

5 pertinere. Consuesse enim deos immortales, quo gravius
homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro
scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum
6 res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. Cum ea
ita sint, tamen, si obsides ab iis sibi dentur, uti ea, quae
polliceantur, facturos intellegat, et si Aeduis de iniuriis,
quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogi-
bus satisfaciant, sese cum iis pacem esse facturum.'
7 Divico respondit: 'Ita Helvetios a maioribus suis insti-
tutos esse, uti obsides accipere, non dare consuerint:
eius rei populum Romanum esse testem.' Hoc responso
dato discessit.

15 Postero die castra ex eo loco movent. Idem facit
Caesar equitatumque omnem, ad numerum quattuor
milium, quem ex omni provincia et Aeduis atque eorum
sociis coactum habebat, praemittit, qui videant, quas in
2 partes hostes iter faciant. Qui cupidius novissimum
agmen insecuti alieno loco cum equitatu Helvetiorum
3 proelium committunt; et pauci de nostris cadunt. Quo

The Helvetii prove superior in a cavalry encounter.

Somewhat similar is the phrase 'obscure ferre.' Cicero, Paradoxa § 45 'paupertatem . . . nunquam obscure tulisti.'

§ 5. **quo gravius homines, &c.** Cp. Al. 25, § 4 'At fortuna, quae plerumque eos, quos plurimis beneficiis ornavit, ad duriorem casum reservat.' To the same effect Philo (ii. 425, De Praem. et Poen. § 17), speaking of material prosperity deserting the wicked, says—*ὡς παραγενομένη τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν λαβόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ βαρῦναι τὴν ἀνίαν σφοδρότερον, ἥτις ἐκ τοῦ στέρεσθαι κατὰ ἀναγκαῖον ἕπεται.* The sentiment was a commonplace.

15. § 1. **coactum habebat**, 'he had collected.' This form of expression brings the present effect of the action before the mind in a way that 'coegerat' would not have done, being in fact equivalent to 'coegerat et habebat.' In it we can see the beginning of the use of 'habere' as an auxiliary verb, which has become general in European syntax. Caesar is particularly addicted to the idiom. Cp. 18, § 3 'redempta habere'; 44, § 12 'compertum habere': ii. 4, § 4 'habere explorata': iii. 2, § 5 'sibi persuasum habebant': vi. 16, § 3 'habent instituta'; 20, § 1 'habent legibus sanctum': vii. 29, § 6 'effectum habere'; 54, § 2 'perspectam habebat': vii. 74, § 2 'habere convectum': C. iii. 62, § 4 'positum habebat'; 84, § 1: Al. 24, § 1 'cognitam habebat': H. 19, § 3 'constitutum habuisse.'

proelio sublati Helvetii, quod quingentis equitibus tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant, audacius subsistere nonnunquam et novissimo agmine proelio nostros lacessere coeperunt. Caesar suos a proelio con- 4
tinebat ac satis habebat in praesentia hostem rapinis

Caesar follows their march.

pabulationibus [populationibus] que prohibere. Ita dies 5
circiter quindecim iter fecerunt, uti inter novissimum hostium agmen et nostrum primum non amplius quinis aut senis milibus passuum interesset.

Caesar complains of the Aedui for not helping him with supplies.

Interim cotidie Caesar Aeduos frumentum, quod 16
essent publice polliciti, flagitare. Nam propter frigora, 2
quod Gallia sub septentrionibus, ut ante dictum est, posita est, non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia suppetebat; eo autem frumento, quod flumine Arare navibus 3
subvexerat, propterea uti minus poterat, quod iter ab Arare Helvetii averterant, a quibus discedere nolebat. Diem ex die ducere Aedui: 'conferri, comportari, 4
adesse' dicere. Ubi se diutius duci intellexit et diem 5
instare, quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret, convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, in his Divitiaco et Lisco, qui summo magistratui praeerat, quem vergobretum appellant

§ 4. **in praesentia.** Neut. pl. Lit. 'for the present state of things.' The phrase recurs in v. 37, § 1: vi. 43, § 3: vii. 2, § 2.

[populationibus]. Supposed by Hoffmann to be a correction for 'pabulationibus' preceding.

§ 5. **quinis aut senis.** Distributive, because they were five or six miles distant every day for a fortnight. Cp. iv. 17, § 3 'Tigna bina' of several pairs of logs, ibid. § 5 'pedum quadragenum': vii. 23, § 1 'binos pedes,' ibid. § 5 'pedes quadragenos.'

16. § 1. **quod essent.** The subjunctive puts the thing as the ground of Caesar's demand.

§ 2. **ante,** 1, §§ 5-7.

§ 5. **praeerat.** The MSS. are said to have 'praeerant.' But the pl. is inconsistent with Caesar's language both here ('qui creatur annuus') and in vii. 32, § 3. Strabo (iv. 4, § 3) says of the Gauls generally Ἀριστοκρατικαὶ δ' ἦσαν αἱ πλείους τῶν πολιτειῶν. ἕνα δ' ἡγεμόνα ᾑροῦντο κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοπαλαίον.

quem. 'The man who holds this office.' As 'magistratus' means

Aedui, qui creatur annuus et vitae necisque in suos
6 habet potestatem, graviter eos accusat, quod, 'cum neque emi neque ex agris sumi posset, tam necessario tempore, tam propinquis hostibus ab iis non sublevetur,' praesertim cum magna ex parte eorum precibus adductus bellum susceperit; multo etiam gravius, quod 'sit destitutus,' queritur.

Liscus throws the blame on Dumnorix.

17 Tum demum Liscus oratione Caesaris adductus, quod antea tacuerat, proponit: 'esse nonnullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatim plus
2 possint quam ipsi magistratus. Hos seditiosa atque improba oratione multitudinem deterrere, ne frumentum
3 conferant; quod praestare debeat, si iam principatum Galliae obtinere non possint, Gallorum quam Romano-
4 rum imperia perferre; neque dubitare debeant, quin, si Helvetios superaverint Romani, una cum reliqua Gallia
5 Aeduis libertatem sint erepturi. Ab eisdem nostra consilia quaeque in castris gerantur hostibus enuntiari:
6 hos a se coërceri non posse. Quin etiam, quod necessaria re coactus Caesari enuntiarit, intellegere sese, quanto id cum periculo fecerit, et ob eam causam, quam diu potuerit, tacuisse.'

18 Caesar hac oratione Lisci Dumnorigem, Divitiaci fratrem, designari sentiebat, sed, quod pluribus praesentibus eas res iactari nolebat, celeriter concilium dimittit,
2 Liscum retinet. Quaerit ex solo ea, quae in conventu

both 'magistracy' and 'magistrate' it is easy to slip, as Caesar here does, from the office to the man.

vergobretum. 'The analysis of the compound would suggest an adjective qualifying the name of the magistrate, and meaning *efficax judicii*, working or executing judgment.' *Guerg* in Old Breton = 'efficax,' being akin to our *work*; *breth* in Irish = judgment. Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 312.

17. § 3. **quod praestare debeat.** 'Debeat' is a correction for 'debeant.' Translate 'on the ground that it ought to be better.'

§ 6. **necessaria re.** The best MSS. have 'necessariam rem,' which has been variously emended into 'necessario rem' and 'necessaria re.'

dixerat. Dicit liberius atque audacius. Eadem secreto
ab aliis quaerit; reperit esse vera: 'ipsum esse Dum- 3
norigem, summa audacia, magna apud plebem propter
liberalitatem gratia, cupidum rerum novarum. Com-
plures annos portoria reliquaque omnia Aeduorum
vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere, propterea quod
illo licente contra liceri audeat nemo. His rebus et 4
suam rem familiarem auxisse et facultates ad largiendum
magnas comparasse; magnum numerum equitatus suo 5
sumptu semper alere et circum se habere, neque solum 6
domi, sed etiam apud finitimas civitates largiter posse
atque huius potentiae causa matrem in Biturigibus
homini illic nobilissimo ac potentissimo collocasse, ipsum 7
ex Helvetiis uxorem habere, sororem ex matre et pro-
pinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates collocasse.
Favere et cupere Helvetiis propter eam affinitatem, 8
odisse etiam suo nomine Caesarem et Romanos, quod
eorum adventu potentia eius deminuta, et Divitiacus
frater in antiquum locum gratiae atque honoris sit
restitutus. Si quid accidat Romanis, summam in spem 9
per Helvetios regni obtinendi venire; imperio populi

18. § 3. **ipsum**, 'personally.' We have the same use of 'ipse' in beginning a description in vii. 69, § 1 'Ipsum erat oppidum Alesia in colle summo.'

§ 6. **largiter posse**, 'he had great power.' Cp. Af. 72, § 6 'Quibus ex rebus largiter erat consecutus,' 'from these measures he had achieved a great result.'

in Biturigibus. The name Bituriges is supposed to mean 'world-kings,' '*bitu* being the same word which we have in the Welsh *byd*, world; Irish *bith*, gen. *betho*.' Rhys. There were two tribes of this name, the Bituriges Cubi, whose capital was Avaricum (vii. 13, § 3), and another called by Strabo the Bituriges Iosci (= Vivisci) whose capital was Burdigala (Bordeaux). They were the only Celtic people who dwelt in Aquitania (Str. iv. 2, § 1).

§ 7. **uxorem.** The daughter of Orgetorix. See 3, § 5.

§ 8. **cupere Helvetiis**, 'wished well to the Helvetii.' Instead of a dative, 'mea,' 'tua,' &c., 'causa' is sometimes fonnd. Cic. Rosc. Am. § 149 'sua causa cupere ac debere.'

eius. We had 'suo' above where Dumnorix was the immediate subject.

§ 9. **regni obtinendi**, 'of holding rule.' See i. 3, § 6 'obtenturus esset.'

Romani non modo de regno, sed etiam de ea, quam habeat, gratia desperare.' Reperiebat etiam in quaerendo Caesar, quod proelium equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium eius fugae factum a Dumnorige atque eius equitibus (nam equitatui, quem auxilio Caesari Aedui miserant, Dumnorix praeerat): eorum fuga reliquum esse equitatum perterritum.'

Interview with Divitiacus.

19 Quibus rebus cognitis, cum ad has suspiciones certis-
simae res accederent, quod per fines Sequanorum
Helvetios traduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos
curasset, quod ea omnia non modo iniussu suo et
civitatis, sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a
magistratu Aeduorum accusaretur, satis esse causae
arbitrabatur, quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret, aut
2 civitatem animadvertere iuberet. His omnibus rebus
unum repugnabat, quod Divitiaci fratris summum in
populum Romanum studium, summam in se voluntatem,
egregiam fidem, iustitiam, temperantiam cognoverat;
nam, ne eius supplicio Divitiaci animum offenderet,
3 verebatur. Itaque prius, quam quidquam conaretur,

§ 10. **quod proelium, &c.** 'That, as for the cavalry defeat which had taken place a few days before, the flight had been begun by Dumnorix and his horsemen.' 'proelium equestre adversum' = 'fuga.' 'quod' seems here to be the relative pronoun and not a conjunction. Cp. the similar but more violent construction in H. 27, § 2 'Servi transfugerunt, qui nuntiaverunt, a. d. III. Non. Mart. proelium ad Soricam quod factum est, ex eo tempore metum esse magnum,' which we would express by saying 'that great alarm had been felt ever since the 5th of March, the date of the battle of Sorica.' In both sentences a subject is thrown in first, and then referred back to under a different form of words. This would not surprise us in Greek, but in Latin such licences are more exceptional.

19. § 1. **quod per fines, &c.** From this down to 'accusaretur' is explanatory of 'certissimae res.' These 'most undoubted facts' are in the subjunctive, because they are put as viewed by Caesar. For the fourfold repetition of 'quod,' cp. vii. 20, § 1.

suo et civitatis. 'Suo refers to Caesar, 'civitatis' to the Aedui, 'ipsis' perhaps to both.

quod . . . accusaretur, 'his being accused.'

Divitiacum ad se vocari iubet et cotidianis interpretibus
remotis per C. Valerium Procillum, principem Galliae
provinciae, familiarem suum, cui summam omnium
rerum fidem habebat, cum eo colloquitur; simul com- 4
monefacit, quae ipso praesente in concilio Gallorum
de Dumnorige sint dicta, et ostendit, quae separatim
quisque de eo apud se dixerit. Petit atque hortatur, 5
ut 'sine eius offensione animi vel ipse de eo causa
cognita statuat, vel civitatem statuere iubeat.'

Divitiacus multis cum lacrimis Caesarem complexus 20
obsecrare coepit, 'ne quid gravius in fratrem statueret:
scire se illa esse vera, nec quemquam ex eo plus quam 2
se doloris capere, propterea quod, cum ipse gratia pluri-
mum domi atque in reliqua Gallia, ille minimum propter
adulescentiam posset, per se crevisset; quibus opibus ac
nervis non solum ad minuendam gratiam, sed paene ad
perniciem suam uteretur. Sese tamen et amore fraterno 3
et existimatione vulgi commoveri. Quod si quid ei 4
a Caesare gravius accidisset, cum ipse eum locum
amicitiae apud eum teneret, neminem existimaturum
non sua voluntate factum; qua ex re futurum, uti totius
Galliae animi a se averterentur.' Haec cum pluribus 5
verbis flens a Caesare peteret, Caesar eius dextram
prendit; consolatus rogat, 'finem orandi faciat; tanti
eius apud se gratiam esse ostendit, uti et reipublicae
iniuriam et suum dolorem eius voluntati ac precibus
condonet.' Dumnorigem ad se vocat, fratrem adhibet; 6

§ 5. **eius offensione animi.** 'Offensione animi' makes up one noun, which governs 'eius' in the genitive. 'ipse' = Caesar.

20. § 6. **condonet.** 'Forgives out of respect for,' lit. 'makes a present of to.' Cp. Sall. Cat. 52, § 8 'haud facile alterius lubidini malefacta condonabam.' In Terence (Phorm. 947) we find the verb constructed with two accusatives—

'argentum quod habes condonamus te.'

Hence its use in the passive in Eun.

quae in eo reprehendat, ostendit; quae ipse intellegat, quae civitas queratur, proponit; monet, ut 'in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet; praeterita se Divitiaco fratri condonare' dicit. Dumnorigi custodes ponit, ut, quae agat, quibuscum loquatur, scire possit.

A watch is set on Dumnorix.

21 Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus hostes sub monte consedisse milia passuum ab ipsius castris octo, qualis esset natura montis et qualis in circuitu
2 ascensus, qui cognoscerent, misit. Renuntiatum est facilem esse. De tertia vigilia Titum Labienum, legatum pro praetore, cum duabus legionibus et iis ducibus, qui iter cognoverant, summum iugum montis ascendere
3 iubet; quid sui consilii sit, ostendit. Ipse de quarta vigilia eodem itinere, quo hostes ierant, ad eos contendit
4 equitatumque omnem ante se mittit. P. Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur et in exercitu L. Sullae et postea in M. Crassi fuerat, cum exploratoribus praemittitur.

A strategic movement foiled through a misreport by Considius.

22 Prima luce, cum summus mons a Labieno teneretur, ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille et quingentis passibus abesset, neque, ut postea ex captivis comperit,
2 aut ipsius adventus aut Labieni cognitus esset, Considius equo admisso ad eum accurrit, dicit montem, quem

Prol. 17—
'habeo alia multa, quae nunc condonabitur.'

21. § 1. **milia passuum . . . octo.** Acc. of distance, as in 22, § 5; 49, §§ 1, 3 and often.

§ 2. **legatum pro praetore.** This is not a usual title. It has been conjectured that it may be a consequence of some special provision of the Lex Vatinia by which Caesar was appointed to his command. Kraner mentions that an inscription found at Olympia speaks of Q. Fufius Calenus (B. G. viii. 39, § 4), another of Caesar's lieutenants who became prominent in the Civil War, under the same title, *πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος*.

quid sui consilii sit. 11, § 5 'nihil . . . reliqui.'

§ 4. **M. Crassi.** In the Servile War, B.C. 71. Considius then had experience of a Gallic enemy, as the slave army consisted of Gauls and Germans. Liv. Epit. 97. Cp. 40, § 5 'servili tumultu, quos.'

a Labieno occupari voluerit, ab hostibus teneri: id se a Gallicis armis atque insignibus cognovisse. Caesar 3 suas copias in proximum collem subducit, aciem instruit. Labienus, ut erat ei praeceptum a Caesare, ne proelium committeret, nisi ipsius copiae prope hostium castra visae essent, ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret, monte occupato nostros exspectabat proelioque abstinebat. Multo denique die per exploratores Caesar 4 cognovit et montem a suis teneri et Helvetios castra movisse et Considium timore perterritum, quod non vidisset, pro viso sibi renuntiasse. Eo die quo consuerat 5 intervallo hostes sequitur et milia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

Caesar turns his march towards Bibracte, and is followed by the Helvetii.

Postridie eius diei, quod omnino biduum supererat, 23 cum exercitui frumentum metiri oporteret, et quod a Bibracte, oppido Aeduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo, non amplius milibus passuum XVIII aberat, rei frumentariae prospiciendum existimavit; iter ab Helvetiis avertit ac Bibracte ire contendit. Ea res per 2 fugitivos L. Aemilii, decurionis equitum Gallorum, hos-

22. § 2. **insignibus**, 'devices' on shields and helmets. They were worn by the Roman soldiers as well as by the Gauls. Cp. ii. 21, § 5: vii. 45, § 7.

§ 3. **subducit.** If the Gauls were really in possession of the hill, Labienus and his force must have been destroyed, so that Caesar was expecting an attack.

23. § 1. **postridie eius diei.** Cp. 47, § 2 'pridie eius diei.' So in Livy, xxvii. 35, § 1, and Cic. ad Att. iii. 7, § 1 'post diem tertium eius diei.'

Bibracte. For a long time this was identified with Autun (the Augustodunum of Tac. Ann. iii. 43), but the researches of Monsieur Bulliot have set it beyond doubt that Bibracte was really on the summit of Mont Beuvray, at a distance of some twenty-five kilomètres by road from Autun. One may still trace there the fortifications of the ancient Gallic city, in the form of a steep mound, and the entrenchments of Caesar's winter camp (vii. 90, § 9), which he entrusted to Antony (viii. 2, § 1).

§ 2. **fugitivos L. Aemilii,** 'deserters from L. Aemilius.' Cp. Flor. ii. 13, § 52 'desertoris sui,' 'a deserter from himself.'

decurionis. A decurio was the commander of a turma, which consisted of thirty-two men, and was to the cavalry what the century was to the infantry. Vegetius, ii. 14.

3 tibus nuntiatur. Helvetii, seu quod timore perterritos Romanos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis, quod pridie superioribus locis occupatis proelium non commisissent, sive eo, quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent, commutato consilio atque itinere converso nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac lacessere coeperunt.

24 Postquam id animum advertit, copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subducit equitatumque, qui sustineret
2 hostium impetum, misit. Ipse interim in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum quattuor veterana-
3 rum; supra eas in summo iugo duas legiones, quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat, et omnia auxilia collocari ac totum montem hominibus compleri et interea sarcinas in unum locum conferri et eum ab his

Defeat of the Helvetii.

§ 3. **quod . . . existimarent.** The subjunctive is not necessary here. That a statement is put, not as a fact, but as the words or thoughts of someone may be indicated (1) by the subjunctive without a verb of saying or thinking, or (2) by a verb of saying or thinking in the indicative. Thus the meaning that is here required might be expressed in either of these ways—

(1) 'quod timore perterriti Romani a se discederent,'

(2) 'quod timore perterritos Romanos discedere a se existimabant.' We had the first of these forms in 19, § 1, where Caesar threw his own thought into the subjunctive. But by a species of attraction the verb of saying or thinking is sometimes itself put into the subjunctive. Cp. 27, § 4 'quod . . . existimarent': 39, § 3 'quam sibi ad proficiscendam necessariam esse diceret': v. 6, § 3 'partim quod insuetus navigandi mare timeret, partim, quod religionibus impediri sese diceret' (where 'impediretur' alone would have done): C. iii. 83, § 2 'quod gestum in Hispania diceret': Liv. Epit. 57 'hostes . . . vetuit occidi, quod diceret': ibid. 67, 89.

24. § 1. **id animum advertit.** 'animum advertit' make up one notion which governs 'id.' Hence the condensed form 'animadvertere,' which is also used by Caesar, as in 40, § 1. So 'animum inducere' coalesce into a single verb. Ter. Heaut. Prol. 41—

'Mea causa causam hanc iustam esse animum inducite.'

§ 3. **supra eas.** The MSS. have 'ita uti supra sed.'

in Gallia citeriore. See 10, § 3, where it is called Italy.

sarcinas. Generally used of the light baggage carried by the soldiers, corresponding to our 'knapsacks.' Cp. ii. 17, § 2. On the other hand in C. i. 81, § 7 Caesar speaks of 'sarcinaria iumenta.'

qui in superiore acie constiterant, muniri iussit. Hel- 4
vetii cum omnibus suis carris secuti impedimenta in
unum locum contulerunt; ipsi confertissima acie reiecto
nostro equitatu phalange facta sub primam nostram
aciem successerunt.

Caesar primum suo, deinde omnium ex conspectu **25**
remotis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae
tolleret, cohortatus suos proelium commisit. Milites 2
e loco superiore pilis missis facile hostium phalangem
perfregerunt. Ea disiecta gladiis destrictis in eos impe-
tum fecerunt. Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedi- 3
mento, quod pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu pilorum
transfixis et colligatis, cum ferrum se inflexisset, neque
evellere neque sinistra impedita satis commode pugnare
poterant, multi ut diu iactato brachio praeoptarent 4
scutum manu emittere et nudo corpore pugnare. Tan- 5
dem vulneribus defessi et pedem referre et, quod mons
suberat circiter mille passuum, eo se recipere coeperunt.
Capto monte et succedentibus nostris Boii et Tulingi, 6
qui hominum milibus circiter XV agmen hostium claude-
bant et novissimis praesidio erant, ex itinere nostros
latere aperto aggressi circumvenire, et id conspicati

25. § 1. **primum suo.** See Suet. J. C. 60. Plutarch (Caes. 18) records Caesar to have said when his horse was brought to him, 'I will use this after victory for the pursuit: but now let us go against the foe.' Caesar's words here remind us of Sall. Cat. 59, § 1 'Dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus exaequato periculo animus amplior esset.'

§ 4. **multi ut,** 'insomuch that many.' For the hyperbaton with 'ut,' cp. 43, § 3 'ex equis ut colloquerentur': ii. 5, § 5 'commeatus . . . ut': vi. 32, § 2 'ad se ut reducerentur.' Cp. also 6, § 1, 'vix qua.'

§ 5. **suberat.** The Latin idiom differs from ours here. We say how far off a thing is, the Romans how near.

§ 6. **latere aperto.** The right flank was unprotected by the shield, cp. Liv. xxii. 50, § 11 'et, quum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidae iacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis, in maiora castra ad sexcentos evaserunt.' But we must not press this meaning as though the left flank of an army could never be exposed. Cp. ii. 23, § 5: iv. 25, § 1: v. 35, § 2.

Helvetii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus instare et proelium redintegrare coeperunt. Romani conversa
7 signa bipartito intulerunt: prima et secunda acies, ut victis ac summotis resisteret, tertia, ut venientes sustineret.

26 Ita ancipiti proelio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius cum sustinere nostrorum impetus non possent, alteri se, ut coeperant, in montem receperunt, alteri ad
2 impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt. Nam hoc toto proelio, cum ab hora septima ad vesperum pugnatum
3 sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta pugnatum est, propterea quod pro vallo carros obiecerant et e loco superiore in nostros venientes tela coniciebant, et nonnulli inter carros rotasque mataras ac tragulas subiciebant nos-
4 trosque vulnerabant. Diu cum esset pugnatum, impedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi Orgetorigis filia
5 atque unus e filiis captus est. Ex eo proelio circiter Flight,
hominum milia CXXX superfuerunt eaque tota nocte pursuit,

26. § 2. **ab hora septima.** Both day and night among the Romans were divided into twelve equal parts, called 'horae,' the length of which varied with the season of the year. This was the civil reckoning, as opposed to the military reckoning by 'vigiliae.' Cp. 12, § 2 'de tertia vigilia.' There are passages in the ancient writers which imply a different length of hours in summer and winter. Thus Vegetius (i. 9) says that at the ordinary marching pace ('militari gradu') men ought to cover twenty miles, 'horis quinque dumtaxat aestivis.' Cp. Cic. Rosc. Am. § 19.

§ 3. **mataras ac tragulas,** 'pikes and darts.' The form 'matara' occurs only here. In Livy, vii. 24, § 3, in a description of a fight with Gauls, we have 'laevo humero matari prope traiecto.' The weapon was regarded as characteristic of the Gauls, so that in the Ad Herennium (iv. § 43) we are presented with the following as an instance of the rhetorical figure called 'denominatio': 'nec tamen facile ex Italia materis Transalpina (= Galli) depulsa est.' The word has been restored in Strabo, iv. 4, § 3 by an almost certain conjecture, *καὶ μάταρις παλτοῦ τι εἶδος*. For 'tragula,' cp. v. 35, § 6; 48, § 5: C. i. 57, § 2: Liv. xxi. 7, § 10, &c.

§ 4. **Orgetorigis filia.** Wife's sister to Dumnorix. See 9, § 3; 18, § 7.

§ 5. **eaque,** sc. 'milia.'

and surrender of the survivors.

continenter ierunt: nullam partem noctis itinere inter-
misso in fines Lingonum die quarto pervenerunt, cum
et propter vulnera militum et propter sepulturam
occisorum nostri triduum morati eos sequi non potuissent.
Caesar ad Lingonas litteras nuntiosque misit, 'ne eos 6
frumento neve alia re iuvarent: qui si iuvissent, se eodem
loco, quo Helvetios, habiturum.' Ipse triduo intermisso
cum omnibus copiis eos sequi coepit.

Helvetii omnium rerum inopia adducti legatos de 27
deditione ad eum miserunt. Qui cum eum in itinere 2
convenissent seque ad pedes proiecissent suppliciterque
locuti flentes pacem petissent, atque eos in eo loco, quo
tum essent, suum adventum exspectare iussisset, parue-
runt. Eo postquam Caesar pervenit, obsides, arma, 3
servos, qui ad eos perfugissent, poposcit. Dum ea 4
conquiruntur et conferuntur, nocte intermissa circiter
hominum milia VI eius pagi, qui Verbigenus appellatur,
sive timore perterriti, ne armis traditis supplicio affice-
rentur, sive spe salutis inducti, quod in tanta multitudine
dediticiorum suam fugam aut occultari aut omnino
ignorari posse existimarent, prima nocte castris Hel-
vetiorum egressi ad Rhenum finesque Germanorum
contenderunt.

Drastic treatment of the Verbigeni.

Quod ubi Caesar resciit, quorum per fines ierant, his, 2
uti 'conquirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse
vellent,' imperavit: reductos in hostium numero habuit; 2

nullam partem, &c. This only repeats the preceding statement.

§ 6. **Lingonas.** Cp. 14, § 3 'Allobrogas.' The Lingones have given their name to Langres in the department of Haute Marne.

27. § 2. **Qui . . . paruerunt.** Between the main subject 'Qui' and its verb 'paruerunt' there intervene four subordinate clauses, in the last of which the subject is suddenly changed.

§ 4. **Verbigenus.** Cp. 12, § 4 'Tigurinus.'

quod . . . existimarent. See 23, § 3 'quod . . . existimarent.'

28. § 2. **in hostium numero habuit.** A euphemism for slaughtering in cold blood. Cp. vi. 6, § 3.

reliquos omnes obsidibus, armis, perfugis traditis in
3 deditionem accepit. Helvetios, Tulingos, Latovicos in fines suos, unde erant profecti, reverti iussit, et quod omnibus fructibus amissis domi nihil erat, quo famem tolerarent, Allobrogibus imperavit, ut iis frumenti copiam facerent: ipsos oppida vicosque, quos incenderant, re-
4 stituere iussit. Id ea maxime ratione fecit, quod noluit eum locum, unde Helvetii discesserant, vacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, e suis finibus in Helvetiorum fines transirent et finitimi
5 Galliae provinciae Allobrogibusque essent. Boios petentibus Aeduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis collocarent, concessit; quibus illi agros dederunt quosque postea in parem iuris libertatisque condicionem, atque ipsi erant, receperunt.

The Helvetii and their allies are sent back to their own country.

The Boii located among the Aedui.

29 In castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris Graecis confectae et ad Caesarem relatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim
2 pueri, senes mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum summa erat capitum Helvetiorum milia CCLXIII, Tulingorum milia XXXVI, Latovicorum XIIII, Rauracorum XXIII, Boiorum XXXII; ex his qui arma ferre possent, ad milia nonaginta duo. Summa omnium fuerunt ad

Numbers of the Helvetii and their allies.

§ 3. **Tulingos, Latovicos**: 5, § 4. No mention is made of the Rauraci.

§ 5. **Boios**: 5, § 4. In the great revolt in 52 B.C. the Boii seem to have been faithful to Caesar even when the Aedui were wavering (vii. 17, §§ 2, 3), though they were swept away by the flood of rebellion, so that we find a contingent levied upon them by Vercingetorix (vii. 75, § 4). It may have been to reward them for their fidelity, and through Caesar's own influence, that the Aeduan citizenship was conferred upon them.

29. § 1. **litteris Graecis**: v. 48, § 4 'Graecis . . . litteris.'

§ 2. **ex his.** A quarter of the whole number are reckoned as fighting men.

fuerunt. Agreeing with 'milia.' 'Ad' in such expressions sinks into a mere adverb, 'about.' Cp. ii. 33, § 5 'occisis ad hominum milibus quatuor': C. iii. 53, § 1 'ad duo-

milia CCCLXVIII. Eorum, qui domum redierunt, censu 3
habito, ut Caesar imperaverat, repertus est numerus
milium C et X.

War with Ariovistus. 30–54.

Deputation from the Gauls to congratulate Caesar.

Bello Helvetiorum confecto totius fere Galliae legati, 30
principes civitatum, ad Caesarem gratulatum convene-
runt: 'intellegere sese, tametsi pro veteribus Helvetiorum 2
iniuriis populi Romani ab his poenas bello repetisset,
tamen eam rem non minus ex usu terrae Galliae quam 3
populi Romani accidisse, propterea quod eo consilio
florentissimis rebus domos suas Helvetii reliquissent, ut
toti Galliae bellum inferrent imperioque potirentur lo-
cumque domicilio ex magna copia deligerent, quem ex
omni Gallia opportunissimum ac fructuosissimum iudi-
cassent, reliquasque civitates stipendiarias haberent.'

A general council of the Gauls is held under an oath of secrecy.

Petierunt, ut 'sibi concilium totius Galliae in diem certam 4
indicere idque Caesaris voluntate facere liceret: sese
habere quasdam res, quas ex communi consensu ab eo
petere vellent.' Ea re permissa diem concilio constitue- 5
runt et iureiurando, ne quis enuntiaret, nisi quibus
communi consilio mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt.

rum milium numero': Liv. xxi. 22, § 3 'accolae Oceani ad mille octingenti': Suet. I. C. 20 'divisit . . . ad viginti millibus civium.' Plutarch (Caes. 18) is wrong in his numbers. He says that the Helvetii amounted in round numbers (ὁμαλῶς) to 300,000, of whom 190,000 were fighting men. Strabo (iv. 3, § 3) is still more astray, saying that about 400,000 of the Helvetii perished in the war πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν θεόν, and that 8,000 were allowed to return to their homes, to keep the Germans from occupying the country. The epitome of Appian gives the number of the Helvetii at about 200,000.

30. § 2. Helvetiorum iniuriis populi Romani, 'wrongs done by the Helvetii to the Roman people.' The reference is to the destruction of Cassius. See 7, § 4; 12, § 5. As to the construction, we have here an instance of the combination of a subjective and an objective genitive depending on the same noun. Cp. Plato, Rep. 329 B *ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν οἰκείων προπηλακίσεις τοῦ γήρως ὀδύρονται.*

§ 3. **opportunissimum ac fructuosissimum.** The Helvetii are credited with having had an eye to the two things which give value to land, convenience of situation and fertility.

31 Eo concilio dimisso iidem principes civitatum, qui ante fuerant, ad Caesarem reverterunt petieruntque, ut 'sibi secreto [in occulto] de sua omniumque salute cum Appeal to Caesar for aid against Ariovistus.
2 eo agere liceret.' Ea re impetrata sese omnes flentes Caesari ad pedes proiecerunt: 'non minus se id contendere et laborare, ne ea, quae dixissent, enuntiarentur, quam uti ea, quae vellent, impetrarent, propterea quod, si enuntiatum esset, summum in cruciatum se venturos
3 viderent.' Locutus est pro his Divitiacus Aeduus: 'Galliae totius factiones esse duas; harum alterius
4 principatum tenere Aeduos, alterius Arvernos. Hi cum tantopere de potentatu inter se multos annos contenderent, factum esse, uti ab Arvernis Sequanisque Ger-
5 mani mercede arcesserentur. Horum primo circiter milia XV Rhenum transisse; posteaquam agros et cultum et copias Gallorum homines feri ac barbari adamassent, traductos plures; nunc esse in Gallia ad centum et
6 viginti milium numerum. Cum his Aeduos eorumque clientes semel atque iterum armis contendisse; magnam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem
7 senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse. Quibus proeliis calamitatibusque fractos, qui et sua virtute et populi Romani hospitio atque amicitia plurimum ante in Gallia potuissent, coactos esse Sequanis obsides dare nobilissimos civitatis et iureiurando civitatem obstringere,

31. § 1. **qui ante fuerant**, 'who had acted on the previous occasion.'

secreto [in occulto], 'apart, in secret.' The latter words are suspected as being a gloss upon the former.

§ 3. **Arvernos.** Lucan, 1, 427—

'Arvernique ausi Latio se fingere fratres,
sanguine ab Iliaco populi.'

The capital of the Arverni was Gergovia, and they have left their name in the district of Auvergne, which includes the departments of the Puy-de-Dôme and Cantal.

§ 7. **ante.** Even as far back as B.C. 121 the Aedui were allies of the Roman people. One of the alleged causes for the subjugation of the Allobroges was their violation of the Aeduan territory. Introd. p. 72.

sese neque obsides repetituros neque auxilium a populo
Romano imploraturos neque recusaturos, quo minus
perpetuo sub illorum dicione atque imperio essent.
Unum se esse ex omni civitate Aeduorum, qui adduci 8
non potuerit, ut iuraret aut liberos suos obsides daret.
Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse et Romam ad 9
senatum venisse auxilium postulatum, quod solus neque
iureiurando neque obsidibus teneretur. Sed peius victori- 10
bus Sequanis quam Aeduis victis accidisse, propterea
quod Ariovistus, rex Germanorum, in eorum finibus
consedisset tertiamque partem agri Sequani, qui esset
optimus totius Galliae, occupavisset et nunc de altera
parte tertia Sequanos decedere iuberet, propterea quod
paucis mensibus ante Harudum milia hominum XXIIII
ad eum venissent, quibus locus ac sedes pararentur.
Futurum esse paucis annis, uti omnes ex Galliae finibus 11
pellerentur, atque omnes Germani Rhenum transirent:
neque enim conferendum esse Gallicum cum Germanorum
agro, neque hanc consuetudinem victus cum illa com-
parandam. Ariovistum autem, ut semel Gallorum copias 12
proelio vicerit, quod proelium factum sit Admageto-

§ 9. **Romam . . . venisse**: vi. 12, § 5. The visit of Divitiacus to Rome was politically a failure: but he made acquaintance there with Cicero and his brother Quintus, who conversed with him on philosophical subjects (De Div. i. § 90). Divitiacus was a Druid and claimed a knowledge of *φυσιολογία*. Cp. vi. 14, § 6. The name is spelt on coins Deiviciacus. The Société Eduenne of Autun have thought him worthy of a statue in a public place outside their town. The inscription on it reads thus—'à Divitiac. Scuto innixus peroravit (Eumene). Arthur de Gravillon, 1893.'

§ 10. **Ariovistus.** The name is supposed to be Teutonic, and some have even detected the German Heer-fürst underlying it. It occurs, however, in Florus i. 20, § 4 as the name of a Gallic chieftain.

Harudum. They came from the country above the Lake of Constance between the Rhine and the Danube.

§ 11. **hanc consuetudinem victus**, 'the way of living here.' 'Hic' is connected with the first person, and indicates proximity to the speaker either in place or time. Cp. 44, § 9 'his contentionibus': vi. 19, § 4 'paulo supra hanc memoriam.'

§ 12. **vicerit.** The change of sequence marks the speaker's ap-

brigae, superbe et crudeliter imperare, obsides nobilissimi cuiusque liberos poscere et in eos omnia exempla cruciatusque edere, si qua res non ad nutum aut ad voluntatem
13 eius facta sit. Hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium; non posse eius imperia diutius sustineri.
14 Nisi si quid in Caesare populoque Romano sit auxilii, omnibus Gallis idem esse faciendum, quod Helvetii fecerint, ut domo emigrent, aliud domicilum, alias sedes, remotas a Germanis, petant fortunamque, quaecumque
15 accidat, experiantur. Haec si enuntiata Ariovisto sint, non dubitare, quin de omnibus obsidibus, qui apud eum
16 sint, gravissimum supplicium sumat. Caesarem vel auctoritate sua atque exercitus vel recenti victoria vel nomine populi Romani deterrere posse, ne maior multitudo Germanorum Rhenum traducatur, Galliamque omnem ab Ariovisti iniuria posse defendere.'

32 Hac oratione ab Divitiaco habita omnes, qui aderant, magno fletu auxilium a Caesare petere coeperunt.

proach to the topic of burning interest.

Admagetobrigae. According to Desjardins, the right form of the name is Magetobriga. He puts the place near Broye on the confluence of the Saône and the Ognon.

exempla cruciatusque. Not a hendiadys. Cp. 'supplicia cruciatusque,' iv. 15, § 5. 'Exemplum' is the proper word for deterrent punishment, corresponding to the Greek *παράδειγμα*. Hence our phrase 'exemplary punishment.' Aul. Gell. vii. 14, § 4 'Tertia ratio vindicandi est, quae *παράδειγμα* a Graecis nominatur, cum poenitio propter exemplum necessaria est, ut ceteri a similibus peccatis, quae prohiberi publicitus interest, metu cognitae poenae deterreantur. Idcirco veteres quoque nostri "exempla" pro maximis gravissimisque poenis dicebant.' Of this nature were the punishments inflicted by Vercingetorix, vii. 4, § 10.

§ 13. **sustineri,** MSS. 'sustinere.' The subject 'se' is constantly omitted by Caesar, as for instance in § 15 below, 'non dubitare.'

§ 14. **Nisi si quid.** Cp. Cic. Cat. ii. § 6 'nisi vero si quis est qui Catilinae similis cum Catilina sentire non putet.' Even without the pronoun following, with which the 'si' coalesces, we find 'nisi si' in Terence, And. 249 'nisi si id est, quod suspicor': Ad. 594 'nisi si me in illo credidisti esse hominum numero,' and in Tacitus, e.g. Ger. 2 'nisi si patria sit': Agr. 32 'Nisi si Gallos,' &c. Similarly in Greek we have *εἰ μὴ εἰ*.

Animadvertit Caesar unos ex omnibus Sequanos nihil 2 earum rerum facere, quas ceteri facerent, sed tristes capite demisso terram intueri. Eius rei quae causa esset, miratus 3 ex ipsis quaesiit. Nihil Sequani respondere, sed in eadem tristitia taciti permanere. Cum ab his saepius 4 quaereret neque ullam omnino vocem exprimere posset, idem Divitiacus Aeduus respondit: 'hoc esse miseriorem et graviorem fortunam Sequanorum quam reliquorum, quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri neque auxilium implorare auderent absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesset, horrerent, propterea quod reliquis 5 tamen fugae facultas daretur, Sequanis vero, qui intra fines suos Ariovistum recepissent, quorum oppida omnia in potestate eius essent, omnes cruciatus essent perferendi.'

His rebus cognitis Caesar Gallorum animos verbis 33 confirmavit pollicitusque est 'sibi eam rem curae futuram: magnam se habere spem, et beneficio suo et auctoritate adductum Ariovistum finem iniuriis facturum.'

Caesar's motives for attacking Ariovistus.

Hac oratione habita concilium dimisit. Et secundum 2 ea multae res eum hortabantur, quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret, imprimis, quod Aeduos, fratres consanguineosque saepenumero a senatu appellatos, in servitute atque in dicione videbat Germanorum teneri eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequanos intellegebat; quod in tanto imperio populi

32. § 5. **tamen**, 'after all.' Cp. C. iii. 51, § 5 'neque proelio decertare voluit, quae res tamen fortasse aliquem reciperet casum.' For the position of 'tamen' late in the sentence, cp. Ter. Ad. 110, 174, 226; Cic. Brut. § 115, Cat. iii. § 10, &c. Ὅμως is used in the same way in Thuc. vii. 1, § 2.

33. § 1. **beneficio suo**. See 35, § 2.

§ 2. **fratres consanguineosque**. Cp. 36, § 5; 44, § 9: Cic. ad Att. i. 19, § 2 'Haedui, fratres nostri.' Strabo, iv. 3, § 2 Οἱ δὲ Ἐδοῦοι *καὶ συγγενεῖς Ῥωμαίων ὠνομάζοντο, καὶ πρῶτοι τῶν ταύτῃ προσῆλθον πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν*. Cp. also what Lucan says of the Arverni, quoted under 31, § 3 'Arvernos.' Tac. Ann. xi. 6 'Soli (Aedui) Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano usurpant.'

Romani turpissimum sibi et rei publicae esse arbitra-
3 batur. Paulatim autem Germanos consuescere Rhenum
transire et in Galliam magnam eorum multitudinem
4 venire populo Romano periculosum videbat, neque sibi
homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat,
quin, cum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri
Teutonique fecissent, in provinciam exirent atque inde
in Italiam contenderent, praesertim cum Sequanos a pro-
vincia nostra Rhodanus divideret; quibus rebus quam
5 maturrime occurrendum putabat. Ipse autem Ariovistus
tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat, ut
ferendus non videretur.

Ariovistus refuses a meeting proposed by Caesar.

34 Quamobrem placuit ei, ut ad Ariovistum legatos
mitteret, qui ab eo postularent, uti 'aliquem locum
medium utriusque colloquio deligeret: velle sese de re
2 publica et summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere.' Ei
legationi Ariovistus respondit: 'si quid ipsi a Caesare
opus esset, sese ad eum venturum fuisse; si quid ille se

sibi et rei publicae. The order may be merely a matter of grammar, but it is highly suggestive of 'l'état, c'est moi.' Cp. 35, §§ 2, 4; 40, § 3; 42, § 3; 44, § 5; 45, § 1; iv. 16, § 3; 17, § 1: v. 7, § 2: C. iii. 53, § 5 'ut erat de se meritus et de republica.' The Caesarian writers adopt the same order. Af. 54, § 4 'quodque mihi reique publicae inutilis fuisti': H. 42, § 3 'ingratos in se et in populum Romanum.'

§ 4. **Cimbri.** Despite the resemblance of the name to that which the Welsh give to themselves (Cymry), the Cimbri appear to have been a Teutonic people. They are thought to have dwelt in Jutland. On their position see Ptol. ii. 11, § 12.

praesertim cum. Cp. v. 27, § 6. In Af. 1, § 4, we have 'cum praesertim,' the order to which Cicero inclines.

maturrime. Tac. Ann. xii. 65 'robur aetatis quam maturrimum precari.'

§ 5. **tantos sibi spiritus . . . sumpserat.** Cp. ii. 4, § 3 'magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent.'

34. § 1. **medium utriusque.** For 'medius' with a gen. cp. iv. 19, § 3: vi. 13, § 10: Hor. Carm. ii. 19, 28—

'sed idem
pacis eras mediusque belli.'

§ 2. **esset . . . velit.** The syntax makes Ariovistus imply that he did not want anything from Caesar, but that Caesar might want something from him. 'Se' is the acc. Long points out that this is the language of common life, quoting Terence (And. 29) 'paucis te volo,' (Phorm. 151) 'numquid, Geta, aliud me vis?'

velit, illum ad se venire oportere. Praeterea se neque 3
sine exercitu in eas partes Galliae venire audere, quas
Caesar possideret, neque exercitum sine magno commeatu atque molimento in unum locum contrahere
posse. Sibi autem mirum videri, quid in sua Gallia, 4
quam bello vicisset, aut Caesari aut omnino populo
Romano negotii esset.'

Caesar's ultimatum.

His responsis ad Caesarem relatis iterum ad eum **35**
Caesar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: 'quoniam tanto 2
suo populique Romani beneficio affectus, cum in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a senatu appellatus esset,
hanc sibi populoque Romano gratiam referret, ut in
colloquium venire invitatus gravaretur neque de communi re dicendum sibi et cognoscendum putaret, haec
esse, quae ab eo postularet: primum, ne quam multi- 3
tudinem hominum amplius trans Rhenum in Galliam
traduceret; deinde obsides, quos haberet ab Aeduis,
redderet Sequanisque permitteret, ut, quos illi haberent,
voluntate eius reddere illis liceret; neve Aeduos iniuria
lacesseret, neve his sociisque eorum bellum inferret. Si 4
id ita fecisset, sibi populoque Romano perpetuam gratiam
atque amicitiam cum eo futuram: si non impetraret, sese,

35. § 2. **in consulatu suo**, i.e. in the preceding year, B.C. 59.

rex atque amicus. Cp. 3, § 4 'amicus': Eutr. v. 5 'Ariobarzanen, regem et amicum populi Romani.' For the title of king to be bestowed by the senate was equivalent to the formal recognition of a foreign potentate. Cp. Sall. Jug. 65, § 2: Cic. Harusp. § 29.

§ 3. **permitteret . . . liceret.** By taking 'ut' as consecutive, not as final, we avoid some of the redundancy—'give permission to the Sequani, so that they might be allowed with his consent to restore to them those whom they had.' For the combination of 'voluntate' with 'licere,' cp. 30, § 4; 39, § 3.

neve. 'Neve' or 'neu,' not 'neque,' is the proper particle to follow 'ut' or 'ne' in commands or entreaties. Cp. ii. 21, § 2 'uti . . . neu': vi. 20, § 1 'uti . . . neve': vi. 32, § 1 'ne . . . neve': vii. 53, § 1 'ne . . . neu': vii. 47, § 58 and 71, § 3 'ut . . . neu.'

§ 4. **sese . . . se.** The repetition is due to the length of the parenthesis. Cp. ii. 8, § 3 'is collis . . . eius collis'; 25, § 1 'vidit . . . vidit.'

quoniam M. Messala, M. Pisone consulibus senatus censuisset, uti, quicumque Galliam provinciam obtineret, quod commodo reipublicae facere posset, Aeduos ceterosque amicos populi Romani defenderet, se Aeduorum iniurias non neglecturum.'

36 Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: 'ius esse belli, ut, qui vicissent, iis, quos vicissent, quemadmodum vellent, imperarent: item populum Romanum victis non ad alterius praescriptum, sed ad suum arbitrium imperare Reply of Ariovistus.
2 consuesse. Si ipse populo Romano non praescriberet, quemadmodum suo iure uteretur, non oportere sese
3 a populo Romano in suo iure impediri. Aeduos sibi, quoniam belli fortunam temptassent et armis congressi
4 ac superati essent, stipendiarios esse factos. Magnam Caesarem iniuriam facere, qui suo adventu vectigalia
5 sibi deteriora faceret. Aeduis se obsides redditurum non esse, neque iis neque eorum sociis iniuria bellum illaturum, si in eo manerent, quod convenisset, stipendiumque quotannis penderent; si id non fecissent, longe
6 iis fraternum nomen populi Romani afuturum. Quod sibi Caesar denuntiaret se Aeduorum iniurias non neglecturum, neminem secum sine sua pernicie contendisse.
7 Cum vellet, congrederetur: intellecturum, quid invicti Germani, exercitatissimi in armis, qui inter annos XIIII tectum non subissent, virtute possent.'

M. Messala, M. Pisone consulibus. B.C. 61. Caesar was in that year appointed to the province of Further Spain as propraetor.

quod, 'so far as.' Equal in sense to 'quoad,' for which some suppose that it is a contraction.

commodo reipublicae. A common formula. Cp. v. 46, § 4: vi. 33, § 5.

36. § 4. **suo . . . sibi.** Here the reflexive pronoun refers to two different subjects. Below in § 6 it refers to three—'sibi' to Ariovistus, 'se' to Caesar, 'secum' to Ariovistus again, and 'sua' to 'neminem.'

§ 5. **neque,** 'on the other hand he would not.'

fraternum nomen populi Romani, 'the name of brothers to the Roman people.' Cp. 33, § 2.

Caesar's movements are hastened by news that the Suebi are gathering on the Rhine.

Haec eodem tempore Caesari mandata referebantur, 37
et legati ab Aeduis et a Treveris veniebant: Aedui 2
questum, quod Harudes, qui nuper in Galliam trans-
portati essent, fines eorum popularentur: 'sese ne obsidi-
bus quidem datis pacem Ariovisti redimere potuisse;'
Treveri autem, 'pagos centum Sueborum ad ripam 3
Rheni consedisse, qui Rhenum transire conarentur; his
praeesse Nasuam et Cimberium fratres.' Quibus rebus 4
Caesar vehementer commotus maturandum sibi existi-
mavit, ne, si nova manus Sueborum cum veteribus
copiis Ariovisti sese coniunxisset, minus facile resisti
posset. Itaque re frumentaria quam celerrime potuit 5
comparata magnis itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit.

He forestalls Ariovistus in occupying Vesontio.

Cum tridui viam processisset, nuntiatum est ei Ario- 38
vistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum Veson-
tionem, quod est oppidum maximum Sequanorum,
contendere triduique viam a suis finibus profecisse.
Id ne accideret, magnopere sibi praecavendum Caesar 2
existimabat. Namque omnium rerum, quae ad bellum 3
usui erant, summa erat in eo oppido facultas, idque 4
natura loci sic muniebatur, ut magnam ad ducendum
bellum daret facultatem, propterea quod flumen Dubis
ut circino circumductum paene totum oppidum cingit;
reliquum spatium, quod est non amplius pedum M sex- 5

37. § 1. **Treveris.** On the banks of the Moselle. They have left their name in Trèves.

Aedui. Adjective. Understand 'legati.'

§ 2. **Ariovisti,** 'from Ariovistus.'

§ 3. **Rhenum transire.** Cp. 54, § 1.

38. § 1. **Vesontionem.** Besançon in Doubs, still a very important military stronghold.

§ 3. **facultas,** 'supply.'

§ 5. **non amplius, &c.** 'Amplius' is here thrown in without affecting the construction. Cp. 41, § 4: ii. 29, § 3: iv. 12, § 1. It is only when the words would otherwise be in the nom. or acc. that they can be drawn under the government of a comparative.

M sexcentorum. The M is an insertion, to make the statement accord with facts. Napoleon III says that the breadth of the isthmus which the Doubs forms at Besançon is at present 480 mètres, or 1620

centorum, qua flumen intermittit, mons continet magna
altitudine, ita, ut radices montis ex utraque parte ripae
6 fluminis contingant. Hunc murus circumdatus arcem
7 efficit et cum oppido coniungit. Huc Caesar magnis
nocturnis diurnisque itineribus contendit occupatoque
oppido ibi praesidium collocat.

39 Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem rei frumentariae
commeatusque causa moratur, ex percontatione nostro-
rum vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum, qui 'ingenti
magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute
atque exercitatione in armis esse' praedicabant ('saepe-
numero sese cum his congressos ne vultum quidem atque
aciem oculorum' dicebant 'ferre potuisse'), tantus subito
timor omnem exercitum occupavit, ut non mediocriter
2 omnium mentes animosque perturbaret. Hic primum
ortus est a tribunis militum, praefectis reliquisque, qui
ex urbe amicitiae causa Caesarem secuti non magnum
3 in re militari usum habebant: quorum alius alia causa
illata, quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse
diceret, petebat, ut eius voluntate discedere liceret;
nonnulli pudore adducti, ut timoris suspicionem vitarent,
4 remanebant. Hi neque vultum fingere neque interdum
lacrimas tenere poterant; abditi in tabernaculis aut

Scare in the army about the Germans.

Roman feet. The river is now connected with itself by what is called the 'Tunnel de la Navigation' which flows under the citadel. On pacing this I found it to be just 622 of my steps, or rather more than twice that number of feet, from the river on one side to the river on the other. The distance at the base of the Citadel is greater, but there the way is blocked by buildings.

continet, 'adjoins.' Cp. vii. 11, § 6 'quod oppidum Genabum pons fluminis Ligeris continebat.'

ita ut, &c., 'so closely that the banks of the river touch the base of the mountain on both sides.'

39. § 1. **dicebant**. The verb in such cases is usually omitted.

§ 2. **praefectis**. Introd. p. 208.

amicitiae causa. Very likely creditors or their friends.

§ 3. **diceret**: 23, § 3 'quod . . . existimarent.'

eius voluntate . . . liceret. Cp. 35, § 3 'ut . . . voluntate eius reddere illis liceret.'

suum fatum querebantur, aut cum familiaribus suis commune periculum miserabantur. Vulgo totis castris 5
testamenta obsignabantur. Horum vocibus ac timore paulatim etiam ii, qui magnum in castris usum habebant, milites centurionesque quique equitatui praeerant, perturbabantur. Qui se ex his minus timidos existimari 6
volebant, 'non se hostem vereri, sed angustias itineris, magnitudinem silvarum, quae intercederent inter ipsos atque Ariovistum, aut rem frumentariam, ut satis commode supportari posset, timere' dicebant. Nonnulli 7
etiam Caesari nuntiabant, 'cum castra moveri ac signa ferri iussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites neque propter timorem signa laturos.'

Caesar's speech to his officers.

Haec cum animadvertisset, convocato consilio omni- 40
umque ordinum ad id consilium adhibitis centurionibus, vehementer eos incusavit: primum quod, aut quam in partem aut quo consilio ducerentur, sibi quaerendum aut cogitandum putarent. 'Ariovistum se consule cupi- 2
dissime populi Romani amicitiam appetisse: cur hunc tam temere quisquam ab officio discessurum iudicaret?

§ 5. **quique equitatui praeerant.** The want of a definite word for 'officers' in Latin has often been remarked.

§ 6. **minus timidos.** 'Minus' is a weak form of negative. Cp. 47, § 1 'si id minus vellet'; 51, § 1 'minus . . . valebat': ii. 9, § 5 'si minus potuissent': iii. 13, § 8 'minus commode': so also iii. 23, § 7: v. 16, § 1 'minus aptos'; 33, § 3 'minus facile': vii. 65, § 5 'minus idoneis equis'; Cic. Cat. i. § 10 'educ tecum etiam omnis tuos; si minus, quam plurimos.'

vereri . . . timere, 'they were not overawed by the enemy, but were afraid of,' &c. 'Timere' governs 'angustias itineris,' &c.

rem frumentariam . . . ut, &c. Lit. 'afraid of the corn-supply, as to how.' This shows us how 'ut' after a verb of fearing gets the meaning of 'that . . . not.' The construction by which the object of the verb ('timere') becomes the subject of the dependent clause is more Greek than Latin.

§ 7. **dicto audientes.** The two words make up one adjective, which can be constructed with a dative after it, as in its second occurrence in 40, § 12: Af. 57, § 3. The phrase is used absolutely, as here, in 40, § 12 ad in.: v. 54, § 3.

40. § 2. **se consule:** 35, § 2.

cur . . . quisquam . . . iudicaret, 'why should any one of them sup-

3 Sibi quidem persuaderi, cognitis suis postulatis atque
aequitate condicionum perspecta, eum neque suam neque
4 populi Romani gratiam repudiaturum. Quod si furore
atque amentia impulsus bellum intulisset, quid tandem
vererentur? aut cur de sua virtute aut de ipsius dili-
5 gentia desperarent? Factum eius hostis periculum
patrum nostrorum memoria, cum Cimbris et Teutonis
a Gaio Mario pulsis non minorem laudem exercitus
quam ipse imperator meritus videbatur; factum etiam
nuper in Italia servili tumultu, quos tamen aliquid usus
6 ac disciplina, quae a nobis accepissent, sublevarent. Ex
quo iudicari posse, quantum haberet in se boni con-
stantia, propterea quod, quos aliquamdiu inermos sine
causa timuissent, hos postea armatos ac victores super-
7 assent. Denique hos esse eosdem, quibuscum saepenu-
mero Helvetii congressi non solum in suis, sed etiam in
illorum finibus plerumque superarint, qui tamen pares

pose?' The subjunctive is used where the question in the direct form would be in the second person. So in § 4 'vererentur, desperarent.' Cp. 47, § 6: ii. 30, § 4. For a contrary instance see 43, § 8 'quis pati posset?'

§ 5. **Factum . . . periculum.** 'Trial had been made.' Cp. iv. 21, § 1. The phrase is common in Terence. Andr. 565 'qui scis ergo istuc, nisi periclum feceris?' Heaut. 221 'periclum ex aliis facito, tibi quid ex usu siet.' Phorm. 326 'factumst periculum, iam pedum visast via.'

cum . . . videbatur, 'an occasion on which &c.' We have here a clear instance of the indicative in oblique oration: cp. v. 11, § 4; vii. 78, § 1. Sallust frequently employs this construction (e.g. Cat. 14, § 7; 17, § 7; 22, § 2; 23, § 4; 27, § 4; 30, § 6); so does Trogus Pompeius in the speech preserved by Justin xxxviii. 4–7. We perhaps had it before in Caesar himself (2, § 5). This is the only passage in the Gallic War where 'cum' occurs with the impf. ind. On Marius' victories over the Teutoni and Cimbri, see Introd. pp. 77–9.

servili tumultu, quos = 'tumultu servorum, quos.' The Servile War in Italy broke out in B.C. 73. The Romans were not successful until 71, when Crassus first slaughtered 30,000 men under Granicus, and then 60,000 under Spartacus. Livy (Epit. 97) speaks of the army of Granicus as consisting of Gauls and Germans. Cp. 21, § 4 'M. Crassi.'

§ 7. **superarint . . . potuerint.** The changed sequence serves to emphasize the victories of the Helvetii over the Germans and their defeat by the Romans as matters of fact. So below in § 12 'fuerit.' Cp. ii. 4, § 3 'prohibuerint . . . sumerent.'

esse nostro exercitui non potuerint. Si quos adversum 8
proelium et fuga Gallorum commoveret, hos, si quae-
rerent, reperire posse diuturnitate belli defatigatis Gallis
Ariovistum, cum multos menses castris se ac paludibus
tenuisset neque sui potestatem fecisset, desperantes iam
de pugna et dispersos subito adortum magis ratione et
consilio quam virtute vicisse. Cui rationi contra homines 9
barbaros atque imperitos locus fuisset, hac ne ipsum
quidem sperare nostros exercitus capi posse. Qui suum 10
timorem in rei frumentariae simulationem angustiasque
itineris conferrent, facere arroganter, cum aut de officio
imperatoris desperare aut praescribere viderentur. Haec 11
sibi esse curae: frumentum Sequanos, Leucos, Lingones
subministrare, iamque esse in agris frumenta matura; de
itinere ipsos brevi tempore iudicaturos. Quod non fore 12
dicto audientes neque signa laturi dicantur, nihil se ea
re commoveri: scire enim, quibuscumque exercitus dicto
audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse,
aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam:
suam innocentiam perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetiorum 13

§ 8. **adversum proelium**, 'defeat.' Cp. 18, § 10. The allusion is to the battle of Admagetobriga, 31, § 12.

§ 9. **sperare . . . posse**: 3, § 8 'posse sperant.'

§ 10. **Qui suum timorem**, &c. 'As for those who pretended that their fears were about supplies and the difficulties of the route.' 'rei frumentariae simulationem' is 'a pretence about supplies.' Strictly 'angustias' should be coordinate with 'rei frumentariae.'

§ 11. **Leucos.** About Toul in the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle.

iamque. Napoleon III calculates that it was now Aug. 22.

§ 12. **dicto audiens**: 39, § 7 'dicto audientes.'

convictam, 'brought home.' The construction 'convincere alicui aliquid' is implied by the context: but such a construction does not actually occur.

§ 13. **innocentiam.** 'Innocentia' was one of the virtues which constituted the Roman ideal of character. The meaning of it is evident here from its being contrasted with 'avaritia.' We may translate 'the cleanness of his own hands.' Other component parts of the Roman ideal were 'fides, constantia, gravitas, industria, temperantia, clementia, facilitas, humanitas.'

felicitatem. With the Romans

14 bello esse perspectam. Itaque se, quod in longiorem diem collaturus fuisset, repraesentaturum et proxima nocte de quarta vigilia castra moturum, ut quam primum intellegere posset, utrum apud eos pudor atque officium, an
15 timor valeret. Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola decima legione iturum, de qua non dubitaret, sibique eam praetoriam cohortem futuram.' Huic legioni Caesar et indulserat praecipue et propter virtutem confidebat maxime.

41 Hac oratione habita mirum in modum conversae sunt omnium mentes, summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli Effect of the speech.
2 gerendi innata est, princepsque decima legio per tribunos militum ei gratias egit, quod de se optimum iudicium fecisset, seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam
3 confirmavit. Deinde reliquae legiones cum tribunis militum et primorum ordinum centurionibus egerunt,

'felicitas' was not so much a result of other qualities as a quality in itself. It was an attribute which one man might have and another be devoid of, apart from any other difference between the two. Sulla claimed it, and called himself Felix and his son Faustus. Cicero (De Imp. Cn. P. § 47) enumerates it among the indispensable requisites of a general, ascribing it to Fabius Maximus, Marcellus, Scipio, Marius and Pompeius. Here Caesar advances for himself the same claim as Sulla. Cp. iv. 26, § 5 'Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Caesari defuit.' Lucan (v. 292) makes the discontented soldiers bitterly say—

> 'Quidquid gerimus, fortuna vocatur,
> nos fatum sciat esse suum.'

Whether the Roman view of fortune be correct or not, at all events a belief in their star, in divine favour, or simply in themselves, has been characteristic of great men of action, and a contributing cause of their success — 'Possunt, quia posse videntur.'

§ 14. **repraesentaturum**, 'he would do at once.' Here probably a metaphor from business, one of the meanings of the word being 'to pay in ready money.' Cp. V. P. ii. 89 'nihil Dii hominibus praestare possunt . . . quod non Augustus . . . orbi repraesentaverit.

§ 15. **praetoriam cohortem**, 'body-guard.' Festus (Müller, p. 223)—'Praetoria cohors est dicta, quod a praetore (= general) non discedebat. Scipio enim Africanus primus fortissimum quemque delegit, qui ab eo in bello non discederent et cetero munere militiae vacarent et sesquiplex stipendium acciperent.' The 'praetoria cohors' of Antonius took a prominent part in the defeat of Catiline, Sall. Cat. 60, § 5.

uti Caesari satisfacerent: 'se neque umquam dubitasse neque timuisse neque de summa belli suum iudicium, sed imperatoris esse existimavisse.' Eorum satisfactione 4

The armies draw near each other.

accepta et itinere exquisito per Divitiacum, quod ex aliis ei maximam fidem habebat, ut milium amplius quinquaginta circuitu locis apertis exercitum duceret, de quarta vigilia, ut dixerat, profectus est. Septimo die, 5
cum iter non intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est, Ariovisti copias a nostris milibus passuum quattuor et XX abesse.

Negotiations with Ariovistus.

42 Cognito Caesaris adventu Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: 'quod antea de colloquio postulasset, id per se fieri licere, quoniam propius accessisset seque id sine periculo facere posse existimaret.' Non respuit con- 2
dicionem Caesar iamque eum ad sanitatem reverti arbitrabatur, cum id, quod antea petenti denegasset, ultro polliceretur, magnamque in spem veniebat pro suis 3
tantis populique Romani in eum beneficiis, cognitis suis postulatis, fore uti pertinacia desisteret. Dies colloquio

41. § 3. **summa belli,** 'the conduct of the war,' 'the plan of campaign.' 'Summa' is a favourite word with Caesar. We have had it already in 29, § 2 for the sum total of an account. With the expression here cp. 'totius belli summam,' ii. 4, § 7 —'summa imperii,' iii. 17, §§ 2, 7; 22, § 1: vii. 20, § 5; 57, § 3; 63, § 5; 76, § 3; 79, § 1: C. iii. 5, § 4; 18, § 2: Al. 4, § 1—'summa imperii bellique administrandi,' v. 11, § 8—'summa belli rerumque omnium,' C. iii. 16, § 4—'summa rerum,' C. iii. 51, § 4—'summa omnium rerum consiliorumque,' vi. 11, § 3—'summa victoriae,' vii. 21, § 3—'summa exercitus,' vi. 34, § 3—'summa totius Galliae,' vi. 11, § 5.

§ 4. **ut milium . . . duceret,** 'with a view to leading the army through open ground by a round of more than 50 miles.' This détour is thus explained by Napoleon III. Caesar was starting from Besançon for the valley of the Rhine. Instead of marching straight for Montbéliard he reached it by a circuit to the left of some 75 kilomètres (= 50 Roman miles), so as to skirt the northern part of the Jura range. The Emperor further supposes the point reached by Caesar after seven days to have been somewhere near Cernay on the Thur. He allows 20 kilomètres for the day's march. Ariovistus he locates at Colmar.

42. § 1. **existimaret.** A correction for 'existimare,' the reading of the best MSS. For the sense cp. 34, § 3.

4 dictus est ex eo die quintus. Interim saepe ultro citroque cum legati inter eos mitterentur, Ariovistus postulavit, 'ne quem peditem ad colloquium Caesar adduceret: vereri se, ne per insidias ab eo circumveniretur; uterque cum equitatu veniret: alia ratione sese
5 non esse venturum.' Caesar, quod neque colloquium interposita causa tolli volebat neque salutem suam Gallorum equitatui committere audebat, commodissimum esse statuit, omnibus equis Gallis equitibus detractis eo legionarios milites legionis decimae, cui quam maxime confidebat, imponere, ut praesidium quam amicissimum,
6 si quid opus facto esset, haberet. Quod cum fieret, non irridicule quidam ex militibus decimae legionis dixit: 'plus, quam pollicitus esset, Caesarem facere: pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum, ad equum rescribere.'

43 Planicies erat magna et in ea tumulus terrenus satis grandis. Hic locus aequo fere spatio ab castris Ariovisti et Caesaris aberat. Eo, ut erat dictum, ad colloquium

§ 4. **ultro citroque,** 'to and fro.' Cp. C. i. 20, § 4 'internuntiis ultro citroque missis': Af. 20, § 1 'ultro citroque commeare;' 82, § 1 'ultro citroque pavidos concursare': H. 22, § 3 'responsis ultro citroque acceptis et redditis.' In the last passage the phrase passes into the meaning of 'reciprocally,' which it often bears elsewhere.

§ 5. **eo,** 'thereon.' Cp. 51, § 3 'eo mulieres imposuerunt,' where 'eo' = 'redis et carris': Sall. Jug. 75, § 4 'praeterea conquirit ex agris quam plurimum potest domiti pecoris. eo imponit vasa cuiusque modi.'

opus facto. 'Usus' is employed in the same way with 'facto.' Ter. Ad. 429 'moneo quid facto usus sit.' Other ablatives of past participles are used similarly with 'opus,' e.g. Cic. Pro Mil. § 49—'primum erat nihil cur properato opus esset.'

§ 6. **ad equum rescribere,** 'was transferring them to the cavalry,' i.e. making knights of them, or, as we might put it, 'was gazetting them to the Horse-guards.'

43. § 1. **Planicies.** 'That which is crossed by the Ill and the Thur.' Nap. III.

tumulus terrenus. Equivalent to the Greek *γήλοφος*, which is distinguished from *ὄρος* by its being covered with soil (Plat. Critias 111 C) and also by the fact that it may be of any size, from the hills of England (Strabo iv. 5, § 2) to Jacob's pillow (Philo I, 639 ad fin.).

castris. Here pl., as in 44, § 3: vii. 69, § 7.

venerunt. Legionem Caesar, quam equis devexerat, 2
passibus ducentis ab eo tumulo constituit. Item equites 3
Ariovisti pari intervallo constiterunt. Ariovistus, ex
equis ut colloquerentur et praeter se denos ut ad collo-
quium adducerent, postulavit. Ubi eo ventum est, 4
Caesar initio orationis sua senatusque in eum beneficia
commemoravit, 'quod rex appellatus esset a senatu,
quod amicus, quod munera amplissime missa; quam
rem et paucis contigisse et pro magnis hominum officiis
consuesse tribui docebat; illum, cum neque aditum neque 5
causam postulandi iustam haberet, beneficio ac liberali-
tate sua ac senatus ea praemia consecutum.' Docebat 6
etiam, quam veteres quamque iustae causae necessitudinis
ipsis cum Aeduis intercederent; quae senatusconsulta
quotiens quamque honorifica in eos facta essent; ut omni 7
tempore totius Galliae principatum Aedui tenuissent, prius
etiam, quam nostram amicitiam appetissent. 'Populi 8
Romani hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios atque
amicos non modo sui nihil deperdere, sed gratia, dig-
nitate, honore auctiores velit esse: quod vero ad amici-
tiam populi Romani attulissent, id iis eripi quis pati
posset?' Postulavit deinde eadem, quae legatis in man- 9
datis dederat, 'ne aut Aeduis aut eorum sociis bellum
inferret; obsides redderet: si nullam partem German-

§ 4. **rex . . . amicus.** Cp. 3, § 4 'amicus,' 35, § 2 'rex atque amicus.'

paucis. See the instances given under 3, § 4 'amicus' and 35, § 2 'rex atque amicus.' We may add Masinissa, who was saluted as 'rex' and given triumphal 'insignia' by Scipio Africanus. Liv. xxx. 15, § 11.

§ 5. **aditum,** 'ground.' Cp. v. 41, § 1 'sermonis aditum.'

§ 6. **ipsis** = 'sibi et senatui.'

quae . . . quotiens quamque. For the piling of clause on clause cp. Af. 72, § 1 'quodcunque proelium quotiens erat commissum.'

§ 8. **quis pati posset.** We might rather expect 'quem pati posse,' since this is not a question which in the direct form would be in the second person. Cp. 40, § 2 'cur . . . . quisquam . . . iudicaret.'

§ 9. **in mandatis dederat.** See 35, § 3.

orum domum remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur.'

44 Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de
2 suis virtutibus multa praedicavit: 'transisse Rhenum sese non sua sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magna spe magnisque praemiis domum propinquosque reliquisse; sedes habere in Gallia ab ipsis concessas, obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere iure belli, quod victores victis imponere consue-
3 rint. Non sese Gallis, sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse; omnes Galliae civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse ac contra se castra habuisse; eas omnes copias a se uno
4 proelio pulsas ac superatas esse. Si iterum experiri velint, se iterum paratum esse decertare; si pace uti velint, iniquum esse de stipendio recusare, quod sua
5 voluntate ad id tempus pependerint. Amicitiam populi Romani sibi ornamento et praesidio, non detrimento esse oportere, idque se ea spe petisse. Si per populum Romanum stipendium remittatur et dediticii subtrahantur, non minus libenter sese recusaturum populi
6 Romani amicitiam, quam appetierit. Quod multitudinem Germanorum in Galliam traducat, id se sui muniendi, non Galliae impugnandae causa facere: eius rei testimonium esse, quod nisi rogatus non venerit et quod
7 bellum non intulerit, sed defenderit. Se prius in Galliam venisse quam populum Romanum. Numquam ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romani Galliae provinciae
8 finibus egressum. Quid sibi vellet, cur in suas possessiones veniret? Provinciam suam hanc esse Galliam,

44. § 3. **castra.** Pl. Cp. 43, § 1.

§ 6. **Galliam.** Excluding the Provincia, as the context shows. Cp. 1, § 1 'tres.'

bellum . . . defenderit. For 'bellum defendere' = 'act on the defensive,' cp. ii. 29, § 5: vi. 23, § 4.

sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos, quod in suo iure se interpellaremus. Quod 9
fratres Aeduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse rerum, ut non sciret neque bello Allobrogum proximo Aeduos Romanis auxilium tulisse neque ipsos in his contentionibus, quas Aedui secum et cum Sequanis habuissent, auxilio populi Romani usos esse. Debere se suspicari simulata Cae- 10
sarem amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat, sui opprimendi causa habere. Qui nisi decedat atque 11
exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, sese illum non pro amico sed hoste habiturum. Quod si eum inter- 12
fecerit, multis sese nobilibus principibusque populi Romani gratum esse facturum: id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere, quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam eius morte redimere posset. Quod si 13
discessisset et liberam possessionem Galliae sibi tradidisset, magno se illum praemio remuneraturum et quaecumque bella geri vellet, sine ullo eius labore et periculo confecturum.'

Multa ab Caesare in eam sententiam dicta sunt, quare **45**
negotio desistere non posset: 'neque suam neque populi Romani consuetudinem pati, uti optime merentes socios

§ 8. **se interpellaremus,** 'interfered with him.' Cp. C. iii. 70, § 2; 105, § 1: Al. 50, § 2.

§ 9. **fratres,** 33, § 2 'fratres consanguineosque.'

bello Allobrogum proximo. B.C. 62. See 6, § 2 'nuper.'

neque ipsos . . . usos esse. It was thought likely at the time that the Romans would be drawn into the war. Cicero writing to Atticus (i. 19, § 2) in B. C. 60 says—'Atque in re publica nunc quidem Gallici versantur metus; nam Haedui, fratres nostri, pugnant.'

his, 'the late.' Cp. Cic. Rosc. Am. § 16 'hoc tumultu proximo.'

§ 12. **per eorum nuntios.** Plutarch (Caes. 26) seems to suggest a similar concert between Vercingetorix and Caesar's enemies at Rome.

45. § 1. **in eam sententiam . . . quare,** 'to show why it was impossible.' Cp. 33, § 2.

desereret, neque se iudicare Galliam potius esse Ariovisti
2 quam populi Romani. Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutenos ab Quinto Fabio Maximo, quibus populus Romanus ignovisset neque in provinciam redegisset
3 neque stipendium imposuisset. Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectari oporteret, populi Romani iustissimum esse in Gallia imperium; si iudicium senatus observari oporteret, liberam debere esse Galliam, quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset.'

46 Dum haec in colloquio geruntur, Caesari nuntiatum est equites Ariovisti propius tumulum accedere et ad nostros adequitare, lapides telaque in nostros conicere. *The conference interrupted by the German cavalry.*
2 Caesar loquendi finem facit seque ad suos recepit suisque imperavit, ne quod omnino telum in hostes reicerent.
3 Nam etsi sine ullo periculo legionis delectae cum equitatu proelium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat, ut pulsis hostibus dici posset eos ab se per fidem

§ 2. **Rutenos.** About Rodez in the department of Aveyron.

ab Quinto Fabio Maximo. B.C. 121. He was nephew to the younger Africanus. Vell. Pat. ii. 39 says—'Gallias, primum Domitio Fabioque, nepoti Paulli, qui Allobrogicus vocatus est, intratas cum exercitu ... saepe et adfectavimus et omisimus.' See 6, § 2 'nuper.' With not quite 30,000 men Fabius Maximus cut to pieces an army of 200,000 Gauls at the junction of the Rhône and Isère (Strabo iv. 1, § 11).

46. § 1. **propius tumulum accedere.** The comparative adverb here governs a case like the positive. Cp. iv. 9, § 2 'propius se': v. 37, § 1 'propius Ambiorigem': vii. 20, § 3 'propius Romanos.' The comparative and superlative adjectives formed from 'prope' sometimes do the same. Thus in viii. 9, § 4 we have 'propior hostem,' in 54, § 1 of this book 'Ubii, qui proximi Rhenum incolunt,' in iii. 7, § 2 'proximus mare Oceanum.' Cp. Sall. Cat. 11 'quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat'; Jug. 18, § 9 'nam ei propius mare Africum agitabant'; 49, § 1 'propior montem.'

§ 3. **per fidem,** 'treacherously.' Cp. viii. 48, § 3 'ne sua vulnera per fidem imposita paterentur impunita.' The phrase 'per fidem' which originally meant 'by reliance on' is here on its way to the sense expressed by 'perfidy.' Cic. De Inv. i. § 71 'qui saepenumero nos per fidem fefellerunt, eorum orationi fidem habere non debemus; si quid enim perfidia illorum detrimenti acceperimus, nemo erit praeter nosmet ipsos, quem iure accusare possimus.' Cp. Liv. i. 9, § 13 'per fas ac fidem decepti.'

in colloquio circumventos. Posteaquam in vulgus militum elatum est, qua arrogantia in colloquio Ariovistus usus omni Gallia Romanis interdixisset, impetumque in nostros eius equites fecissent, eaque res colloquium ut diremisset, multo maior alacritas studiumque pugnandi maius exercitui iniectum est. 4

Caesar's emissaries seized by Ariovistus.

Biduo post Ariovistus ad Caesarem legatos mittit: 'velle se de his rebus, quae inter eos agi coeptae neque perfectae essent, agere cum eo; uti aut iterum colloquio diem constitueret aut, si id minus vellet, e suis legatum aliquem ad se mitteret.' Colloquendi Caesari causa visa non est, et eo magis, quod pridie eius diei Germani retineri non poterant, quin in nostros tela conicerent. Legatum e suis sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum et hominibus feris obiecturum existimabat. Commodissimum visum est Gaium Valerium Procillum, C. Valeri Caburi filium, summa virtute et humanitate adulescentem, cuius pater a Gaio Valerio Flacco civitate donatus erat, et propter fidem et propter linguae **47** 2 3 4

§ 4. **fecissent.** There is no relative or conjunction to govern this verb, so that strict sequence would require 'fecisse': but it seems to be attracted into the subjunctive by the influence of the surrounding verbs.

47. § 1. **Biduo post.** This appears to mean simply 'next day,' according to the inclusive reckoning of the Romans. This is shown by 'pridie eius diei' in § 2. Cp. v. 27, § 8.

agi coeptae. With a passive verb the passive of 'coepi' is regularly used. Cp. ii. 6, § 2 'iaci coepti sunt.' This rule is not observed by Sallust.

uti. Some verb like 'hortatur' (hist. pres.) has to be supplied. We see from this instance how the subjunctive comes to be used for the imperative in the oblique oration.

minus. 39, § 6 'minus timidos.'

legatum. A correction, proposed by Doberenz, for 'legatis,' 'send one of his own men as ambassador.'

§ 2. **pridie eius diei.** 23, § 1 'postridie eius diei.'

§ 4. **C. Valeri.** The names Gaius and Gneus (vi. 1, § 2) were spelt and pronounced with a G, but abbreviated by C and Cn. Quintilian, i. 7, § 28 'Quid? quae scribuntur aliter quam enuntiantur? Nam et Gaius C littera significatur . . . nec Gnaeus eam litteram in praenominis nota accipit, quae sonat.' The Gaul took his 'nomen' and 'praenomen' after the Roman through whose agency he received the citizenship. Cicero (Pro Q. § 28) mentions a C. Valerius as being *imperator* in Gaul in B.C. 83.

Gallicae scientiam, qua multa iam Ariovistus longinqua consuetudine utebatur, et quod in eo peccandi Germanis causa non esset, ad eum mittere et Marcum Metium,
5 qui hospitio Ariovisti utebatur. His mandavit, ut, quae
6 diceret Ariovistus, cognoscerent et ad se referrent. Quos cum apud se in castris Ariovistus conspexisset, exercitu suo praesente conclamavit: 'quid ad se venirent? an speculandi causa?' Conantes dicere prohibuit et in catenas coniecit.

Ariovistus seeks to cut off Caesar from supplies.

48 Eodem die castra promovit et milibus passuum sex
2 a Caesaris castris sub monte consedit. Postridie eius diei praeter castra Caesaris suas copias traduxit et milibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit, eo consilio, uti frumento commeatuque, qui ex Sequanis et
3 Aeduis subportaretur, Caesarem intercluderet. Ex eo die dies continuos quinque Caesar pro castris suas copias produxit et aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus proelio contendere, ei potestas non deesset.
4 Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuit, equestri proelio cotidie contendit. Genus hoc erat

Mixed cavalry and infantry among the Germans.

5 pugnae, quo se Germani exercuerant. Equitum milia erant sex, totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortis-

§ 6. **quid ad se venirent?** In the direct oration, 'quid ad me venitis?' See 40, § 2 'cur . . . quisquam . . . indicaret.'

48. § 3. **pro castris.** The use of 'pro' in the sense of 'prae' is common in Caesar. Cp. 51, § 1: ii. 8, §§ 3, 5: iv. 32, § 1 'pro portis castrorum,' 35, § 1: v. 15, § 3; 16, § 1; 50, § 3: vii. 68, § 1; 70, §§ 2, 5; 71, § 8; 83, § 8; 89, § 4: Al. 60, § 3.

ut . . . non deesset. A consequence, not a purpose, 'so that, if Ariovistus wished to engage, he did not lack opportunity.'

§ 4. **Genus . . . pugnae.** Cp. vii. 18, § 1; 65, § 4. The same mode of fighting is described by Tacitus (Ger. 6), 'mixti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad equestrem pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni iuventute delectos ante aciem locant,' and by Livy (xliv. 26), but in the case of Gauls, not of Germans, 'Veniebant decem millia equitum, par numerus peditum, et ipsorum iungentium cursum equis, et in vicem prolapsorum equitum vacuos capientium ad pugnam equos.'

simi, quos ex omni copia singuli singulos suae salutis
causa delegerant: cum his in proeliis versabantur. Ad 6
eos se equites recipiebant; hi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant, si qui graviore vulnere accepto equo deciderat,
circumsistebant; si quo erat longius prodeundum aut 7
celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas, ut iubis equorum sublevati cursum adaequarent.

Caesar establishes a second camp.

Ubi eum castris se tenere Caesar intellexit, ne diutius 49
commeatu prohiberetur, ultra eum locum, quo in loco Germani consederant, circiter passus sexcentos ab his, castris idoneum locum delegit acieque triplici instructa
ad eum locum venit. Primam et secundam aciem in 2
armis esse, tertiam castra munire iussit. Hic locus ab 3
hoste circiter passus sexcentos, uti dictum est, aberat. Eo circiter hominum numero sedecim milia expedita cum omni equitatu Ariovistus misit, quae copiae nostros
perterrerent et munitione prohiberent. Nihilo secius 4
Caesar, ut ante constituerat, duas acies hostem propulsare,
tertiam opus perficere iussit. Munitis castris duas ibi 5
legiones reliquit et partem auxiliorum; quattuor reliquas in castra maiora reduxit.

The first day's fighting indecisive.

Proximo die instituto suo Caesar e castris utrisque 50
copias suas eduxit paulumque a maioribus castris progressus aciem instruxit, hostibus pugnandi potestatem
fecit. Ubi ne tum quidem eos prodire intellexit, circiter 2
meridiem exercitum in castra reduxit. Tum demum Ariovistus partem suarum copiarum, quae castra minora oppugnaret, misit. Acriter utrimque usque ad vesperum
pugnatum est. Solis occasu suas copias Ariovistus 3

§ 6. si qui. The distinction between 'quis' substantival and 'qui' adjectival does not hold when 'si' precedes. Cp. vi. 13, §§ 6, 9.

multis et illatis et acceptis vulneribus in castra reduxit.
4 Cum ex captivis quaereret Caesar, quamobrem Ariovistus proelio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut matresfamiliae eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset, necne; eas ita dicere: 5 'non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent.' The Germans want to wait for the new moon.

51 Postridie eius diei Caesar praesidium utrisque castris, quod satis esse visum est, reliquit, omnes alarios in conspectu hostium pro castris minoribus constituit, quod minus multitudine militum legionariorum pro hostium numero valebat, ut ad speciem alariis uteretur; ipse triplici instructa acie usque ad castra hostium accessit. 2 Tum demum necessario Germani suas copias castris eduxerunt generatimque constituerunt paribus intervallis, Harudes, Marcomanos, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes, Total defeat of Ariovistus.

50. § 4. **ut matresfamiliae.** Tac. Ger. 8 'Inesse quinetiam (feminis) sanctum aliquid et providum putant: nec aut consilia earum aspernantur aut responsa neglegunt.' On the gen. 'familiae,' see vi. 19, § 3.

vaticinationibus. Plutarch (Caes. 19) informs us that the mode of divination among these German women was by watching the eddies and listening to the rippling of the rivers.

51. § 1. **alarios,** 'the auxiliaries,' so called because they were usually stationed on the wings.

quod minus. A correction of P. Manutius for 'quo minus' of the MSS. This clause must be taken in translation after the following one, 'so as to use the auxiliaries for show, as he was weak in the number of regular troops in proportion to that of the enemy.'

§ 2. **generatim,** 'according to their clans,' cp. vii. 19, § 2. The idea was that kinsmen would fight better side by side. Tacitus (Ger. 7), 'Quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates.'

Marcomani. The 'march-men' or 'border-folk.' They may have lived anywhere.

Triboces. In iv. 10, § 3 we have gen. pl. 'Tribocorum' and in Tac. Germ. 28 nom. pl. 'Triboci.' The 'Triboces' are placed near Strassburg. The 'Vangiones' are assigned to Worms and the Nemetes to Speier on the Rhine; the whereabouts of the Sedusii is quite uncertain. Suebi is really a generic name; it lives still in the term Swabian (Schwabe).

Sedusios, Suebos, omnemque aciem suam redis et carris
circumdederunt, ne qua spes in fuga relinqueretur. Eo 3
mulieres imposuerunt, quae in proelium proficiscentes
passis manibus flentes implorabant, ne se in servitutem
Romanis traderent.

Caesar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quae- 52
storem praefecit, uti eos testes suae quisque virtutis
haberet; ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem minime 2
firmam hostium esse animadverterat, proelium commisit.
Ita nostri acriter in hostes signo dato impetum fecerunt, 3
itaque hostes repente celeriterque procurrerunt, ut spa-
tium pila in hostes coniciendi non daretur. Reiectis 4
pilis comminus gladiis pugnatum est. At Germani
celeriter ex consuetudine sua phalange facta impetus
gladiorum exceperunt. Reperti sunt complures nostri 5

§ 3. **Eo.** 42. § 5 'eo.'

ne se in servitutem. Tacitus (Ger. 8) says that the Germans feared slavery for their women more than for themselves, and that the safest hostages to take from them were noble women. It is doubtless therefore to the Germans (who have been already mentioned in the same chapter) that Suetonius (Aug. 21) is referring, when he says 'ut . . . a quibusdam vero novum genus obsidum, feminas, exigere tentaverit: quod neglegere marium pignora sentiebat.'

52. § 1. **Caesar singulis legionibus, &c.** 'Caesar set one lieutenant in command of each legion and in one case the quaestor.' There were six legions (see 7, § 1 and 10, § 3), so that we may infer that Caesar had at this time five legati. It was an innovation of Caesar's to make the legatus have special charge of a legion; cp. ii. 20, § 3. The quaestor, whose name is not mentioned, appears again on a level with the legati in iv. 13, § 4 and 22, § 3. We may assume that he was M. Crassus. See v. 24, § 3; 46, § 1.

§ 2. **a dextro cornu,** 'on his right wing,' opposite to the enemy's left, which was their weakest part. See § 6 below.

§ 3. **spatium.** When 'spatium' is thus used by itself, it generally refers to time rather than to space. Cp. i. 7, § 6: iv. 13, § 3: v. 58, § 4: vii. 40, § 2; 42, § 1; 48, § 4. When it refers to space some word is often put with it to mark this. Thus in v. 15, § 3 we have 'intermisso spatio,' of time, and in § 4 'intermisso loci spatio,' of space: so in v. 13, § 2 we have 'spatio transmissus,' and in vii. 46, § 2 'spatium itineris.' In vii. 45, § 4 however 'tanto spatio' is used by itself of space.

§ 4. **gladiorum,** 'swordsmen.' So Cicero uses 'gladii' of the armed body-guard of Antony, Phil. ii. §§ 46, 104: cp. Eur. Herac. 276.

milites, qui in phalangas insilirent et scuta manibus revel-
6 lerent et desuper vulnerarent. Cum hostium acies a sinistro cornu pulsa atque in fugam conversa esset, a dextro cornu vehementer multitudine suorum nostram
7 aciem premebant. Id cum animadvertisset Publius Crassus adulescens, qui equitatui praeerat, quod expeditior erat quam ii, qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit.

53 Ita proelium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes terga verterunt neque prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum milia passuum ex eo loco circiter quin-
2 quaginta pervenerunt. Ibi perpauci aut viribus confisi tranare contenderunt aut lintribus inventis sibi salutem
3 reppererunt. In his fuit Ariovistus, qui naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus ea profugit; reliquos omnes

There is a tendency in military language to confound the man with his weapon, just as we talk of 'rifles.'

§ 5. **phalangas**, Greek acc. We gather from Dio Cassius (xxxviii. 49, § 6) that these German phalanxes consisted each of about 400 men with their shields locked together all round them. Their dense formation rendered it impossible to shake them, while the plate-armour of shields made them impervious to blows. The only way to deal with them was that adopted by the Roman soldiers, namely, to leap on to the living wall, and strike at the heads of the men, which were bare.

§ 7. **adulescens**, 'the younger.' In the same way we say colloquially 'young so-and-so.' Cp. iii. 7, § 2, and of Decimus Brutus, iii. 11, § 5: vii. 9, § 2. The father of this Publius Crassus was M. Crassus, the triumvir, 21, § 4. M. Crassus, who afterwards appears as Caesar's quaestor (v. 24, § 3), was his elder brother. Cicero also speaks of P. Crassus as 'adulescens,' Ad Div. xiii. 16, § 1; Ad Q. Frat. vii. (ix.) § 2 'Interfuit huic sermoni P. Crassus adulescens, nostri, ut scis, studiosissimus.' We gather from this letter that he had left Caesar in B.C. 55; and we learn from Dio Cassius (xxxix. 31) that he took an active part at Rome in securing the election of his father and Pompey to the consulship that year.

53. § 1. **quinquaginta**. The MSS. have 'quinque': but Plutarch certainly read fifty, as he has ἐπὶ σταδίους τετρακοσίους. Napoleon III conjectures the Germans to have fled down the valley of the Ill to Rhinau, which would give 50 miles from Cernay, where he locates the battle, in an oblique direction.

§ 3. **naviculam**. Cp. C. iii. 104, § 3 'naviculam parvulam conscendit.'

profugit. We hear of Ariovistus as dead in v. 29, § 3, but know nothing of the manner of his death.

reliquos omnes. 80,000 accord-

equitatu consecuti nostri interfecerunt. Duae fuerunt 4
Ariovisti uxores, una Sueba natione, quam domo secum
duxerat, altera Norica, regis Voccionis soror, quam in
Gallia duxerat a fratre missam: utraque in ea fuga periit.
Fuerunt duae filiae: harum altera occisa, altera capta
Recovery of the emissaries.
est. Gaius Valerius Procillus, cum a custodibus in fuga 5
trinis catenis vinctus traheretur, in ipsum Caesarem
hostes equitatu persequentem incidit. Quae quidem res 6
Caesari non minorem quam ipsa victoria voluptatem
attulit, quod hominem honestissimum provinciae Galliae,
suum familiarem et hospitem, ereptum e manibus hos-
tium sibi restitutum videbat, neque eius calamitate de
tanta voluptate et gratulatione quicquam fortuna demi-
nuerat. Is 'se praesente de se ter sortibus consultum' 7
dicebat, 'utrum igni statim necaretur, an in aliud tempus
reservaretur: sortium beneficio se esse incolumem.' Item 8
Marcus Metius repertus et ad eum reductus est.

Return of the Suebi.
Hoc proelio trans Rhenum nuntiato Suebi, qui ad **54**
ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti coeperunt; quos
Ubii, qui proximi Rhenum incolunt, perterritos insecuti

ing to Plutarch (Caes. 19) and Appian (De Reb. Gall. 3, Schweigh).

§ 4. **duae ... uxores.** It must not be supposed that the Germans generally were polygamous. Tacitus (Germ. 18) says of them: 'Nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur.'

utraque . . . periit. Fuerunt. A correction for 'utraeque . . . perierunt. Duae,' &c. It should be remarked however that the plural of 'uterque' is used by the author of the Bellum Africanum. Thus we have 'ab utrisque ducibus' in 28, § 1; 29, § 1; 53, § 1: 'duces utrique' in 61, § 8. In H. 7, § 3 we find 'utrorumque oppidorum': Sallust Cat. 5 'quae utraque'; 30 'ei utrique': J. 13, 'utrisque.' Tacitus also employs the form, e.g. Ger. 34, 'Utraeque nationes.' See ii. 16, § 2.

§ 5. **trinis catenis.** Cp. 15, § 5 'quinis aut senis': v. 53, § 3 'trinis hibernis': vii. 46, § 4 and 66, § 3 'trinis castris': vii. 73, § 4 'quini . . . ordines'; § 8 'octoni ordines,' &c. When the word is already plural in sense, like 'catena' or 'ordo,' or has no singular, the distributive numeral is appropriate.

54. § 1. **Suebi.** See 37, § 3.

Ubii. About Cologne. They were

2 magnum ex his numerum occiderunt. Caesar una aestate duobus maximis bellis confectis maturius paulo, quam tempus anni postulabat, in hiberna in Sequanos exercitum deduxit; hibernis Labienum praeposuit; ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

Caesar goes into Cisalpine Gaul.

ultimately transferred by Agrippa with their own consent to the Gallic side of the Rhine (Strabo, iv. 3, § 4).

proximi Rhenum. 46, § 1 'propius tumulum accedere.'

§ 2. **ad conventus agendos,** 'to hold the assizes.' Cp. v. 1, § 5; 2, § 1. In viii. 46, § 5 the word means 'an assize town,' a meaning very common in the Civil War and the Caesarian writers.

C. IULII CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

LIBER SECUNDUS

B.C. 57

SUMMARY.

THIS book is almost wholly taken up with the war with the Belgae.

While the inhabitants of Celtic Gaul were in two minds about their new champion and liberator, the Belgae, who had affinities of race with the Germans, had no doubt at all but that in Caesar lay a danger which threatened their own independence. During the winter they formed a league against the Romans, which had the sympathy from various reasons of many of the Celtic Gauls.

News of this movement was brought to Caesar in Cisalpine Gaul. He made it the occasion for a levy of two new legions, which he sent into Further Gaul in the spring under the command of a nephew of his own, Quintus Pedius. As soon as forage became plentiful, he himself rejoined his army. He does not tell us where, but we may assume that it was at Besançon, as the winter-quarters had been among the Sequani.

His first step was to set the neighbours of the Belgae to ascertain what was going on among them. On learning that their forces were being concentrated, he determined himself to take the initiative. A fortnight's marching brought him into the territories of the Belgae. This promptitude had the immediate advantage of securing him the entire submission of the Remi, the tribe nearest to

Celtic Gaul, who remained ever after his most faithful allies. They denied that they had taken any part in the confederation themselves, but declared that all the rest of the Belgae were in arms as well as the German tribes who dwelt on the near side of the Rhine. This statement must be taken with a slight qualification, for neither the Mediomatrici, Treveri, or Leuci seem to have played any part in the war. From the Remi Caesar was able to procure statistics as to the contingents promised by the various tribes. He was further informed that the conduct of the war had been entrusted by universal consent to Galba, the king of the Suessiones, on account of his justice and wisdom.

The Bellovaci were at once the most populous and the most warlike of the Belgian tribes. Caesar arranged with Divitiacus that the Aeduan forces should be led into their territory with a view to detaching them from the main body, when they found their own homesteads threatened with destruction. He then advanced to the Aisne and pitched his camp on the further bank, so that one side of it was protected by the stream. At the same time he kept his communications with the country in his rear open by leaving Sabinus with six cohorts on the near side of the river to guard the bridge by which he had crossed.

There was a town of the Remi called Bibrax, eight miles from Caesar's camp. This was attacked with fury by the Belgians, and the garrison with difficulty held out during the day. In the night they sent a message to Caesar with an urgent request for help. Before daybreak Caesar threw his Numidian and Cretan archers and Balearic slingers into the place, who sufficed to deter the enemy from further attack. The latter vented their rage on the surrounding hamlets and then encamped within two miles of the Romans.

The position taken up by Caesar was naturally a strong one, as he was encamped on a hill with the river in his rear and a marsh between him and the enemy, but he made it still stronger by works, the object of which was to prevent his being taken on the flanks during an engagement. The enemy did not care to cross the marsh to the attack. Instead of doing so they attempted with part of their forces to ford the river with a view to storming the post held by Sabinus and breaking down the bridge. But Caesar was warned in time by Sabinus and came upon them, while still in

the act of crossing, with all his cavalry and light-armed troops. The river was piled with the bodies of the dead, over which the brave survivors still essayed to cross.

This is what is known as the battle of the Aisne. Its locality is more determinablc than that of any we have had yet. Indeed the Emperor Napoleon III was satisfied that it was absolutely determined, and that the very camp of Caesar had been discovered on the hill of Mauchamp. The point at which Caesar crossed the Aisne he declares to have been that where now stands the village of Berry-au-Bac. He would have us believe that the retrenchments of Sabinus' *tête-du-pont* are still visible there. The marsh which intervened between the Romans and the Belgians was formed by the small river Miette, which runs into the Aisne between Berry-au-Bac and Pontavert. Lastly, the town of Bibrax, eight miles from Caesar's camp, which has been variously located at Bièvre, Brugères, Neufchâtel, Beaurieux, and the hill of Vieux-Laon, is now known to have occupied the last-named position.

Foiled in their attack on Bibrax and in their attempt to cross the Axona, and finding provisions beginning to fail them, the Belgae now determined to return to their several homes, on the understanding that they were to rally to the defence of the first member of the league that should be attacked. This decision was hastened by the fact that the Bellovaci were in any case bent on returning to protect their homes against Divitiacus and his Aeduans. They set out at night, and Caesar, not knowing the reasons for their move, kept his forces within camp, fearing an ambush. In the morning he sent his cavalry in pursuit with three legions to support them. Great havoc was thus made of the rear of the Belgae, who were not supported by those in front.

Next day a long march brought Caesar to Noviodunum or Soissons before the Suessiones had reached it themselves. He found it too strong to be carried by assault, notwithstanding the paucity of defenders. During the night the fugitive Suessiones poured into it, but, overawed by the preparations for a siege, they surrendered their arms and gave hostages, among whom were two sons of king Galba himself.

From the Suessiones Caesar went on to the Bellovaci, who had thrown themselves into the town of Bratuspantium, which has been variously located at Beauvais, Montdidier, or in the neigh-

bourhood of Breteuil. These begged for mercy while Caesar and his army were yet within five miles of the place. At the intercession of Divitiacus, who had now returned to Caesar, it was accorded, but 600 hostages were exacted.

Equally prompt was the surrender of the Ambiani, to whom Caesar next went on.

The Nervii alone threatened resistance. They were accounted the most savage among their own countrymen, and they were also the most distant, their territory extending up to Bruxelles. After three days' march through their country Caesar ascertained from captives that the river Sambre (Sabis) was not more than ten miles off, and that on the far side of it all the Nervii were waiting for him, together with the Atrebates and Veromandui, whom they had persuaded to share the fortune of war with them, while the Aduatuci also were on their way to join them. Hearing this, Caesar sent on scouts and centurions to choose a camp for him. Up to now he had been marching with his legions separated at some considerable interval by their baggage. The Gauls and Belgians in his train, observing this, informed the Nervii that their best plan would be to attack the first legion as it came into camp, while the men were still under knapsacks and unsupported by the rest of the army. Accordingly the Nervii lay hid in the woods on the far side of the Sambre, letting only their cavalry, in which they were not strong, appear in sight. Caesar however changed his order of march as he was drawing near the enemy, and came with six legions lightly equipped, after whom came the baggage, and then the two legions last levied to guard it. The cavalry and light-armed infantry were sent on in front, and, when they saw the enemy's cavalry on the opposite bank, they crossed the river, which was only three feet deep, to engage with them. Meantime the six legions came up and began to fortify their camp. Then the Roman baggage came in sight, which the barbarians had agreed to regard as the signal for attack. Down they rushed from the woods, swept Caesar's cavalry before them, crossed the river, and were hand to hand with the legions before the latter well knew what was happening. Then began a day of chequered fortunes such as Caesar had not encountered yet. The view was impeded by the thick hedges with which the Nervii protected themselves against the cavalry of other tribes, so that one part of the army had

to act independently of the other. The ninth and tenth legions, which were on the left of Caesar's line, were victorious from the first over the Atrebates who were opposed to them; the eleventh and eighth also coped successfully with the Veromandui; but the twelfth and seventh suffered severely at the hands of the Nervii, who, under their leader Boduognatus, actually possessed themselves of the Roman camp. So black did things look, owing to the flight of the light-armed, the cavalry, and the camp-followers, that the auxiliary horsemen of the Treveri rode off from the field and brought home the report that the Romans had been routed. This however was not so. Caesar's personal example restored spirit to the distressed legions; the two legions that were in charge of the baggage made an opportune appearance on the field, and Labienus, who had captured the hill on which the enemy had been encamped, and could see from there what was going on, sent back the tenth legion to the assistance of the twelfth and seventh. Then the fortune of the field turned, and the final result was the almost total destruction of the Nervii. When this result became apparent, the survivors sent ambassadors and threw themselves on Caesar's mercy.

Such was the battle of the Sambre. The data are certainly not sufficient to determine its exact whereabouts, but Napoleon's plans place the scene of it at a point called Hautmont, between Bavay and Maubeuge.

The Aduatuci, who were descendants of the Cimbri and Teutoni, had been on their way to join the patriotic combination formed by the Nervii, but on hearing the news of the battle they returned home and, deserting all their other towns and fortresses, threw themselves into a single town to which Caesar gives no name, and which is therefore known to us only as 'Aduatucorum oppidum.' It is identified by General Goeler with Falhize and by Napoleon III with the citadel of Namur. Confident in the strength of their position, they at first despised the preparations of the Romans, but, when they saw a tower, which had been constructed at a distance, being wheeled up to their walls, they offered to capitulate, if only their arms might be left them. Caesar, however, would accept nothing short of unconditional surrender. The Aduatuci pretended to comply with his terms, but in reality kept back a third part of their arms, and attempted to escape during the night. They were driven back with a loss of 4,000 men, and next

day the soldiers were let into the town, and the inhabitants sold by auction to the number of 53,000.

Meantime the seventh legion, one of the two which had suffered so much in the fight with the Nervii, had been sent under command of Publius Crassus against the Armorican states, which seem all to have submitted without resistance.

The prestige of the Roman arms was now so great that offers of submission even came from the tribes across the Rhine. Caesar however was now anxious to get off to Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum; so he told the envoys to come back to him in the spring of the following year. The army was sent into winter-quarters among the Carnutes, Andes, Turones, and other states which were nearer than these to the seat of war. At Rome the appreciation of Caesar's success took the hitherto unheard-of form of a thanksgiving of fifteen days' duration.

War with the Belgae, 1–33.

News of a confederacy among the Belgae against the Romans.

1 CUM esset Caesar in citeriore Gallia [in hibernis], ita uti supra demonstravimus, crebri ad eum rumores afferebantur, litterisque item Labieni certior fiebat omnes Belgas, quam tertiam esse Galliae partem dixeramus, contra populum Romanum coniurare obsidesque inter
2 se dare. Coniurandi has esse causas: primum, quod vererentur, ne omni pacata Gallia ad eos exercitus
3 noster adduceretur; deinde, quod ab nonnullis Gallis sollicitarentur, partim qui, ut Germanos diutius in Gallia versari noluerant, ita populi Romani exercitum hiemare

1. § 1. **supra.** i. 54, § 2.

Belgas, quam, &c. A relative in Latin, placed between two words of different gender, looks forward rather than backward. Cp. iv. 1, § 1 'Ea . . . hieme, qui fuit annus,' &c.: v. 54, § 2 'Senones, quae est civitas': C. I. 18, § 1 'Sulmonenses, quod oppidum': ii. 19, § 5 'Carmonenses, quae est . . . civitas': iii. 66, § 1 'cohortes quasdam, quod instar legionis videretur': H. 37, § 1 'pars erat, qui Pompeianarum partium fautores essent.'

dixeramus. Used on the principle of an 'epistolary tense,' by which the writer assumes the standpoint of the reader. Cp. 24, § 1 'dixeram'; 28, § 1 'dixeramus': iv. 27, § 2 'demonstraveram.'

§ 2. **eos.** Though the Belgae are the subject of 'vererentur,' yet Caesar is the main subject, so that the Belgae are here viewed from without. Cp. 15, § 4.

atque inveterascere in Gallia moleste ferebant, partim qui mobilitate et levitate animi novis imperiis studebant;
ab nonnullis etiam, quod in Gallia a potentioribus atque 4
iis, qui ad conducendos homines facultates habebant, vulgo regna occupabantur, qui minus facile eam rem imperio nostro consequi poterant.

Caesar sends two new legions into Gaul and himself joins the army.

His nuntiis litterisque commotus Caesar duas legiones **2**
in citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit et inita aestate, in interiorem Galliam qui deduceret, Quintum Pedium
legatum misit. Ipse, cum primum pabuli copia esse 2
inciperet, ad exercitum venit. Dat negotium Senonibus 3
reliquisque Gallis, qui finitimi Belgis erant, uti ea, quae apud eos gerantur, cognoscant seque de his rebus certi-
orem faciant. Hi constanter omnes nuntiaverunt manus 4
cogi, exercitum in unum locum conduci. Tum vero 5
dubitandum non existimavit, quin ad eos proficisceretur.
Re frumentaria comparata castra movet diebusque cir- 6
citer quindecim ad fines Belgarum pervenit.

Surrender of the Remi.

Eo cum de improviso celeriusque omni opinione **3**
venisset, Remi, qui proximi Galliae ex Belgis sunt, ad eum legatos Iccium et Andecumborium, primos civitatis,
miserunt, qui dicerent se suaque omnia in fidem atque 2
in potestatem populi Romani permittere, neque se cum

§ 3. **inveterascere**, 'obtain a footing.' Cp. v. 41, § 5: C. i. 44, § 3: iii. 110, § 6.

§ 4. **vulgo regna occupabantur.** It was 'the age of tyrants' in Gaul, a stage through which the Greek world had also passed.

2. § 1. **Quintum Pedium.** A nephew or grandnephew of Caesar's through a sister, and one of his heirs. Suet. J. C. 83.

§ 3. **Senonibus.** Their position is marked by Sens in the department of Yonne.

3. § 1. **Remi.** Their capital was Durocortorum, now Reims in the department of Marne.

Galliae, i.e. 'Gallia Celtica.' Cp. i. 1, § 6 'Galliae.'

Iccium. Horace has an ode and an epistle (Carm. i. 29; Epist. i. 12) addressed to a person of this name. We have among ourselves a surname 'Ick.'

§ 2. **se.** This word does double duty both as subject and object of 'permittere.' Cp. v. 20, § 2.

Belgis reliquis consensisse neque contra populum Roma-
3 num coniurasse, paratosque esse et obsides dare et
imperata facere et oppidis recipere et frumento ceteris-
4 que rebus iuvare; reliquos omnes Belgas in armis esse,
Germanosque, qui cis Rhenum incolant, sese cum his
5 coniunxisse, tantumque esse eorum omnium furorem, ut
ne Suessiones quidem, fratres consanguineosque suos,
qui eodem iure et iisdem legibus utantur, unum im-
perium unumque magistratum cum ipsis habeant, deter-
rere potuerint, quin cum his consentirent.

Information about the Belgae.

4 Cum ab his quaereret, quae civitates quantaeque in
armis essent et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat:
'plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis Rhenumque
antiquitus traductos propter loci fertilitatem ibi con-
sedisse Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse solos-
2 que esse, qui patrum nostrorum memoria omni Gallia
vexata Teutonos Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi
3 prohibuerint; qua ex re fieri, uti earum rerum memoria
magnam sibi auctoritatem magnosque spiritus in re
4 militari sumerent. De numero eorum omnia se habere
explorata' Remi dicebant, 'propterea quod propinquitati-
bus affinitatibusque coniuncti, quantam quisque multi-
tudinem in communi Belgarum concilio ad id bellum
5 pollicitus sit, cognoverint. Plurimum inter eos Bello-

§ 5. **Suessiones.** Soissons in the department of Aisne.

4. § 1. **ortos ab Germanis.** Tacitus (Germ. 28) says—'Treveri et Nervii circa affectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tanquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur.'

§ 2. **ingredi prohibuerint.** See iv. 24, § 1 'egredi prohibebant.'

§§ 2, 3. **prohibuerint ... sumerent.** The first is an historic fact, the second a logical consequence. Cp. i. 40, § 7 'superarint . . . potuerint.'

§ 3. **magnosque spiritus . . . sumerent.** Cp. i. 33, § 5 'tantos sibi spiritus . . . sumerat.'

§ 4. **habere explorata.** i. 15, § 1 'coactum habebat.'

communi Belgarum concilio. Cp. i. 30, § 4 'concilium totius Galliae.'

§ 5. **Bellovacos.** The town of Beauvais in the department of Oise is thought to derive its name from this people.

vacos et virtute et auctoritate et hominum numero valere; hos posse conficere armata milia centum, pollicitos ex eo numero electa sexaginta, totiusque belli
imperium sibi postulare. Suessiones suos esse finitimos; 6
latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere. Apud eos 7
fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum, totius Galliae potentissimum, qui cum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit; nunc esse regem Galbam: ad hunc propter iustitiam prudentiamque suam totius belli summam omnium voluntate deferri; oppida habere numero XII, polliceri
milia armata quinquaginta; totidem Nervios, qui maxime 8
feri inter ipsos habeantur longissimeque absint; quin- 9
decim milia Atrebates, Ambianos decem milia, Morinos XXV milia, Menapios VII milia, Caletos X milia, Veliocasses et Veromanduos totidem, Aduatucos decem et

armata milia = 'milia armatorum.'

§ 7. **obtinuerit.** See i. 18, § 9.

§ 8. **Nervios.** About Bavai in the department of Nord, and reaching into what is now called Belgium. The Nervii are stated by Strabo to have been of German origin, and Appian says that they were descended from the Cimbri and Teutoni. See ii. 29, § 4.

§ 9. **Atrebates.** This people lived in what was afterwards the Province of Artois, or the present department of the Pas-de-Calais. The name, according to Professor Rhys, means 'inhabitants, but probably in the special sense of farmers or homestead men,' the Welsh 'tref' being connected with the English 'thorp' and German 'dorf.'

Ambianos. The Ambiani lived on the banks of the Somme. Their name lingers in Amiens, the present name of their capital Samarobriva.

Morinos. In the Pas-de-Calais. The name is connected with 'mor,' the sea: cp. 'Armoricae civitates.' Verg. Aen. viii. 727—

'Extremique hominum Morini.'

Menapios. Between the Schelde and the Meuse.

Caletos. In vii. 75, § 4 nom. pl. 'Caletes.' They lived in the Seine-Inférieure.

Veliocasses. In vii. 75, § 3 we have dat. pl. 'Veliocassis.' See 16, § 2 'Atrebatis.' The Veliocasses lived about Rouen.

Veromanduos. The name of the Veromandui is preserved in Vermand in the department of Aisne.

Aduatucos. The Aduatuci seem to have lived just north of where the Sambre runs into the Meuse.

decem et novem. i. 8, § 1 'decem novem.'

10 novem milia; Condrusos, Eburones, Caeroesos, Paemanos, qui uno nomine Germani appellantur, arbitrari ad XL milia.'

After taking hostages from the Remi and concerting plans with Divitiacus, Caesar encamps on the Axona.

5 Caesar Remos cohortatus liberaliterque oratione prosecutus omnem senatum ad se convenire principumque liberos obsides ad se adduci iussit. Quae omnia ab his
2 diligenter ad diem facta sunt. Ipse Divitiacum Aeduum magnopere cohortatus docet, quanto opere rei publicae communisque salutis intersit manus hostium distineri, ne cum tanta multitudine uno tempore confligendum sit.
3 Id fieri posse, si suas copias Aedui in fines Bellovacorum
4 introduxerint et eorum agros populari coeperint. His mandatis eum ab se dimittit. Postquam omnes Belgarum copias in unum locum coactas ad se venire vidit neque iam longe abesse, ab iis, quos miserat, exploratoribus et ab Remis cognovit, flumen Axonam, quod est in extremis Remorum finibus, exercitum traducere
5 maturavit atque ibi castra posuit. Quae res et latus unum castrorum ripis fluminis muniebat et, post eum quae essent, tuta ab hostibus reddebat et, commeatus ab Remis reliquisque civitatibus ut sine periculo ad eum
6 portari possent, efficiebat. In eo flumine pons erat. Ibi praesidium ponit et in altera parte fluminis Quintum Titurium Sabinum legatum cum sex cohortibus relinquit; castra in altitudinem pedum XII vallo fossaque duodeviginti pedum munire iubet.

§ 10. **Condrusos, &c.** The Condrusi lived on the right bank of the Meuse. Their name still lingers in the district of Condroz near Liége. The Eburones lay north and the Caeroesi and Paemani south of the Condrusi.

5. § 4. **in extremis Remorum finibus.** The Aisne did not form their boundary, but was in a remote part of their territory, which is what the words signify.

§ 6. **duodeviginti pedum,** '18 feet wide.' Jules César (vol. ii. p. 119 *n.*, Eng. trans.)—'The excavations undertaken in 1862, by bringing to light the fosses of the camp, showed that they were 18 feet wide, with a depth of 9 or 10.'

The Belgae attack Bibrax.

Ab his castris oppidum Remorum nomine Bibrax 6 aberat milia passuum octo. Id ex itinere magno impetu Belgae oppugnare coeperunt. Aegre eo die sustentatum est. Gallorum eadem atque Belgarum oppugnatio 2 est haec. Ubi circumiecta multitudine hominum totis moenibus undique in murum lapides iaci coepti sunt murusque defensoribus nudatus est, testudine facta [portas] succedunt murumque subruunt. Quod tum 3 facile fiebat. Nam cum tanta multitudo lapides ac tela conicerent, in muro consistendi potestas erat nulli. Cum finem oppugnandi nox fecisset, Iccius Remus, 4 summa nobilitate et gratia inter suos, qui tum oppido praefuerat, unus ex iis, qui legati de pace ad Caesarem venerant, nuntium ad eum mittit: 'nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse.'

Mode of siege among the Gauls and Belgians.

Relief of Bibrax.

Eo de media nocte Caesar iisdem ducibus usus, qui 7 nuntii ab Iccio venerant, Numidas et Cretas sagittarios et funditores Baleares subsidio oppidanis mittit; quorum 2 adventu et Remis cum spe defensionis studium propugnandi accessit, et hostibus eadem de causa spes

6. § 1. **Bibrax.** Not to be confounded with the Aeduan stronghold Bibracte (i. 23, § 1). There is much difference of opinion as to the exact site of Bibrax. Napoleon III locates it on the mountain of Vieux-Laon.

§ 2. **moenibus . . . murum,** 'town . . . wall.' Verg. Aen. ii. 234—

'Dividimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis.'

testudine facta. The term 'testudo,' as here used, means a roof of shields which the soldiers formed by locking them together above their heads, so as to protect themselves against missiles in approaching a wall. The device is described by Livy (xxxiv. 39) with his usual vividness—'Sublatis deinde supra capita scutis, continuatisque ita inter se, ut non modo ad caecos ictus, sed ne ad inferendum quidem ex propinquo telum, loci quidquam esset, testudine facta subibant.' See also Liv. xliv. 9: D. C. xlix. 30.

7. § 1. **de media nocte,** 'after midnight.' See i. 12, § 2 'de tertia vigilia.' So in Greek *ἀφ' ἑσπέρας*, Thuc. vii. 29: D. C. xl. 6, § 1.

funditores Baleares. The story went that the Balearian boys were allowed no food by their mothers, unless they brought it down with their slings. Veget. i. 16: Flor. i. 43, § 5: Liv. xxviii. 37, § 6.

3 potiundi oppidi discessit. Itaque paulisper apud oppidum morati agrosque Remorum depopulati omnibus vicis aedificiisque, quos adire potuerant, incensis ad castra Caesaris omnibus copiis contenderunt et ab 4 milibus passuum minus duobus castra posuerunt; quae castra, ut fumo atque ignibus significabatur, amplius milibus passuum octo in latitudinem patebant.

The Belgae encamp within two miles of Caesar.

8 Caesar primo et propter multitudinem hostium et propter eximiam opinionem virtutis proelio supersedere 2 statuit; cotidie tamen equestribus proeliis, quid hostis virtute posset et quid nostri auderent, periclitabatur. 3 Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris ad aciem instruendam natura opportuno atque idoneo, quod is collis, ubi castra posita erant, paululum ex planicie editus tantum adversus in latitudinem patebat, quantum loci acies instructa occupare poterat, atque ex utraque parte lateris deiectus habebat et in frontem leniter fastigatus paulatim ad planiciem redibat, ab utroque latere eius collis transversam fossam obduxit

Strong position occupied by Caesar.

§ 3. **ab milibus passuum minus duobus**, 'less than two miles off.' Cp. 30, § 3 'ab tanto spatio': iv. 22, § 4 'a milibus passuum octo': v. 32, § 1 'a milibus passuum circiter duobus': vi. 7, § 3 'a milibus passuum xv': viii. 36, § 12 'a milibus non amplius xii.'

8. § 1. **opinionem virtutis**, 'reputation for courage.' Cp. 24, § 4: iii. 17, § 6: iv. 16, § 7: v. 54, § 5, where it corresponds to our 'prestige': vi. 24, § 3: vii. 59, § 4; 83, § 4: viii. 8, § 2. In all these passages 'opinio' means the impression produced by someone on other people. This meaning is most strongly brought out in such passages as iii. 17, § 6; 25, § 1, where it has to be rendered 'impression.'

§ 3. **Ubi nostros, &c.** The formal apodosis in this long sentence comes in at 'obduxit,' but the real apodosis is further off still, since 'legiones . . . in acie constituit' in § 5 is intended to be contrasted with 'proelio supersedere statuit' in § 1.

ab utroque latere. According to Napoleon III both fosses were on the right of Caesar's army (which was protected in front and on the left by the marshes of a small stream called the Miette), but one was before and the other behind the camp. This view, it is claimed, is supported by the evidence of excavations: but 'lateribus' in § 4 seems to go against it.

eius collis. 'Collis' is repeated from 'is collis' because of the number of words that have intervened. Cp. i. 35, § 4 'sese . . . se.'

circiter passuum quadringentorum, et ad extremas fossas 4
castella constituit ibique tormenta collocavit, ne, cum
aciem instruxisset, hostes, quod tantum multitudine
poterant, ab lateribus pugnantes suos circumvenire
possent. Hoc facto duabus legionibus, quas proxime 5
conscripserat, in castris relictis, ut, si quo opus esset,
subsidio duci possent, reliquas sex legiones pro castris
in acie constituit. Hostes item suas copias ex castris
eductas instruxerant.

Palus erat non magna inter nostrum atque hostium 9
exercitum. Hanc si nostri transirent, hostes exspecta-
bant; nostri autem, si ab illis initium transeundi fieret,
ut impeditos aggrederentur, parati in armis erant. In- 2
terim proelio equestri inter duas acies contendebatur.
Ubi neutri transeundi initium faciunt, secundiore equi-

The Belgae repulsed in an attempt to cross the Axona.

tum proelio nostris, Caesar suos in castra reduxit. Hostes 3
protinus ex eo loco ad flumen Axonam contenderunt,
quod esse post nostra castra demonstratum est. Ibi 4
vadis repertis partem suarum copiarum traducere conati
sunt eo consilio, ut, si possent, castellum, cui praeerat
Quintus Titurius legatus, expugnarent pontemque inter-
scinderent; si minus potuissent, agros Remorum popu- 5
larentur, qui magno nobis usui ad bellum gerendum
erant, commeatuque nostros prohiberent.

Caesar certior factus ab Titurio omnem equitatum 10
et levis armaturae Numidas, funditores sagittariosque

9. § 1. **si nostri transirent**, 'in case our men should cross.' So in C. ii. 34, § 1 'Hanc (vallem) uterque, si adversariorum copiae transire conarentur, exspectabat': ib. iii. 85, § 1 'exspectans, si iniquis locis Caesar se subiceret'; Sall. Jug. 47, § 2 'huc consul simul temptandi gratia, et si paterentur opportunitates loci, praesidium imposuit.' Cp. i. 8, § 4 'si . . . conati.'

§ 4. **castellum.** 5, § 6.

10. § 1. **levis armaturae Numidas.** Descriptive gen., 'light-armed Numidians.' Cp. 24, § 1: vii. 80, § 3 'expeditosque levis armaturae.' 'Armatura' means properly 'mode of equipment.' It is so used in Al. 34, § 3 and 68, § 4 'armatura disciplinaque nostra'; in Af. 59, § 3 it

2 pontem traducit atque ad eos contendit. Acriter in eo loco pugnatum est. Hostes impeditos nostri in flumine
3 aggressi magnum eorum numerum occiderunt; per eorum corpora reliquos audacissime transire conantes multitudine telorum reppulerunt; primos, qui trans-
4 ierant, equitatu circumventos interfecerunt. Hostes ubi et de expugnando oppido et de flumine transeundo spem se fefellisse intellexerunt neque nostros in locum iniquiorem progredi pugnandi causa viderunt, atque ipsos res frumentaria deficere coepit, consilio convocato constituerunt optimum esse domum suam quemque reverti et, quorum in fines primum Romani exercitum introduxissent, ad eos defendendos undique convenirent, ut potius in suis quam in alienis finibus decertarent et
5 domesticis copiis rei frumentariae uterentur. Ad eam sententiam cum reliquis causis haec quoque ratio eos deduxit, quod Divitiacum atque Aeduos finibus Bellovacorum appropinquare cognoverant. His persuaderi, ut diutius morarentur neque suis auxilium ferrent, non poterat.

They determine to return home.

11 Ea re constituta secunda vigilia magno cum strepitu ac tumultu castris egressi nullo certo ordine neque

Caesar harasses their retreat

has become concrete and admits of a pl., 'armaturas leves.'

§ 3. **per eorum corpora.** Plutarch (Caes. 20) improves upon this by saying that Caesar slaughtered the Belgae to such an extent that marshes and deep rivers could be crossed by the Romans owing to the multitude of corpses. Appian (De Reb. Gall. 4) is more moderate—*τοσούτους ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς τὸν ποταμὸν γεφυρωθέντα τοῖς σώμασι περάσαι.* Caesar's object in this passage, on which both the others are founded, is to extol the courage of the enemy, not the magnitude of his own victory, which is shown by 11, § 2 not to have been decisive.

§ 4. **consilio convocato.** 'Concilium' always means 'council,' but 'consilium' may mean either 'council' or 'counsel.' Cp. iii. 3, §§ 1 and 4.

convenirent. This should be 'convenire,' and, if Caesar wrote it, must be put down to bad grammar.

§ 5. **His**, sc. 'Bellovacis.'

neque suis, &c., 'instead of bringing help to those at home.'

with his cavalry.

imperio, cum sibi quisque primum itineris locum peteret et domum pervenire properaret, fecerunt, ut consimilis fugae profectio videretur. Hac re statim Caesar per 2
speculatores cognita insidias veritus, quod, qua de causa discederent, nondum perspexerat, exercitum equitatumque castris continuit. Prima luce confirmata re ab 3
exploratoribus omnem equitatum, qui novissimum agmen moraretur, praemisit. His Quintum Pedium et Lucium Aurunculeium Cottam legatos praefecit. Titum Labienum legatum cum legionibus tribus subsequi iussit. Hi 4
novissimos adorti et multa milia passuum prosecuti magnam multitudinem eorum fugientium conciderunt, cum ab extremo agmine, ad quos ventum erat, consisterent fortiterque impetum nostrorum militum sustinerent, priores, quod abesse a periculo viderentur 5
neque ulla necessitate neque imperio continerentur, exaudito clamore perturbatis ordinibus omnes in fuga sibi praesidium ponerent. Ita sine ullo periculo tantam 6
eorum multitudinem nostri interfecerunt, quantum fuit diei spatium, sub occasumque solis destiterunt seque in castra, ut erat imperatum, receperunt.

Surrender of the Suessiones.

Postridie eius diei Caesar, priusquam se hostes ex 12
terrore ac fuga reciperent, in fines Suessionum, qui proximi Remis erant, exercitum duxit et magno itinere

11. § 3. **Cottam.** Cotta wrote a treatise in Greek on the constitution of the Romans. Athen. vi. 273 b. Cp. v. 8, § 6 'amplius octingentae.'

§ 5. **quod . . . viderentur.** The subjunctive here is due merely to the fact that the clause upon which this depends, '(cum) priores . . . praesidium ponerent,' is in the subjunctive.

§ 6. **sub occasumque.** A preposition like 'sub' is too light to bear the weight of the enclitic, which is accordingly attached to the following word. Cp. ii. 35, § 4 'ob easque res': vii. 1, § 1 'de senatusque consulto.' Af. 64, § 1 'in Africamque.' This is the regular usage in Latin. The enclitic, however, is sometimes appended to 'in,' 'de,' and 'ex.' Thus in v. 36, § 2 we have 'inque eam rem,' in vii. 45, § 2 'deque his'; in C. ii. 9, § 7 'exque ea contignatione.' See v. 36, § 2 'inque eam rem.'

2 confecto ad oppidum Noviodunum contendit. Id ex itinere oppugnare conatus, quod vacuum ab defensoribus esse audiebat, propter latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem paucis defendentibus expugnare non potuit.
3 Castris munitis vineas agere, quaeque ad oppugnandum
4 usui erant, comparare coepit. Interim omnis ex fuga Suessionum multitudo in oppidum proxima nocte con-
5 venit. Celeriter vineis ad oppidum actis, aggere iacto turribusque constitutis magnitudine operum, quae neque viderant ante Galli neque audierant, et celeritate Romanorum permoti legatos ad Caesarem de deditione mittunt et petentibus Remis, ut conservarentur, impetrant.

13 Caesar obsidibus acceptis primis civitatis atque ipsius Galbae regis duobus filiis armisque omnibus ex oppido traditis in deditionem Suessiones accepit exercitumque
2 in Bellovacos ducit. Qui cum se suaque omnia in Surrender of the Bellovaci.
oppidum Bratuspantium contulissent, atque ab eo oppido Caesar cum exercitu circiter milia passuum quinque abesset, omnes maiores natu ex oppido egressi manus ad Caesarem tendere et voce significare coeperunt, sese in eius fidem ac potestatem venire neque contra populum
3 Romanum armis contendere. Item, cum ad oppidum

12. § 1. **Noviodunum.** Soissons (=Suessiones). '-dunum' is akin to the Welsh 'din,' a town or fortress.

§ 2. **vacuum ab defensoribus.** The constr. of 'vacuus' with 'ab' is much rarer than with the simple ablative. Cp. however viii. 46, § 4 'ne qua pars Galliae vacua ab exercitu esset': C. i. 31, § 1 'vacuas ab imperiis.'

§ 3. **vineas.** The 'vineae' are described by Vegetius (iv. 15) as wooden sheds under cover of which the Roman soldiers undermined the walls of a city. Their dimensions are given as 8 feet broad, 7 feet high, and 16 feet long. They were strengthened in various ways and protected against fire by a covering of raw hides. Vegetius mentions that in his own time they were called by the soldiers 'causiae.' See *καυσία* in L. and S.

13. § 2. **Bratuspantium.** This place is generally identified with Breteuil in the north of the department of Oise, though Göler prefers the neighbouring Montdidier in the Somme.

accessisset castraque ibi poneret, pueri mulieresque ex
muro passis manibus suo more pacem ab Romanis
petierunt.

Divitiacus pleads for them.

Pro his Divitiacus (nam post discessum Belgarum 14
dimissis Aeduorum copiis ad eum reverterat) facit verba:
'Bellovacos omni tempore in fide atque amicitia civitatis 2
Aeduae fuisse; impulsos ab suis principibus, qui dicerent 3
Aeduos a Caesare in servitutem redactos omnes indig-
nitates contumeliasque perferre, et ab Aeduis defecisse
et populo Romano bellum intulisse. Qui eius consilii 4
principes fuissent, quod intellegerent, quantam calami-
tatem civitati intulissent, in Britanniam profugisse.
Petere non solum Bellovacos, sed etiam pro his Aeduos, 5
ut sua clementia ac mansuetudine in eos utatur. Quod 6
si fecerit, Aeduorum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas
amplificaturum; quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua
bella inciderint, sustentare consuerint.'

Caesar honoris Divitiaci atque Aeduorum causa sese 15
eos in fidem recepturum et conservaturum dixit; quod
erat civitas magna inter Belgas auctoritate atque homi-
num multitudine praestabat, sexcentos obsides poposcit.

Surrender of the Ambiani.

His traditis omnibusque armis ex oppido collatis ab eo 2
loco in fines Ambianorum pervenit, qui se suaque omnia

Manners of the Nervii.

sine mora dediderunt. Eorum fines Nervii attingebant; 3
quorum de natura moribusque Caesar cum quaereret,
sic reperiebat: nullum aditum esse ad eos mercatoribus; 4
nihil pati vini reliquarumque rerum ad luxuriam per-
tinentium inferri, quod iis rebus relanguescere animos

14. § 5. **sua clementia ac mansuetudine.** Cp. 28, § 3; 31, § 4; 32, § 1: viii. 38, § 5; 44, § 1.

15. § 1. **honoris . . . causa.** A constantly recurring formula of politeness in the stately manners of the Romans (cp. Cic. Brut. § 86: Rosc. Com. § 18: Rosc. Am. § 6). For the respect shown by Caesar to Divitiacus, cp. i. 20, § 6.

§ 4. **vini.** Cp. iv. 2, § 6.

[eorum] et remitti virtutem existimarent; esse homines feros magnaeque virtutis; increpitare atque incusare reliquos Belgas, qui se populo Romano dedidissent patriamque virtutem proiecissent; confirmare sese neque legatos missuros neque ullam condicionem pacis accepturos.

Caesar approaches the Nervii and their allies.

16 Cum per eorum fines triduum iter fecisset, inveniebat
ex captivis Sabim flumen ab castris suis non amplius
2 milia passuum X abesse: trans id flumen omnes Nervios
consedisse adventumque ibi Romanorum exspectare
una cum Atrebatis et Veromanduis, finitimis suis (nam
his utrisque persuaserant, uti eandem belli fortunam
3 experirentur); exspectari etiam ab his Aduatucorum
4 copias atque esse in itinere; mulieres quique per aetatem
ad pugnam inutiles viderentur in eum locum coniecisse,
quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset.

The Belgians and Gauls in his camp inform the Nervii how they may best attack him.

17 His rebus cognitis exploratores centurionesque prae-
2 mittit, qui locum idoneum castris deligant. Cum ex
dediticiis Belgis reliquisque Gallis complures Caesarem
secuti una iter facerent, quidam ex his, ut postea ex
captivis cognitum est, eorum dierum consuetudine

16. § 1. **non amplius,** &c. Caesar almost always uses the acc. of distance (we have an exception in vi. 35, § 6), but it is often deflected into the abl. by the presence of a comparative such as 'amplius,' e.g. in i. 22, § 1; 23, § 1. Here we have an instance where the tendency has been resisted.

§ 2. **Atrebatis.** In 4, § 9 'Atrebates'; in iv. 21, § 7; vii. 75, § 3 'Atrebatibus.' Heteroclite forms are frequent in the case of proper names, but besides this there seems to be a tendency to avoid the heavy Latin ending in '-ibus' in the case of foreign words. Thus, while we have acc. pl. 'Veliocasses' in 4, § 9 and viii. 7, § 4, we have dat. pl. 'Veliocassis' in vii. 75, § 3. So in the case of Greek nouns, e.g. 'poematis,' abl. pl. (Cic. De Off. iii. § 15), 'peristromatis' (Phil. ii. § 67), 'epigrammatis' (Ad Att. i. 16, § 15).

his utrisque. Different from the case spoken of under i. 53, § 4, the pl. of 'uterque' being usual where two sets of people or things are to be indicated.

§ 4. **eum locum.** Napoleon III (vol. ii. p. 128) identifies this place with Mons, which is 'seated on a hill completely surrounded by low marshes, traversed by the sinuous courses of the Haine and the Trouille.'

17. § 2. **eorum . . . perspecta.**

itineris nostri exercitus perspecta, nocte ad Nervios
pervenerunt atque his demonstrarunt, inter singulas
legiones impedimentorum magnum numerum intercedere,
neque esse quicquam negotii, cum prima legio in castra
venisset, reliquaeque legiones magnum spatium abessent,
hanc sub sarcinis adoriri; qua pulsa impedimentisque 3
direptis futurum, ut reliquae contra consistere non

Hedges among the Nervii.

auderent. Adiuvabat etiam eorum consilium, qui rem 4
deferebant, quod Nervii antiquitus, cum equitatu nihil
possent (neque enim ad hoc tempus ei rei student, sed,
quicquid possunt, pedestribus valent copiis), quo facilius
finitimorum equitatum, si praedandi causa ad eos venissent,
impedirent, teneris arboribus incisis atque inflexis
crebrisque in latitudinem ramis enatis et rubis sentibusque
interiectis effecerant, ut instar muri hae saepes
munimenta praeberent, quo non modo non intrari, sed
ne perspici quidem posset. His rebus cum iter agminis 5
nostri impediretur, non omittendum sibi consilium
Nervii existimaverunt.

Ground selected for Caesar's camp.

Loci natura erat haec, quem locum nostri castris 18
delegerant. Collis ab summo aequaliter declivis ad
flumen Sabim, quod supra nominavimus, vergebat. Ab 2
eo flumine pari acclivitate collis nascebatur adversus
huic et contrarius, passus circiter ducentos infimus

Here we have three genitives depending on one noun—'consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus eorum dierum.' The first is a genitive of definition, the second a subjective genitive, the third a genitive of time. For the last, cp. iii. 18, § 6 'superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio': C. i. 7, § 1 'omnium temporum ininrias inimicorum.'

sub sarcinis. Cp. i. 24, § 3 'sarcinas.'

§ 4. **non modo non.** As the verb ('posset') is common to both clauses, and not expressed until the last, the second 'non' might have been suppressed here, as it is in iii. 4, § 1.

18. § 1. **declivis.** 'Declivis' means 'sloping down,' 'acclivis' 'sloping np' (vii. 19, § 1). From the former we have the abstract 'declivitas' in vii. 85, § 4, and from the latter 'acclivitas' in the next section of this chapter.

supra. 16, § 1.

apertus, ab superiore parte silvestris, ut non facile in-
3 trorsus perspici posset. Intra eas silvas hostes in occulto sese continebant; in aperto loco secundum flumen paucae stationes equitum videbantur. Fluminis erat altitudo pedum circiter trium.

19 Caesar equitatu praemisso subsequebatur omnibus copiis; sed ratio ordoque agminis aliter se habebat, ac Battle on the Sabis with the Nervii, Atrebates, and Veromandui.
2 Belgae ad Nervios detulerant. Nam quod ad hostes appropinquabat, consuetudine sua Caesar sex legiones expeditas ducebat; post eas totius exercitus impedi-
3 menta collocarat; inde duae legiones, quae proxime conscriptae erant, totum agmen claudebant praesidioque
4 impedimentis erant. Equites nostri cum funditoribus sagittariisque flumen transgressi cum hostium equitatu
5 proelium commiserunt. Cum se illi identidem in silvas ad suos reciperent ac rursus ex silva in nostros impetum facerent, neque nostri longius, quam quem ad finem porrecta loca aperta pertinebant, cedentes insequi auderent, interim legiones sex, quae primae venerant, opere
6 dimenso castra munire coeperunt. Ubi prima impedimenta nostri exercitus ab iis, qui in silvis abditi latebant, visa sunt, quod tempus inter eos committendi proelii convenerat, ut intra silvas aciem ordinesque constituerant atque ipsi sese confirmaverant, subito omnibus copiis provolaverunt impetumque in nostros equites fecerunt.
7 His facile pulsis ac proturbatis incredibili celeritate ad flumen decucurrerunt, ut paene uno tempore et ad silvas et in flumine et iam in manibus nostris viderentur.

19. § 3. **duae legiones.** 2, § 1.

§ 5. **quem ad finem, &c.** This only means 'as far as the open ground extended.'

§ 6. **ut . . . confirmaverant.** 'Ut' is used in a slightly different sense with the two verbs 'constituerant' and 'confirmaverant.' Translate 'in the order in which they had drawn up their line and ranks within the woods, and as they had encouraged each other to do.'

Eadem autem celeritate adverso colle ad nostra castra 8
atque eos, qui in opere occupati erant, contenderunt.

Caesari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum **20**
proponendum [quod erat insigne, cum ad arma concurri oporteret], signum tuba dandum, ab opere revocandi milites, qui paulo longius aggeris petendi causa processerant arcessendi, acies instruenda, milites cohortandi, signum dandum. Quarum rerum magnam partem tem- 2
poris brevitas et successus hostium impediebat. His 3
difficultatibus duae res erant subsidio, scientia atque usus militum, quod superioribus proeliis exercitati, quid fieri oporteret, non minus commode ipsi sibi praescribere, quam ab aliis doceri poterant, et quod ab opere singulisque legionibus singulos legatos Caesar discedere nisi munitis castris vetuerat. Hi propter propinquitatem 4
et celeritatem hostium nihil iam Caesaris imperium exspectabant, sed per se, quae videbantur, administrabant.

Caesar necessariis rebus imperatis ad cohortandos **21**
milites, quam in partem fors obtulit, decucurrit et ad

20. § 1. vexillum proponendum. A red flag floating over the general's tent was the signal for battle among the Romans. Plutarch (Fab. Max. 15) says of Varro at Cannae—*ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς μάχης σημεῖον ἐξέθηκεν (ἔστι δὲ χιτὼν κόκκινος ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατηγικῆς σκηνῆς διατεινόμενος)*; cp. Brut. 40, where he speaks of *σύμβολον ἀγῶνος φοινικοῦς χιτών*. With the present passage cp. C. iii. 89, § 4, 'se, cum id fieri vellet, vexillo signum daturum': Al. 45, § 3.

signum dandum. The red flag and the trumpet-call were premonitory signals, the one for the eye and the other for the ear, but it still remained for the general to give the order to engage, which is mentioned in 21, § 3 as being actually done. Cp. i. 52, § 3 'signo dato': iii. 4, § 1 'signo dato'; 5, § 3 'dato signo,' 19, § 2 'signum dat.' There is probably no allusion to the tessera or watchword (see H. 36, § 5), though that too is often called 'signum,' e.g. Tac. Hist. iii. 22—'crebris interrogationibus notum pugnae signum.'

§ 2. **successus**, '"successus" is the approach of the enemy up the hill. "Succedere" is Caesar's usual word in such cases.' Long. Cp. i. 25, § 6 'Capto monte et succedentibus nostris.' So 'subducere' of drawing up hill, i. 22, § 3, 24, § 1; 'subire' of coming up hill, ii. 25, § 1, 27, § 5.

§ 3. **singulos legatos.** i. 52, § 1.

2 legionem decimam devenit. Milites non longiore ora-
tione cohortatus, quam uti suae pristinae virtutis memo-
riam retinerent neu perturbarentur animo hostiumque
3 impetum fortiter sustinerent, quod non longius hostes
aberant, quam quo telum adigi posset, proelii com-
4 mittendi signum dedit. Atque in alteram partem
item cohortandi causa profectus pugnantibus occurrit.
5 Temporis tanta fuit exiguitas hostiumque tam paratus
ad dimicandum animus, ut non modo ad insignia ac-
commodanda, sed etiam ad galeas induendas scutisque
6 tegimenta detrudenda tempus defuerit. Quam quisque
ab opere in partem casu devenit quaeque prima signa
conspexit, ad haec constitit, ne in quaerendis suis
pugnandi tempus dimitteret.

22 Instructo exercitu, magis ut loci natura deiectusque
collis et necessitas temporis, quam ut rei militaris ratio
atque ordo postulabat, cum, diversis legionibus, aliae
alia in parte hostibus resisterent, saepibusque densissi-
mis, ut ante demonstravimus, interiectis prospectus
impediretur, neque certa subsidia collocari neque, quid
in quaque parte opus esset, provideri neque ab uno omnia
2 imperia administrari poterant. Itaque in tanta rerum
iniquitate fortunae quoque eventus varii sequebantur.

21. § 3. **adigi.** MSS. 'adici.' But the word has been altered here and in iii. 13, § 8; 14, § 4 on the suggestion of Madvig.

§ 5. **insignia.** i. 22, § 2. Caesar speaks of 'fitting on the devices'—to the helmets it would appear. Vegetius tells us that the soldiers of each cohort had a distinctive mark painted upon their shields, which they called in his time 'digmata.'

§ 6. **dimitteret,** 'throw away.' The word has the sense of losing through one's own act. Cp. vi. 12, § 6 ad fin.; 37, § 10, 'ne tantam fortunam ex manibus dimittant': vii. 52, § 2: viii. 5, § 1.

22. § 1. **diversis legionibus, aliae, &c.,** 'seeing that, as the legions were facing different ways, some were resisting the foe in one part and some in another.' We have here an abl. abs. referring to the subject of the sentence, where the same sense could have been expressed by the nom. Kraner's text has 'diversae legiones.'

ante. 17, § 4.

Checkered fortunes of the field.

Legionis nonae et decimae milites, ut in sinistra parte 23
acie constiterant, pilis emissis cursu ac lassitudine exanimatos vulneribusque confectos Atrebates (nam his ea pars obvenerat) celeriter ex loco superiore in flumen compulerunt et transire conantes insecuti gladiis magnam partem eorum impeditam interfecerunt. Ipsi trans- 2
ire flumen non dubitaverunt et in locum iniquum progressi rursus resistentes hostes redintegrato proelio in fugam coniecerunt. Item alia in parte diversae duae 3
legiones, undecima et octava, profligatis Veromanduis, quibuscum erant congressi, ex loco superiore in ipsis fluminis ripis proeliabantur. At totis fere a fronte et 4
ab sinistra parte nudatis castris, cum in dextro cornu legio duodecima et non magno ab ea intervallo septima constitisset, omnes Nervii confertissimo agmine duce 5
Boduognato, qui summam imperii tenebat, ad eum locum contenderunt; quorum pars aperto latere legiones circumvenire, pars summum castrorum locum petere coepit.

Eodem tempore equites nostri levisque armaturae 24
pedites, qui cum iis una fuerant, quos primo hostium impetu pulsos dixeram, cum se in castra reciperent, adversis hostibus occurrebant ac rursus aliam in partem fugam petebant, et calones, qui ab decumana porta ac 2

23. § 1. **acie.** This form of the gen. occurs only here in Caesar. But cp. Af. 51, § 6 'pars acie.' Sallust has in one passage 'die vesper' and in another 'diei vesper' (Jug. 52 and 106). Aulus Gellius (ix. 14, § 25) records Caesar's own verdict that the gen. of the fifth decl. should be in -e—'Sed C. Caesar in libro de analogia secundo "huius die" et "huius specie" dicendum putat.'

§ 5. **summum castrorum locum,** 'the highest ground where the camp stood.'

24. § 1. **dixeram.** 19, § 7. For the tense cp. 1, § 1 'dixeramus.'

§ 2. **calones.** Festus (Müller, p. 62)—'Calones militum servi dicti, quia ligneas clavas gerebant, quae Graeci κᾶλα vocant.' Servius (on Verg. Aen. vi. 1) corroborates this derivation, saying—'"Calas" enim dicebant maiores nostri fustes quos portabant servi sequentes dominos ad proelium: unde etiam "calones" dicebantur.' At a later period the 'lixae' and 'calones' were known as 'galiarii.' Veget. i. 10 and iii. 6.

decumana porta. The decuman

summo iugo collis nostros victores flumen transisse conspexerant, praedandi causa egressi, cum respexissent et hostes in nostris castris versari vidissent, praecipites
3 fugae sese mandabant. Simul eorum, qui cum impedimentis veniebant, clamor fremitusque oriebatur, aliique
4 aliam in partem perterriti ferebantur. Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites Treveri, quorum inter Gallos virtutis opinio est singularis, qui auxilii causa a civitate ad Caesarem missi venerant, cum multitudine hostium castra compleri, nostras legiones premi et paene circumventas teneri, calones, equites, funditores, Numidas diversos dissipatosque in omnes partes fugere vidissent,
5 desperatis nostris rebus domum contenderunt; Romanos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque eorum hostes potitos civitati renuntiaverunt.

The cavalry of the Treviri return home in despair.

25 Caesar ab decimae legionis cohortatione ad dextrum cornu profectus, ubi suos urgeri signisque in unum locum collatis duodecimae legionis confertos milites sibi ipsos ad pugnam esse impedimento vidit, quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis signiferoque interfecto, signo amisso, reliquarum cohortium omnibus fere centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis, in his primipilo

Caesar, by his own exertions, prevents an impending defeat,

gate was in the rear of the praetorium or general's quarters. It was through it that offending soldiers were led out to punishment. Opposite to it was the 'porta praetoria,' which either faced the east or the enemy or the direction in which the march was to be continued. Veget. i. 23.

§ 4. **opinio.** See ii. 8, § 1 'opinionem virtutis.'

25. § 1. **ab decimae, &c.** This carries us back to 21, §§ 1, 2.

duodecimae. 23, § 4.

vidit . . . vidit. This repetition of the verb is due to the extreme length of the protasis. The bare scheme of the sentence is as follows —'Caesar . . . ubi . . . rem esse in angusto vidit, . . . processit': but strokes of detail are added as the picture grows, until the whole becomes a crowded battle-piece with Caesar advancing to the front as its central figure. Cp. i. 35, § 4 'sese . . . se.'

occisis . . . interfecto. Mere synonyms are generally avoided by Latin writers.

primipilo. The 'centurio primi pili' was a very important officer, who had the command of 400 men in the front rank. Veget. ii. 8.

P. Sextio Baculo, fortissimo viro, multis gravibusque vulneribus confecto ut iam se sustinere non posset, reliquos esse tardiores et nonnullos novissimos deserto proelio excedere ac tela vitare, hostes neque a fronte ex inferiore loco subeuntes intermittere et ab utroque latere instare, et rem esse in angusto vidit neque ullum esse subsidium, quod submitti posset: scuto [ab novissimis uni] militi 2
detracto [quod ipse eo sine scuto venerat] in primam aciem processit centurionibusque nominatim appellatis reliquos cohortatus milites signa inferre et manipulos laxare iussit, quo facilius gladiis uti possent. Cuius 3
adventu spe illata militibus ac redintegrato animo, cum pro se quisque in conspectu imperatoris etiam in extremis suis rebus operam navare cuperet, paulum hostium impetus tardatus est.

Caesar, cum septimam legionem, quae iuxta con- **26**
stiterat, item urgeri ab hoste vidisset, tribunos militum monuit, ut paulatim sese legiones coniungerent et conversa signa in hostes inferrent. Quo facto cum alius alii 2
subsidium ferret, neque timerent, ne aversi ab hoste circumvenirentur, audacius resistere ac fortius pugnare coeperunt. Interim milites legionum duarum, quae in 3
novissimo agmine praesidio impedimentis fuerant, proelio nuntiato cursu incitato in summo colle ab hostibus conspiciebantur, et Titus Labienus castris hostium potitus 4
et ex loco superiore, quae res in nostris castris gererentur, conspicatus decimam legionem subsidio nostris misit. Qui, cum ex equitum et calonum fuga, quo in loco res 5

which is changed into a great victory.

neque . . . et. See iii. 14, § 4 'neque . . . et.'

subeuntes intermittere. The participle as with παύεσθαι in Greek.

§ 2. **scuto, &c.,** 'he seized a shield from one of the soldiers in the rear, having come himself without a shield.' There appears to be no reason for doubting the genuineness of the words in brackets.

26. § 1. **quae iuxta.** See 23, § 4.

§ 3. **duarum.** 19, § 3.

esset quantoque in periculo et castra et legiones et imperator versaretur, cognovissent, nihil ad celeritatem sibi reliqui fecerunt.

27 Horum adventu tanta rerum commutatio est facta, ut nostri etiam qui vulneribus confecti procubuissent, scutis innixi proelium redintegrarent; tum calones perterritos hostes conspicati etiam inermes armatis occurrerunt;
2 equites vero, ut turpitudinem fugae virtute delerent, omnibus in locis pugnant, quo se legionariis militibus
3 praeferrent. At hostes etiam in extrema spe salutis tantam virtutem praestiterunt, ut, cum primi eorum cecidissent, proximi iacentibus insisterent atque ex
4 eorum corporibus pugnarent; his deiectis ac coacervatis cadaveribus, qui superessent, ut ex tumulo tela in
5 nostros conicerent et pila intercepta remitterent: ut non nequiquam tantae virtutis homines iudicari deberet ausos esse transire latissimum flumen, ascendere altissimas ripas, subire iniquissimum locum; quae facilia ex difficillimis animi magnitudo redegerat.

Surrender of the Nervii.

28 Hoc proelio facto et prope ad internecionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto maiores natu, quos una cum

§ 5. **nihil . . . reliqui.** Cp. i. 11, § 5 'nihil . . . reliqui.'

27. § 1. **occurrerunt.** Coordinate with 'rerum commutatio est facta.' *Then* the camp-followers became as brave as lions.

§ 2. **omnibus in locis pugnant,** &c., 'strove in all parts of the field to set themselves in advance of the legionary troops.' 'pugnant,' as historic present, has here the historic sequence; cp. iii. 11, § 5. 'quo' = 'ut.' This sense of 'quo' is more usual where there is a comparative. But cp. viii. 24, § 1 'quae bellum pararet, quo sibi resisteret.'

§ 5. **ut non nequiquam,** &c. Caesar has often been praised for the credit that he accords to his enemies. But we must not forget that there is a subtle rhetorical device called 'ratiocinatio,' which Quintilian (viii. 4, § 20) illustrates thus—'Sic quoque solet ex alio aliud augeri: ut cum Hannibalis bellicis laudibus ampliatur virtus Scipionis, et fortitudinem Gallorum Germanorumque miramur, quo sit maior C. Caesaris gloria.'

§ 5. **quae facilia . . . redegerat.** For the double acc. with 'redigere' cp. iv. 3, § 4—'Hos multo humiliores infirmioresque redegerunt.'

pueris mulieribusque in aestuaria ac paludes coniectos dixeramus, hac pugna nuntiata, cum victoribus nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum arbitrarentur, omnium, qui 2
supererant, consensu legatos ad Caesarem miserunt seque ei dediderunt et in commemoranda civitatis calamitate ex sexcentis ad tres senatores, ex hominum milibus LX vix ad quingentos, qui arma ferre possent, 3
sese redactos esse dixerunt. Quos Caesar, ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur, diligentissime conservavit suisque finibus atque oppidis uti iussit, et finitimis imperavit, ut ab iniuria et maleficio se suosque prohiberent.

The Aduatuci shut themselves up in a stronghold.

Aduatuci, de quibus supra scripsimus, cum omnibus **29**
copiis auxilio Nerviis venirent, hac pugna nuntiata ex itinere domum reverterunt; cunctis oppidis castellisque 2
desertis sua omnia in unum oppidum egregie natura munitum contulerunt. Quod cum ex omnibus in cir- 3
cuitu partibus altissimas rupes deiectusque haberet, una ex parte leniter acclivis aditus in latitudinem non amplius ducentorum pedum relinquebatur; quem locum duplici altissimo muro munierant; tum magni ponderis

28. § 1. **dixeramus.** 16, § 4. For the tense see ii. 1, § 1.

§ 2. **ex sexcentis ad tres, &c.** Plutarch (Caes. 20), while giving Caesar's statement of the number of the slain, makes the full number of senators only 400—*πεντακόσιοι γὰρ ἀπὸ μυριάδων ἓξ σωθῆναι λέγονται, βουλευταὶ δὲ τρεῖς ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων.* Livy (Epit. 104) varies from the former part of Caesar's statement, but agrees with the latter—'quae bellum gessit, donec ex sexaginta millibus armatorum trecenti superessent: ex sexcentis senatoribus tres tantum evaderent.' Hence we may infer that both these authors were quoting Caesar, but that they or their transcribers have erred. It should be observed that Caesar gives the numbers on the faith of the representations made by the Nervii themselves. Their case could not have been quite so pitiable as they made out, since we find them ready to take up arms again three years later (v. 38), and they sent a contingent to Vercingetorix (vii. 75, § 3).

29. § 1. **supra.** 16, § 3. See also 4, § 9.

§ 2. **unum oppidum.** Napoleon III identifies this place with the citadel of Namur: but Göler places it further down the Meuse opposite the town of Huy.

4 saxa et praeacutas trabes in muro collocabant. Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutonisque prognati, qui, cum iter in provinciam nostram atque Italiam facerent, iis impedimentis, quae secum agere ac portare non poterant, citra flumen Rhenum depositis custodiam ex suis ac prae-
5 sidium sex milia hominum una reliquerunt. Hi post eorum obitum multos annos a finitimis exagitati, cum alias bellum inferrent, alias illatum defenderent, consensu eorum omnium pace facta hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt.

30 Ac primo adventu exercitus nostri crebras ex oppido excursiones faciebant parvulisque proeliis cum nostris
2 contendebant; postea vallo pedum XII in circuitu quindecim milium crebrisque castellis circummuniti oppido
3 sese continebant. Ubi vineis actis aggere exstructo turrim procul constitui viderunt, primum irridere ex muro atque increpitare vocibus, quod tanta machinatio
4 ab tanto spatio instrueretur: quibusnam manibus aut quibus viribus praesertim homines tantulae staturae (nam plerumque hominibus Gallis prae magnitudine corporum suorum brevitas nostra contemptui est) tanti oneris turrim in muro sese collocare confiderent?

Effect on their mind of the Roman siege operations.

31 Ubi vero moveri et appropinquare moenibus viderunt,

§ 4. **ex Cimbris Teutonisque.** In the epitome of Appian De Rebus Gallicis, 4, it is said of the Nervii—*ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Κίμβρων καὶ Τευτόνων ἀπόγονοι.*

agere ac portare. 'Agere' of cattle, 'portare' of things that could be carried. Cp. Greek *φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν.*

§ 5. **bellum . . . defenderent.** Cp. i. 44, § 6 'bellum ... defenderit.'

30. § 2. **milium.** Supply 'pedum' from the line before—'by a rampart 12 feet high in a circuit of 15,000 (feet).'

§ 3. **turrim.** Like the 'turris mobilis' described by Livy (xxi. 11, § 7) as having been used by Hannibal at the siege of Saguntum. Compare also the description of the *ἑλέπολις* in Plutarch Demetrius, 21.

machinatio = 'machina' (*μηχανή*), abstract for concrete. Cp. 31, § 2: v. 17, § 4: Sall. J. 92.

ab tanto spatio. 7, § 3.

§ 4. **magnitudine corporum.** The ancient writers are full of allusions to the size of the Gauls and Germans. Af. 40, § 5 'mirifica corpora Gallorum Germanorumque.'

They ask for peace,

nova atque inusitata specie commoti legatos ad Caesarem
de pace miserunt, qui ad hunc modum locuti: 'non 2
existimare Romanos sine ope divina bellum gerere, qui
tantae altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate pro-
movere possent; se suaque omnia eorum potestati per- 3
mittere dixerunt. Unum petere ac deprecari: si forte 4
pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine, quam ipsi ab aliis
audirent, statuisset Aduatucos esse conservandos, ne se
armis despoliaret. Sibi omnes fere finitimos esse inimi- 5
cos ac suae virtuti invidere; a quibus se defendere
traditis armis non possent. Sibi praestare, si in eum 6
casum deducerentur, quamvis fortunam a populo Ro-
mano pati, quam ab his per cruciatum interfici, inter
quos dominari consuessent.'

but are told they must surrender their arms.

Ad haec Caesar respondit: se magis consuetudine **32**
sua quam merito eorum civitatem conservaturum, si
prius, quam murum aries attigisset, se dedidissent; sed 2
deditionis nullam esse condicionem nisi armis traditis.
Se id, quod in Nerviis fecisset, facturum finitimisque
imperaturum, ne quam dediticiis populi Romani iniuriam
inferrent. Re nuntiata ad suos, quae imperarentur, 3
facere dixerunt. Armorum magna multitudine de muro 4
in fossam, quae erat ante oppidum, iacta, sic ut prope
summam muri aggerisque altitudinem acervi armorum
adaequarent, et tamen circiter parte tertia, ut postea
perspectum est, celata atque in oppido retenta, portis
patefactis, eo die pace sunt usi.

Seeming to comply with this demand, they reserve a part,

31. § 3. **dixerunt.** The subject of this is 'qui,' 'locuti' being participial.

§ 4. **quam . . . audirent.** Cp. iii. 27, § 1 'Hac audita pugna.' The acc. is generally confined to audible things.

32. § 2. **dediticiis.** Subst., as in i. 27, § 4; 44, § 5. Adj. in ii. 17, § 2: Al. 9, § 3.

§ 3. **Re nuntiata.** 'After reporting the matter to their countrymen, they asserted that they were carrying out the orders.'

33 Sub vesperum Caesar portas claudi militesque ex
oppido exire iussit, ne quam noctu oppidani a militibus
2 iniuriam acciperent. Illi ante inito, ut intellectum est,
consilio, quod deditione facta nostros praesidia deduc-
turos aut denique indiligentius servaturos crediderant,
partim cum iis, quae retinuerant et celaverant, armis,
partim scutis ex cortice factis aut viminibus intextis,
quae subito, ut temporis exiguitas postulabat, pellibus
induxerant, tertia vigilia, qua minime arduus ad nostras
munitiones ascensus videbatur, omnibus copiis repenti-
3 nam ex oppido eruptionem fecerunt. Celeriter, ut ante
Caesar imperarat, ignibus significatione facta ex proxi-
4 mis castellis eo concursum est, pugnatumque ab hostibus
ita acriter est, ut a viris fortibus in extrema spe salutis
iniquo loco contra eos, qui ex vallo turribusque tela
iacerent, pugnari debuit, cum in una virtute omnis spes
5 salutis consisteret. Occisis ad hominum milibus quat-
6 tuor reliqui in oppidum reiecti sunt. Postridie eius diei
refractis portis, cum iam defenderet nemo, atque intro-
missis militibus nostris sectionem eius oppidi universam
7 Caesar vendidit. Ab iis, qui emerant, capitum numerus
ad eum relatus est milium quinquaginta trium.

and attempt ar escape by night.

They are defeated and sold into slavery.

34 Eodem tempore a Publio Crasso, quem cum legione
una miserat ad Venetos, Venellos, Osismos, Curiosolitas,

Success of Crassus against the

33. § 2. **viminibus intextis**, 'viminibus' depends on 'intextis,' 'woven of osiers.' Cp. iii. 6, § 3 'hostium copiis fusis armisque exutis.'

repentinam. MSS. 'repentino.'

§ 5. **ad hominum milibus.** See i. 29, § 2 'fuerunt.'

§ 6. **sectionem . . . vendidit**, 'sold the whole of that town by auction.' Cp. 'auctionem vendere,' Cic. Pro Quinctio, § 19.

34. § 1. **Venetos, &c.** The Veneti lived in the Morbihan, and have left their name in Vannes; the Venelli, who figure in the MSS. as Unelli, occupied the Cotentin in Manche or that part of the coast of Normandy which faces the Channel Islands; the Osismi were located in Finistère, the Curiosolites in the adjoining department of the Côtes-du-Nord, where we find their name in Corseult; both the name and the position of the Esuvii are uncertain: M. Desjardins locates them in Orne and the west of Calvados.

maritime states.

Esuvios, Aulercos, Redones, quae sunt maritimae civitates Oceanumque attingunt, certior factus est omnes eas civitates in deditionem potestatemque populi Romani esse redactas.

Prestige of the Roman arms.

His rebus gestis omni Gallia pacata tanta huius belli 35
ad barbaros opinio perlata est, uti ab iis nationibus,
quae trans Rhenum incolerent, mitterentur legati ad
Caesarem, qui se obsides daturas, imperata facturas
pollicerentur. Quas legationes Caesar quod in Italiam 2
Illyricumque properabat, inita proxima aestate ad se
reverti iussit. Ipse in Carnutes, Andes, Turones, quaeque 3
civitates propinquae his locis erant, ubi bellum gesserat,
legionibus in hibernacula deductis in Italiam profectus
est. Ob easque res ex litteris Caesaris dies quindecim 4
supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli.

Thanksgiving of fifteen days.

Aulercos. There are three tribes mentioned by Caesar with the prefix of Aulerci, the Brannovices, the Cenomani, and the Eburovices. The Brannovices lay between the Loire and the Saône, and cannot be here intended; the Cenomani lived as far inland as Sarthe: we are therefore thrown back upon the Eburovices as the people who are here referred to. See iii. 17, § 3, 'Aulerci Eburovices.'

Redones. In the department of Ille-et-Vilaine. The city of Rennes derives its name from them.

35. § 2. **Italiam.** i. 10, § 3 'in Italiam.'

Illyricumque. Cp. i. 10, § 3 'Aquileiam': iii. 7, § 1.

§ 3. **Carnutes.** About Orléans on the Loire. Their chief town was Genabum, and their territory was considered to be the centre of all Gaul (vi. 13, § 10).

Andes. In vii. 4, § 6 'Andos.' The Andes dwelt in the province of Anjou, or what is now the department of Maine-et-Loire.

Turones. In vii. 4, § 6 'Turonos.' Tours in the department of Indre-et-Loire, and the old province of Touraine derive their names from this people.

ubi bellum gesserat. The Carnutes, Andes, and Turoni are not particularly near the seat of war in Belgium, so that these words have been referred to the operations of Crassus (cp. i. 12, § 3), but after all Caesar does not say that they were, but that he established winter-quarters among them *and* among the states that *were* near.

§ 4. **Ob easque res.** ii. 11, § 6 'sub occasumque solis.'

dies quindecim supplicatio. Cp. Plutarch, Caes. 21: Suet. Jul. Caes. 24. Cicero (Prov. Cons. § 25) says, 'C. Caesari supplicationes decrevistis, numero ut nemini uno ex bello, honore ut omnino nemini': he was himself among the senators who proposed this extraordinary honour to Caesar. Ibid. § 26 'supplicationem quindecim dierum decrevi sententia mea.'

C. IULII CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

LIBER TERTIUS

B.C. 56

SUMMARY.

THE third book contains four episodes—the attack on Servius Galba, the war with the Armoricans, the campaign of Crassus in Aquitania, and the expedition against the Morini and Menapii. Of these the second is the most important and is recounted at the greatest length. The first really belongs to the campaign of the preceding year (B.C. 57). Its inclusion in the third book gives us ground for believing that the Commentaries were composed year by year. For Caesar evidently postponed the narration of it until he could obtain full information after rejoining his army in the spring of 56. Caesar deemed it of importance to Roman commerce to keep open the pass over the Great St. Bernard[1]. To this end, when he was leaving for Italy, he sent Servius Galba, who had already seen service against the Allobroges, into the Vallis Poenina (le Valais) in command of the twelfth legion and some of the cavalry. Galba had instructions to winter, if he deemed it expedient, among the tribes which dwelt here on the upper course of the Rhône before it flows into the Lake of Geneva. After some successful operations Galba posted two cohorts in the territory of the Nantuates, whom M. Desjardins places near Villeneuve, and

[1] The Poeninum iugum of Livy, xxi. 38, § 6.

took up his own winter-quarters in a hamlet of the Veragri called Octodurus. This is admitted on all hands to be at or near Martigny, but there is a difference of opinion as to whether the river by which it was divided into two parts was the Rhône itself or the Dranse, which flows into it. One part of this hamlet was allowed to the natives, the other was occupied by the Roman cohorts. After several days had passed quietly, it was suddenly discovered that the Gallic half had been evacuated in the night and that the mountains which surrounded the small plain in which the hamlet lay were occupied by great masses of the Seduni and Veragri. The camp was not properly provisioned, nor were its defences yet completed. A hurried council of war was held, which was followed by a fierce attack on the camp. After six hours' fighting a centurion Baculus, who had already distinguished himself in the battle with the Nervii, and C. Volusenus, a tribune of the soldiers, advised Galba to try a sally as a last resort. Their advice was followed and with such complete success that more than a third part of the enemy were slain. But after this uncomfortable experience Galba would not tempt fortune again, but brought his forces, first into the country of the Nantuates, where he picked up the two cohorts, and then into the friendly territory of the Allobroges.

In the spring of 56 took place the famous conference at Luca, whereat it was arranged that Caesar was to be secured in his command for a second period of five years.

With Ariovistus expelled, the Belgae overcome, and the Alpine tribes conquered, Caesar imagined that there was peace in Gaul, when a sudden disturbance arose in a new quarter.

Young Publius Crassus with the seventh legion had wintered furthest to the west in the country of the Andes (Anjou). Finding a dearth of corn in this district he had sent out his officers into the neighbouring states to collect it.

The most influential states in this neighbourhood were the Veneti in the Morbihan and Loire Inférieure, who were the great naval power of the period. These set the example of retaining the emissaries of Crassus with a view to the recovery of their own hostages. The example was speedily followed by the rest, and a defensive league was formed among the maritime states. When Caesar was informed of this movement by the despatches from

Crassus, he sent orders for battleships to be built in the Loire and for due preparations to be made for a naval war. As soon as the season of the year permitted, he came into Gaul himself. The Veneti and their allies, some of whom had been fetched even from Britain, were equally active on their side, and their hopes of success ran high.

For fear lest the example of a patriotic confederacy should prove contagious, Caesar scattered his forces over Gaul. Labienus was sent into the country of the Treveri to overawe the Belgians and prevent the Germans from crossing the Rhine; Publius Crassus was despatched into Aquitania, lest aid might be sent from there; Sabinus was given three legions wherewith to operate against the Venelli (Cotentin), the Curiosolites (Côtes-du-Nord), and the Lexovii (Lisieux). Decimus Brutus was put in charge of the fleet, which had orders to assemble in the country of the Veneti, whither Caesar himself marched with the land forces. The situation of their towns, which were built on promontories to which there was only access at low water, protected the Veneti from injury, and, if ever they were threatened by the Roman works, they had only to ship off themselves and their belongings to some other place of safety. Caesar found that his labour was being thrown away, and determined that he must wait for his fleet. When it came, it seemed at first very ill-matched against the larger and heavier ships of the Veneti. But the Romans had cunningly prepared hooks with which they cut the ropes which bound the yard-arms to the masts of their adversaries, after which they could board their ships at their will. They did this with the more energy inasmuch as Caesar and the land army were looking on from the neighbouring heights. The barbarians began to think it time to retire, but the very elements fought for Caesar, for a sudden calm fell, which left them at the mercy of the swift-rowing Roman galleys. The result was a crushing defeat followed by an unconditional surrender. The senate were all put to death and the people sold into slavery.

The scene of the naval engagement is put by Napoleon III under the heights of St. Gildas, at the entry to the Bay of Quiberon in Brittany. M. Desjardins maintains that this is an entire mistake and that the action took place at the mouth of the Loire.

While Caesar was engaged in combating the Veneti, his lieu-

tenant Sabinus had entered the territory of the Venelli, where he found himself face to face with a formidable combination of states under the command of a chief named Viridovix. The Aulerci Eburovices (Évreux) and Lexovii were at first restrained by their senates from joining the alliance, but in a few days they massacred their senates, closed their gates, and made common cause with Viridovix. The position of a Gallic senate was in those days not an enviable one. We have seen one senate murdered by Caesar for making war upon him, and now we see others murdered by the Gauls for not making war upon him. Sabinus took up a strong position, and refused all offers of an engagement. The confidence of the Gauls rose, while their commissariat ran out. Sabinus hired a Gaul to play the deserter, and inform the Gauls that Caesar was being hard pressed by the Veneti, and that Sabinus meant the very next night to steal away to his assistance. The result was a foolhardy attack upon the camp, which was repulsed with great slaughter. Caesar and Sabinus each heard of the other's victory at the same time, and the Armorican war was over.

The Emperor by some process of divination has located the camp of Sabinus on a hill, 7 kilomètres to the east of Avranches, between the river Sée and the road to Mortain. Crassus had been sent into Aquitania with only twelve cohorts, but to make up for this deficiency he had been given a large body of cavalry. The Aquitanians had a considerable military reputation achieved in the times of Sertorius. Accordingly Crassus made careful preparations before he led his army into the territory of the Sontiates. They attacked him on his march with cavalry, and then unmasked their infantry, which lay in ambush in a valley. Crassus was successful in both encounters, and pressed the siege of their town so vigorously as to induce them to surrender, notwithstanding their skill in mining. While the surrender was being made the commander-in-chief, Adiatunnus, made an attempt to escape with 600 devoted followers. He was repulsed, but was allowed the same terms of surrender as the rest.

When Crassus advanced against the Vocates and Tarusates (tribes whose position is not determined), the whole country flew to arms ; aid was even sought from Spain, and leaders were chosen who had learnt the art of war under Sertorius. Crassus found that their tactics were to play a waiting game and cut him off from

supplies, so he at once attacked their camp, and by surprising it in the rear while their attention was occupied with the main assault, achieved a great victory, which was followed by the submission of the greater part of Aquitania.

The summer was now drawing to a close, but Caesar nevertheless made a dash against the Morini and Menapii, who had never sent him ambassadors. They protected themselves by their woods and marshes, and by occasional surprises inflicted some losses on their invaders. Caesar was setting his soldiers to hew down their woods, when the rain came to their assistance and drove the Romans into winter-quarters. These were among the Aulerci (presumably the Eburovices), the Lexovii, and the rest of the states with whom the Romans had recently been at war.

The attack on Servius Galba. 1–6.

Servius Galba is sent to keep the passes of the Alps open, and prepares to winter at Octodurus.

1 CUM in Italiam proficisceretur Caesar, Servium Galbam cum legione XII et parte equitatus in Nantuates, Veragros Sedunosque misit, qui ab finibus Allobrogum et lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano ad summas Alpes
2 pertinent. Causa mittendi fuit, quod iter per Alpes, quo magno cum periculo magnisque cum portoriis mer-
3 catores ire consuerant, patefieri volebat. Huic permisit, si opus esse arbitraretur, uti in his locis legionem hie-
4 mandi causa collocaret. Galba secundis aliquot proeliis factis castellisque compluribus eorum expugnatis, missis ad eum undique legatis obsidibusque datis et pace facta, constituit cohortes duas in Nantuatibus collocare et ipse cum reliquis eius legionis cohortibus in vico Veragrorum,

1. § 1. **Servium Galbam.** Servius Sulpicius Galba had already served under C. Pomptinus against the Allobroges (D. C. xxxvii. 47) in 61 B.C. He was a grandson of the famous orator and an ancestor of the emperor Galba (Suet. Galba 3). He was praetor at Rome in 54 (D. C. xxxix. 65).

Nantuates, &c. These tribes lived in Le Valais on the left bank of the Rhône above the Lake of Geneva. The Seduni are supposed to have left their name in Sion or Sitten. Livy (xxi. 38, § 9) talks of the Seduni Veragri as a single tribe inhabiting the Poeninum iugum.

§ 2. **iter per Alpes.** 'By the Simplon and the St. Bernard.' Napoleon III.

portoriis. i. 18, § 3.

qui appellatur Octodurus, hiemare; qui vicus positus in 5
valle, non magna adiecta planicie, altissimis montibus
undique continetur. Cum hic in duas partes flumine 6
divideretur, alteram partem eius vici Gallis [ad hieman-
dum] concessit, alteram vacuam ab iis relictam cohorti-
bus attribuit. Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit.

Sudden rising of the tribes.

Cum dies hibernorum complures transissent, frumen- **2**
tumque eo comportari iussisset, subito per exploratores
certior factus est ex ea parte vici, quam Gallis con-
cesserat, omnes noctu discessisse, montesque, qui impen-
derent, a maxima multitudine Sedunorum ac Veragorum
teneri. Id aliquot de causis acciderat, ut subito Galli 2
belli renovandi legionisque opprimendae consilium ca-
perent; primum quod legionem neque eam plenissimam 3
detractis cohortibus duabus et compluribus singillatim,
qui commeatus petendi causa missi erant, propter pauci-
tatem despiciebant; tum etiam, quod propter iniquitatem 4
loci, cum ipsi ex montibus in vallem decurrerent et tela
conicerent, ne primum quidem posse impetum suum
sustineri existimabant. Accedebat, quod suos ab se 5
liberos abstractos obsidum nomine dolebant et Romanos
non solum itinerum causa, sed etiam perpetuae posses-
sionis culmina Alpium occupare conari et ea loca fini-
timae provinciae adiungere sibi persuasum habebant.

A council of war held.

His nuntiis acceptis Galba, cum neque opus hiber- **3**
norum munitionesque plene essent perfectae, neque de
frumento reliquoque commeatu satis esset provisum,
quod deditione facta obsidibusque acceptis nihil de bello
timendum existimaverat, consilio celeriter convocato

§ 6. **flumine.** The Rhône according to M. Desjardins, the Dranse according to M. de Sauley and Napoleon III.

2. § 2. **Id . . . ut.** i. 7, § 1, 'id.'

§ 3. **commeatus,** sing. Cp. i. 34, § 3: iii. 3, § 1; 6, § 4.

2 sententias exquirere coepit. Quo in consilio, cum tantum repentini periculi praeter opinionem accidisset, ac iam omnia fere superiora loca multitudine armatorum completa conspicerentur, neque subsidio veniri neque commeatus supportari interclusis itineribus possent,
3 prope iam desperata salute nonnullae huiusmodi sententiae dicebantur, ut impedimentis relictis eruptione facta iisdem itineribus, quibus eo pervenissent, ad salutem
4 contenderent. Maiori tamen parti placuit, hoc reservato ad extremum consilio interim rei eventum experiri et castra defendere.

4 Brevi spatio interiecto, vix ut iis rebus, quas constituissent, collocandis atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus signo dato decurrere, Fierce attack on the camp.
2 lapides gaesaque in vallum conicere. Nostri primo integris viribus fortiter repugnare neque ullum frustra telum ex loco superiore mittere, ut quaeque pars castrorum nudata defensoribus premi videbatur, eo occur-
3 rere et auxilium ferre; sed hoc superari, quod diuturnitate pugnae hostes defessi proelio excedebant, alii integris viribus succedebant; quarum rerum a nostris propter paucitatem fieri nihil poterat, ac non modo defesso ex pugna excedendi, sed ne saucio quidem eius loci, ubi constiterat, relinquendi ac sui recipiendi facultas dabatur.

5 Cum iam amplius horis sex continenter pugnaretur, Successful sally of the Romans.

4. § 1. **gaesaque.** A specially Alpine weapon. Verg. Aen. viii. 661—

'duo quisque Alpina coruscant gaesa manu.'

Athenaeus, vi. 273 f, speaks of the Romans having learnt the use of the gaesum from the Spaniards.

§ 3. **non modo.** ii. 17, § 4 'non modo non.'

5. § 1. **cum . . . pugnaretur,** 'when fighting was going on' = 'when fighting had been going on.' Cp. 15, § 5: v. 35, § 5: vii. 80, § 6: viii. 29, § 1—'Cum aliquamdiu summa contentione dimicaretur, Dumnacus instruit aciem,' &c.

ac non solum vires, sed etiam tela nostros deficerent, atque hostes acrius instarent languidioribusque nostris vallum scindere et fossas complere coepissent, resque esset iam ad extremum perducta casum, Publius Sextius 2
Baculus, primi pili centurio, quem Nervico proelio compluribus confectum vulneribus diximus, et item Gaius Volusenus, tribunus militum, vir et consilii magni et virtutis, ad Galbam accurrunt atque unam esse spem salutis docent, si eruptione facta extremum auxilium experirentur. Itaque convocatis centurionibus celeriter 3
milites certiores facit, paulisper intermitterent proelium ac tantummodo tela missa exciperent seque ex labore reficerent, post dato signo ex castris erumperent atque omnem spem salutis in virtute ponerent.

Quod iussi sunt faciunt, ac subito omnibus portis 6
eruptione facta neque cognoscendi, quid fieret, neque sui colligendi hostibus facultatem relinquunt. Ita com- 2
mutata fortuna eos, qui in spem potiundorum castrorum venerant, undique circumventos interficiunt et ex hominum milibus amplius XXX, quem numerum barbarorum ad castra venisse constabat, plus tertia parte interfecta reliquos perterritos in fugam coniciunt ac ne in locis quidem superioribus consistere patiuntur. Sic omnibus 3
hostium copiis fusis armisque exutis se in castra munitionesque suas recipiunt. Quo proelio facto, quod 4

Galba brings back

§ 2. **primi pili centurio.** ii. 25, § 1 'primipilo': vi. 38, § 1 'qui primum pilum . . . duxerat.'

tribunus militum. Gaius Volusenus figures as 'praefectus equitum' in viii. 48, § 1 and C. iii. 60, § 4.

§ 3. **milites certiores facit.** A softer expression for 'militibus imperat,' and constructed as if it were the latter.

6. § 1. **sui colligendi.** 'Sui,' it should be noticed, is not only singular in form itself, but is constructed with a singular adjective, even when plural in sense, as here and in iv. 13, § 5; 34, § 5: v. 17, § 4; 38, § 2: vi. 9, § 6: vii. 37, § 2; 43, § 2; 80, § 8. It is really the gen. sing. neut. of 'suus.' Cp. Tac. Dial. de Orat. 29 'sui alienique contemptus.'

§ 3. **armisque exutis.** ii. 33, § 2 'viminibus intextis.' The 'armis' depends upon 'exutis.' Cp. v. 51, § 5 'atque omnes armis exuit.'

saepius fortunam temptare Galba nolebat atque alio se in hiberna consilio venisse meminerat, aliis occurrisse rebus viderat, maxime frumenti commeatusque inopia permotus postero die omnibus eius vici aedificiis incensis in provinciam reverti contendit, ac nullo hoste prohibente aut iter demorante incolumem legionem in Nantuates, inde in Allobroges perduxit ibique hiemavit.

his legion to the country of the Allobroges.

7 His rebus gestis, cum omnibus de causis Caesar pacatam Galliam existimaret, superatis Belgis, expulsis Germanis, victis in Alpibus Sedunis, atque ita inita hieme in Illyricum profectus esset, quod eas quoque nationes adire et regiones cognoscere volebat, subitum
2 bellum in Gallia coortum est. Eius belli haec fuit causa. Publius Crassus adulescens cum legione septima proxi-
3 mus mare Oceanum in Andibus hiemarat. Is, quod in his locis inopia frumenti erat, praefectos tribunosque militum complures in finitimas civitates frumenti causa
4 dimisit; quo in numero est Titus Terrasidius missus in Esuvios, Marcus Trebius Gallus in Curiosolitas, Quintus Velanius cum Tito Silio in Venetos.

Caesar winters in Illyricum, thinking Gaul subdued.

War with the Armoricans. 7–19.

Cause of the war.

8 Huius est civitatis longe amplissima auctoritas omnis orae maritimae regionum earum, quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare con-

(Naval power of the Veneti.)

7. § 1. **atque ita . . . profectus esset.** This passage would lead us to think that Caesar had not left Gaul until after Galba's victory over the Seduni, whereas 1, § 1 rather suggests that he left before it. Perhaps the news had reached him before he got out of Gaul.

§ 2. **proximus mare.** i. 46, § 1. In 11, § 1 we have the ordinary construction of a dative after 'proximus.'

mare Oceanum. What is the nom. of this expression? In Tac. Hist. iv. 12, where it occurs, the readings vary between 'mare Oceanus' and 'mare Oceanum.'

§ 4. **Curiosolitas.** So also in ii. 34, but in iii. 11, § 4 'Curiosolites.' See i. 14, § 3 'Allobrogas.'

8. § 1. **in Britanniam.** Strabo (iv. 4, § 1) says that the Veneti wished to prevent Caesar from interfering with their trade with Britain. If so, Caesar's designs upon Britain must have been already known or suspected. It was only the defeat of the Veneti that rendered them feasible.

navigare consuerunt, 'are wont,'

suerunt, et scientia atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt et in magno impetu maris atque aperto, paucis portibus interiectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consuerunt, habent vectigales. Ab his 2
fit initium retinendi Silii atque Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides, quos Crasso dedissent, recuperaturos existimabant. Horum auctoritate finitimi adducti (ut 3
sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia) eadem de causa Trebium Terrasidiumque retinent, et celeriter missis legatis per suos principes inter se coniurant, nihil nisi communi consilio acturos eundemque omnis fortunae exitum esse laturos, reliquasque civitates sollicitant, ut 4
in ea libertate, quam a maioribus acceperint, permanere quam Romanorum servitutem perferre mallent. Omni 5
ora maritima celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta communem legationem ad Publium Crassum mittunt: si velit suos recipere, obsides sibi remittat.

Caesar sends orders to have ships built, and himself rejoins the army.

Quibus de rebus Caesar a Crasso certior factus, quod 9
ipse aberat longius, naves interim longas aedificari in flumine Ligere, quod influit in Oceanum, remiges ex provincia institui, nautas gubernatoresque comparari iubet. His rebus celeriter administratis ipse, cum pri- 2
mum per anni tempus potuit, ad exercitum contendit.

a gnomic aorist. This usage with this particular word is very common in Caesar.

nauticarum rerum. Cp. Al. 12, § 4 'nautici homines.'

magno impetu maris atque aperto, 'a great, boisterous, and open sea.' Cp. 13, § 6 'tantosque impetus ventorum.' 'Impetus maris' = 'boisterous sea,' is an instance of the well-known principle by which some prominent characteristic of a thing is put for the thing itself as in Juvenal (iv. 39)—'incidit Adriaci spatium admirabile rhombi.'

§ 2. **retinendi,** 'by their retaining.' Gen. of definition.

§ 3. **ut sunt Gallorum, &c.** On the incalculable policy of the Gauls cp. 10, § 3: iv. 5, § 3: vii. 42, § 2.

§ 4. **acceperint.** The best MSS. have here 'acceperant.' See ii. 40, § 5 'cum . . . videbatur.'

9. § 1. **Ligere,** abl. 'Ligeri' in vii. 59, § 1: viii. 27, § 2. Now the Loire.

institui, 'to be organized.'

The Veneti and their allies prepare for war.

3 Veneti reliquaeque item civitates cognito Caesaris adventu, simul quod, quantum in se facinus admisissent, intellegebant, legatos, quod nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper fuisset, retentos ab se et in vincula coniectos, pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare et maxime ea, quae ad usum navium pertinent, providere instituunt, hoc maiore spe, quod multum
4 natura loci confidebant. Pedestria esse itinera concisa aestuariis, navigationem impeditam propter inscientiam
5 locorum paucitatemque portuum sciebant, neque nostros exercitus propter frumenti inopiam diutius apud se
6 morari posse confidebant; 'ac iam ut omnia contra opinionem acciderent, tamen se quam plurimum navibus posse, Romanos neque ullam facultatem habere navium neque eorum locorum, ubi bellum gesturi essent, vada,
7 portus, insulas novisse; ac longe aliam esse navigationem in concluso mari atque in vastissimo atque
8 apertissimo Oceano perspiciebant. His initis consiliis oppida muniunt, frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant,
9 naves in Venetiam, ubi Caesarem primum esse bellum gesturum constabat, quam plurimas possunt, cogunt.
10 Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismos, Lexovios, Namnetes,

Their hopes and plans.

§ 3. **cognito Caesaris adventu.** After this the MSS. have 'certiores facti,' which Hoffmann has omitted.

ad omnes nationes, 'among all nations.' For 'ad' used with persons cp. vi. 38, § 1 'ad Caesarem': Liv. x. 29, § 4 'furiarumque ac formidinis plena omnia ad hostes esse.'

§ 4. **concisa aestuariis.** The country about Plymouth may give the English reader a notion of the locality.

§ 5. **neque . . . confidebant.** The force of the negative falls upon 'morari,' not on 'confidebant'—'and they felt sure that our armies could not stay.'

§ 6. **quam plurimum.** The 'quam,' which in the MSS. comes before 'Romanos,' has been transferred by Hoffmann to this place.

§ 10. **Lexovios.** On the north coast of Normandy in the departments of Calvados and Eure and the districts of Auge and Lieuvin. They may have left their name in Lisieux.

Namnetes. In the Loire Inférieure. Their name survives in Nantes.

Ambiliatos, Morinos, Diablintres, Menapios adsciscunt; auxilia ex Britannia, quae contra eas regiones posita est, arcessunt.

Caesar's motives for war.

Erant hae difficultates belli gerendi, quas supra osten- 10
dimus, sed multa Caesarem tamen ad id bellum incita-
bant: iniuriae retentorum equitum Romanorum, rebellio 2
facta post deditionem, defectio datis obsidibus, tot civi-
tatum coniuratio, imprimis, ne hac parte neglecta reliquae
nationes sibi idem licere arbitrarentur. Itaque cum 3
intellegeret, omnes fere Gallos novis rebus studere et ad bellum mobiliter celeriterque excitari, omnes autem homines natura libertati studere et condicionem servitutis odisse, priusquam plures civitates conspirarent, partiendum sibi ac latius distribuendum exercitum putavit.

He scatters his forces so as to keep the Gauls in check.

Itaque Titum Labienum legatum in Treveros, qui 11
proximi flumini Rheno sunt, cum equitatu mittit. Huic 2
mandat, Remos reliquosque Belgas adeat atque in officio contineat Germanosque, qui auxilio a Belgis arcessiti dicebantur, si per vim navibus flumen transire conentur,
prohibeat. Publium Crassum cum cohortibus legionariis 3
XII et magno numero equitatus in Aquitaniam proficisci iubet, ne ex his nationibus auxilia in Galliam mittantur
ac tantae nationes coniungantur. Quintum Titurium 4
Sabinum legatum cum legionibus tribus in Venellos, Curiosolites Lexoviosque mittit, qui eam manum dis-
tinendam curet. Decimum Brutum adulescentem classi 5

Ambiliatos. The position of this tribe is quite uncertain. Göler would place them at Lamballe in the Côtes-du-Nord. Desjardins here reads 'Ambivariti,' whom he locates about Avranches.

Diablintres. The Diablintres or Diablintes are supposed to have lived in what is now the department of Mayenne.

10. § 2. iniuriae retentorum, &c. 'the wrong done by retaining.' Cp. 8, § 3 'retinendi.

§ 3. omnes fere Gallos. Cp. 8, § 3 'ut sunt Gallorum,' &c.

11. § 5. Decimum Brutum.

Gallicisque navibus, quas ex Pictonibus et Santonis reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire iusserat, praeficit et, cum primum posset, in Venetos proficisci iubet. Ipse eo pedestribus copiis contendit.

12 Erant eiusmodi fere situs oppidorum, ut posita in extremis lingulis promontoriisque neque pedibus aditum haberent, cum ex alto se aestus incitavisset, quod [bis] accidit semper horarum XII spatio, neque navibus, quod
2 rursus minuente aestu naves in vadis afflictarentur. Ita
3 utraque re oppidorum oppugnatio impediebatur; ac si quando magnitudine operis forte superati, extruso mari aggere ac molibus atque his oppidi moenibus adaequatis, suis fortunis desperare coeperant, magno numero navium appulso, cuius rei summam facultatem habebant, sua deportabant omnia seque in proxima oppida recipiebant;
4 ibi se rursus iisdem opportunitatibus loci defendebant.
5 Haec eo facilius magnam partem aestatis faciebant, quod nostrae naves tempestatibus detinebantur, summaque erat vasto atque aperto mari, magnis aestibus, raris ac prope nullis portibus, difficultas navigandi.

The situation of their towns protects the Veneti from injury.

13 Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factae armataeque erant: carinae aliquanto planiores quam nos-

Gallic and Roman ships compared.

This is the first we hear of Decimus Brutus. Dio Cassius (xxxix. 40) intimates that he had just arrived from the Mediterranean.

Pictonibus, south of the Loire. They bequeathed their name to the province of Poitou and to Poitiers in the department of Vienne.

12. § 1. **eiusmodi . . . ut . . . haberent**, 'of such a kind as to have.' An instance of the use of 'ut' after a demonstrative, like 'talis ut,' &c. Cp. 13, § 7 'eiusmodi congressus . . . ut.'

[bis]. 'Bis' is in all the MSS.: but even Caesar cannot alter the tides.

§ 3. **extruso mari**. The Romans are supposed to have run out at low water two parallel mounds or dykes, which, when united to the town, kept the space between from being filled by the rising tide.

§ 5. **ac**. 'Ac' and 'atque' are used with the same corrective force as 'atque adeo.' Cicero, T. D. v. § 45 'hebeti ingenio atque nullo.' Καί is sometimes employed similarly in Greek, e.g. Thuc. vii. 48 πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς πλείους.

13. § 1. **carinae**. The nominatives throughout the following passage

trarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum aestus
excipere possent; prorae admodum erectae atque item 2
puppes ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque
accommodatae; naves totae factae ex robore ad quamvis 3
vim et contumeliam perferendam; transtra pedalibus in 4
altitudinem trabibus confixa clavis ferreis digiti pollicis
crassitudine; ancorae pro funibus ferreis catenis revinc- 5
tae; pelles pro velis alutaeque tenuiter confectae, [haec] 6
sive propter lini inopiam atque eius usus inscientiam, sive eo, quod est magis verisimile, quod tantas tempestates Oceani tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri ac tanta onera navium regi velis non satis commode posse
arbitrabantur. Cum his navibus nostrae classi eius- 7
modi congressus erat, ut una celeritate et pulsu remorum praestaret, reliqua pro loci natura, pro vi tempestatum
illis essent aptiora et accommodatiora. Neque enim his 8
nostrae rostro nocere poterant (tanta in iis erat firmitudo), neque propter altitudinem facile telum adigebatur, et eadem de causa minus commode copulis contine-
bantur. Accedebat, ut, cum saevire ventus coepisset et 9
se vento dedissent, et tempestatem ferrent facilius et in vadis consisterent tutius et ab aestu relictae nihil saxa

are of the kind known as descriptive, like Vergil's

'folia haud ullis labentia ventis; flos ad prima tenax.'
(Georg. ii. 133, 134).

It is not necessary to supply a verb. 'Carinae' here means the bottom of the ship generally, and may be rendered 'hulls.'

planiores. Strabo (iv. 4, § 1) translates by the adjective *πλατύπυγα*, our 'flat-bottomed,' and the 'prorae admodum erectae' following by *ὑψόπρῳρα*, 'the bows very high.'

§ 4. **transtra.** This word generally means 'rowing-benches,' 'thwarts.' Here it seems to mean the crossbeams, in other words, the decks. The British ships were not rowed, as appears from 14, § 7; 15, § 3.

pedalibus . . . trabibus, abl. of description, qualifying 'transtra,' 'of timbers a foot thick.'

§ 5. **ferreis catenis revinctae.** Strabo (iv. 4, § 1), *ἁλύσεις δ' ἔτεινον ἀντὶ κάλων*.

§ 8. **adigebatur.** ii. 21, § 3 'adigi.'

et cautes timerent; quarum rerum omnium nostris
navibus casus erat extimescendus.

14 Compluribus expugnatis oppidis Caesar, ubi intellexit,
frustra tantum laborem sumi, neque hostium fugam
captis oppidis reprimi neque iis noceri posse, statuit
2 exspectandam classem. Quae ubi convenit ac primum
ab hostibus visa est, circiter CCXX naves eorum paratis-
simae atque omni genere armorum ornatissimae profec-
3 tae ex portu nostris adversae constiterunt; neque satis
Bruto, qui classi praeerat, vel tribunis militum centu-
rionibusque, quibus singulae naves erant attributae,
constabat, quid agerent aut quam rationem pugnae
4 insisterent. Rostro enim noceri non posse cognoverant;
turribus autem excitatis tamen has altitudo puppium
ex barbaris navibus superabat, ut neque ex inferiore
loco satis commode tela adigi possent et missa a Gallis
5 gravius acciderent. Una erat magno usui res prae-
parata a nostris, falces praeacutae insertae affixaeque
6 longuriis, non absimili forma muralium falcium. His
cum funes, qui antemnas ad malos destinabant, compre-
hensi adductique erant, navigio remis incitato prae-
7 rumpebantur. Quibus abscisis antemnae necessario
concidebant, ut, cum omnis Gallicis navibus spes in

Great naval victory of the Romans.

§ 9. **casus**, 'the chance.' Sall. J. 25, § 9 'sperans . . . sese casum victoriae inventurum.'

14. § 4. **neque . . . et.** Like the Greek *οὔτε . . . τε*. We had this combination of particles in ii. 25, § 1, and in § 8 of the last chapter; it recurs in iv. 1, § 10: v. 19, § 3; 31, § 4 'nec . . . et,' vii. 20, § 4; 26, § 2: B. C. iii. 60, § 1. In B. G. v. 2, § 4 we find 'neque . . . neque . . . que.'

§ 5. **falces.** Strabo, iv. 4, § 1, calls these instruments *δορυδρέπανα*.

muralium falcium, 'wall-hooks,' such as were attached to the 'testudo' as described by Vegetius, iv. 14. He characterizes the 'falx' as 'trabes, quae . . . adunco praefigitur ferro et falx vocatur ab eo, quod incurva est, ut de muro extrahat lapides.'

§ 6. **cum . . . comprehensi . . . erant.** For 'cum' with plpf. indic. in a purely temporal clause, cp. 15, § 1: iv. 17, § 4: v. 35, §§ 1, 3: vii. 22, § 2; 35, § 4.

velis armamentisque consisteret, his ereptis omnis usus
navium uno tempore eriperetur. Reliquum erat certa- 8
men positum in virtute, qua nostri milites facile supera-
bant, atque eo magis, quod in conspectu Caesaris atque
omnis exercitus res gerebatur, ut nullum paulo fortius
factum latere posset; omnes enim colles ac loca supe-
riora, unde erat propinquus despectus in mare, ab
exercitu tenebantur.

Disiectis, ut diximus, antemnis, cum singulas binae **15**
ac ternae naves circumsteterant, milites summa vi
transcendere in hostium naves contendebant. Quod 2
postquam barbari fieri animadverterunt, expugnatis com-
pluribus navibus, cum ei rei nullum reperiretur auxilium,
fuga salutem petere contenderunt. Ac iam conversis in 3
eam partem navibus, quo ventus ferebat, tanta subito
malacia ac tranquillitas exstitit, ut se ex loco commo-
vere non possent. Quae quidem res ad negotium con- 4
ficiendum maxime fuit opportuna: nam singulas nostri 5
consectati expugnaverunt, ut perpaucae ex omni nu-
mero noctis interventu ad terram pervenerint, cum ab
hora fere quarta usque ad solis occasum pugnaretur.

Surrender and severe treatment of the Veneti.

Quo proelio bellum Venetorum totiusque orae mari- **16**
timae confectum est. Nam cum omnis iuventus, omnes 2
etiam gravioris aetatis, in quibus aliquid consilii aut
dignitatis fuit, eo convenerant, tum navium quod ubique
fuerat in unum locum coëgerant; quibus amissis reliqui 3
neque quo se reciperent, neque quemadmodum oppida

§ 8. **colles.** Napoleon III (vol. ii. p. 153 n.) places Caesar's encampment on the heights of St. Gildas.

15. § 3. **malacia,** (μαλακία) 'calm.' This appears to be the only passage either in a Greek or Latin author in which the word is used in this sense.

§ 4. **maxime . . . opportuna.** The employment of this form of comparison seems to be determined mainly by euphony. Cp. vi. 26, § 1 'excelsius magisque directum': vii. 32, § 2 'maxime necessario tempore': Al. 71, § 1 'res magis necessarias.'

defenderent, habebant. Itaque se suaque omnia Caesari
4 dediderunt. In quos eo gravius Caesar vindicandum statuit, quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris ius legatorum conservaretur. Itaque omni senatu necato reliquos sub corona vendidit.

Sabinus among the Venelli produces an impression of fear

17 Dum haec in Venetis geruntur, Quintus Titurius Sabinus cum iis copiis, quas a Caesare acceperat, in
2 fines Venellorum pervenit. His praeerat Viridovix ac summam imperii tenebat earum omnium civitatum, quae defecerant, ex quibus exercitum magnasque copias
3 coëgerat; atque his paucis diebus Aulerci Eburovices Lexoviique senatu suo interfecto, quod auctores belli esse nolebant, portas clauserunt seque cum Viridovice
4 coniunxerunt; magnaque praeterea multitudo undique ex Gallia perditorum hominum latronumque convenerat, quos spes praedandi studiumque bellandi ab agricultura
5 et cotidiano labore revocabat. Sabinus idoneo omnibus rebus loco castris sese tenebat, cum Viridovix contra eum duum milium spatio consedisset cotidieque productis copiis pugnandi potestatem faceret, ut iam non solum hostibus in contemptionem Sabinus veniret, sed etiam nostrorum militum vocibus nonnihil carperetur;
6 tantamque opinionem timoris praebuit, ut iam ad vallum
7 castrorum hostes accedere auderent. Id ea de causa faciebat, quod cum tanta multitudine hostium praesertim eo absente, qui summam imperii teneret, nisi aequo loco aut opportunitate aliqua data legato dimicandum non existimabat.

16. § 4. **sub corona vendidit.** 'Antiquitus mancipia iure belli capta coronis induti veniebant et idcirco dicebantur "sub corona" venire.' Caelius Sabinus as quoted by Aul. Gell. vi. 4, § 3.

17. § 1. **cum iis copiis.** 11, § 4.

§ 3. **Aulerci Eburovices.** In the department of Eure. Their name appears in Évreux. See ii. 34 'Aulercos.'

§ 5. **duum milium.** For the contracted form of gen. cp. Af. 75, § 1.

and by drawing on the Gauls to attack his camp gains a great victory.

18 Hac confirmata opinione timoris idoneum quendam hominem et callidum delegit, Gallum, ex iis, quos auxilii causa secum habebat. Huic magnis praemiis 2
pollicitationibusque persuadet, uti ad hostes transeat, et, quid fieri velit, edocet. Qui ubi pro perfuga ad eos 3
venit, timorem Romanorum proponit; quibus angustiis ipse Caesar a Venetis prematur, docet, neque longius 4
abesse, quin proxima nocte Sabinus clam ex castris exercitum educat et ad Caesarem auxilii ferendi causa proficiscatur. Quod ubi auditum est, conclamant omnes, 5
occasionem negotii bene gerendi amittendam non esse: ad castra iri oportere. Multae res ad hoc consilium 6
Gallos hortabantur: superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio, perfugae confirmatio, inopia cibariorum, cui rei parum diligenter ab iis erat provisum, spes Venetici belli et quod fere libenter homines id, quod volunt, credunt. His rebus adducti non prius Viridovicem reliquosque 7
duces ex concilio dimittunt, quam ab his sit concessum, arma uti capiant et ad castra contendant. Qua re 8
concessa laeti ut explorata victoria sarmentis virgultisque collectis, quibus fossas Romanorum compleant, ad castra pergunt.

19 Locus erat castrorum editus et paulatim ab imo acclivis circiter passus mille. Huc magno cursu contenderunt, ut quam minimum spatii ad se colligendos armandosque Romanis daretur, exanimatique pervenerunt. Sabinus suos hortatus cupientibus signum dat. 2
Impeditis hostibus propter ea, quae ferebant, onera

18. § 4. **neque longius abesse,** &c., 'and (says that) no later than the next night Sabinus would lead his army secretly out of camp.' Cp. v. 2, § 2.

§ 6. **quod fere libenter,** &c. The clause with 'quod' is equivalent to an abstract noun, and so co-ordinate with 'cunctatio,' 'confirmatio,' 'inopia,' 'spes.' For the sentiment, cp. B. C. ii. 27, § 2 'nam, quae volumus, et credimus libenter.'

3 subito duabus portis eruptionem fieri iubet. Factum est opportunitate loci, hostium inscientia ac defatigatione, virtute militum et superiorum pugnarum exercitatione, ut ne unum quidem nostrorum impetum
4 ferrent ac statim terga verterent. Quos impeditos integris viribus milites nostri consecuti magnum numerum eorum occiderunt; reliquos equites consectati
5 paucos, qui ex fuga evaserant, reliquerunt. Sic uno tempore et de navali pugna Sabinus et de Sabini victoria Caesar certior factus est, civitatesque omnes
6 se statim Titurio dediderunt. Nam ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.

Surrender of the Armoricans generally.

20 Eodem fere tempore Publius Crassus, cum in Aquitaniam pervenisset, quae pars, ut ante dictum est, et regionum latitudine et multitudine hominum est tertia Galliae existimanda, cum intellegeret in iis locis sibi bellum gerendum, ubi paucis ante annis Lucius Valerius

Campaign of Crassus in Aquitania. 20–27.

Importance of the country.

19. § 3. **ac statim.** In sentences such as this the copulative particle is regularly employed in Latin where we should use the adversative. Cp. iv. 35, § 2; 36, § 4 'portus capere non potuerunt et paulo infra delatae sunt': v. 18, § 5 'impetum . . . sustinere non possent, ripasque dimitterent'; 21, § 5: vi. 8, § 6: C. i. 44, § 5 'locum non tenuit atque in proximum collem se recepit.' See vii. 62, § 8 'neque.'

§ 6. **animus . . . mens.** Plenty of animal courage, but little rational resolve. The Gauls are always represented by the ancient writers as deficient in staying power. Livy (xxii. 2, §§ 4–6) represents the Cisalpine Gauls who followed Hannibal as specially liable to succumb to the toils of marching. Appian (De Reb. Gall. iv. 7) speaks of the bloated bodies of the Gauls being quickly overcome by sweating and loss of breath. The same writer declares the Germans under Ariovistus, in spite of their physical courage, to have been *οὐ φερέπονοι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις*, and ascribes the victory of the Romans to their *ἐπιστήμη καὶ φερεπονία.* Cp. vii. 30, § 4 'homines insueti laboris' (of the Gauls); 77, § 5. See Introd. p. 96.

20. § 1. **est tertia Galliae existimanda.** The MS. reading here is 'ex tertia Galliae est aestimanda.' Caesar was evidently deceived as to the size of Aquitania. He did not see it himself till the year 51 (viii. 46, § 1).

paucis ante annis, &c. Nothing is known of Lucius Valerius Praeco-

Praeconinus legatus exercitu pulso interfectus esset, atque unde Lucius Mallius proconsul impedimentis amissis profugisset, non mediocrem sibi diligentiam

Crassus repels an attack from the Sontiates,

adhibendam intellegebat. Itaque re frumentaria pro- 2
visa, auxiliis equitatuque comparato, multis praeterea viris fortibus Tolosa et Narbone, quae sunt civitates Galliae provinciae finitimae, [ex his regionibus] nominatim evocatis in Sontiatum fines exercitum introduxit.
Cuius adventu cognito Sontiates magnis copiis coactis 3
equitatuque, quo plurimum valebant, in itinere agmen nostrum adorti primum equestre proelium commiserunt,
deinde equitatu suo pulso atque insequentibus nostris 4
subito pedestres copias, quas in convalle in insidiis collocaverant, ostenderunt. Hi nostros disiectos adorti proelium renovarunt.

Pugnatum est diu atque acriter, cum Sontiates superi- **21**
oribus victoriis freti in sua virtute totius Aquitaniae salutem positam putarent, nostri autem, quid sine imperatore et sine reliquis legionibus adulescentulo duce efficere possent, perspici cuperent: tandem confecti

and lays siege to

vulneribus hostes terga vertere. Quorum magno numero 2

ninus beyond what is here mentioned. The defeat of Mallius is referred to 78 B.C. during the war with Sertorius. Introd. p. 79.

proconsul. There was no consul at this period of the name of Lucius Mallius. We must therefore understand 'proconsul' to be used here in a loose sense for a provincial governor. Mallius or Manlius is called 'proconsul' also in Liv. Epit. xc.

§ 2. **Tolosa.** Tolosa was the chief town of the Volcae Tectosages (Mela, ii. § 75).

Sontiatum. Their name is said to be preserved in a place called Sos, south-west of Nérac in the department of Lot-et-Garonne.

§ 2. **Narbone.** The 'colonia Narbonensis' or colony of Narbo Martius, was founded in B.C. 118 under the direction of the Roman orator Crassus (Vel. Pat. i. 5: Cic. Brut. § 160). It was afterwards enlarged by Tiberius Nero, the father of the emperor Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 4). Strabo (iv. 1, § 12) speaks of it as the most important commercial city in Gaul. It was in the territory of the Volcae Arecomici, whose political capital was Nemansus.

21. § 1. **vertere.** Perhaps the weaker form of the perfect, not the historic infinitive. This form is

interfecto Crassus ex itinere oppidum Sontiatum oppugnare coepit. Quibus fortiter resistentibus vineas their town, which is surrendered.
3 turresque egit. Illi alias eruptione temptata, alias cuniculis ad aggerem vineasque actis, cuius rei sunt longe peritissimi Aquitani, propterea quod multis locis apud eos aerariae secturaeque sunt, ubi diligentia nostrorum nihil his rebus profici posse intellexerunt, legatos ad Crassum mittunt seque in deditionem ut recipiat, petunt. Qua re impetrata arma tradere iussi faciunt.

22 Atque in ea re omnium nostrorum intentis animis alia ex parte oppidi Adiatunnus, qui summam imperii tenebat, cum DC devotis, quos illi soldurios appellant, Ineffectual attempt of the chief to escape.
2 quorum haec est condicio, ut omnibus in vita commodis una cum iis fruantur, quorum se amicitiae dediderint, si quid his per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una
3 ferant aut sibi mortem consciscant; neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui eo interfecto,

not elsewhere used in the Gallic War, but it occurs in C. i. 51, § 5 'sustinuere'; iii. 63, § 6 'accessere.'

§ 3. **cuniculis.** 'Cuniculus' is a rabbit, but, if we may trust Paulus Diaconus, the nom. in the sense of a mine is 'cuniculum' (Festus, Müller, p. 50). The word occurs again in vii. 22, §§ 2, 4; 24, § 2: viii. 41, § 4.

peritissimi Aquitani. In vii. 22, § 2 Caesar pays a tribute to the skill of the Gauls generally in mining. We know from the researches made on Mont Beuvray that the Aedui of Bibracte were well versed in all mining operations.

aerariae secturaeque. This is the reading of the MSS., but the exact meaning of 'secturae' is uncertain. It may mean 'quarries.'

22. § 1. **Adiatunnus.** This chief and his followers were mentioned by Nicolaus of Damascus, the friend of Herod the Great, in his voluminous historical work (Athen. vi. 249, a, b). He may have derived his information directly or indirectly from the Commentaries.

soldurios. Nicolaus of Damascus calls them *σιλόδουροι*, which he translates by *εὐχωλιμαῖοι* = Caesar's 'devoti.' Plut. Sert. 14 mentions the custom of 'devotio' in Spain, which he translates *κατάσπεισις*. He says that, while in the case of other leaders only a few of their squires and henchmen thus devoted themselves, there were many myriads who did so for Sertorius. Cp. Val. Max. ii. 6, § 11.

§ 3. **neque adhuc, &c.** This remarkable statement is echoed by Nicolaus—*καὶ οὐδεις εἰπεῖν ἔχει τινὰ ἀποδειλιάσαντα τούτων τὸν θάνατον, ὅταν ἥκῃ βασιλεῖ, ἢ διεκδύντα.* Justinus, xxxiv. 2, says of the Spaniards —'animi ad mortem parati.'

cuius se amicitiae devovisset, mori recusaret: cum his 4
Adiatunnus eruptionem facere conatus, clamore ab ea
parte munitionis sublato, cum ad arma milites concur-
rissent vehementerque ibi pugnatum esset, repulsus in
oppidum tamen, uti eadem deditionis condicione utere-
tur, a Crasso impetravit.

Formidable muster of Aquitanians under officers trained by Sertorius.

Armis obsidibusque acceptis Crassus in fines Vocatium **23**
et Tarusatium profectus est. Tum vero barbari com- 2
moti, quod oppidum et natura loci et manu munitum
paucis diebus, quibus eo ventum erat, expugnatum cog-
noverant, legatos quoquo versum dimittere, coniurare,
obsides inter se dare, copias parare coeperunt. Mit- 3
tuntur etiam ad eas civitates legati, quae sunt citerioris
Hispaniae finitimae Aquitaniae: inde auxilia ducesque
arcessuntur. Quorum adventu magna cum auctoritate 4
et magna cum hominum multitudine bellum gerere
conantur. Duces vero ii deliguntur, qui una cum Quinto 5
Sertorio omnes annos fuerant summamque scientiam
rei militaris habere existimabantur. Hi consuetudine 6
populi Romani loca capere, castra munire, commeatibus

Fearful of being cut off from supplies.

nostros intercludere instituunt. Quod ubi Crassus 7
animadvertit suas copias propter exiguitatem non facile
diduci, hostem et vagari et vias obsidere et castris satis
praesidii relinquere, ob eam causam minus commode
frumentum commeatumque sibi supportari, in dies
hostium numerum augeri, non cunctandum existimavit,
quin pugna decertaret. Hac re ad consilium delata, 8

23. § 2. **paucis diebus, quibus,** &c., 'within a few days after.' For this idiom cp. iv. 18, § 1: v. 26, § 1: C. ii. 32, § 5: Cic. Rosc. Am. § 20, &c.

§ 5. **Quinto Sertorio.** Among the many merits of Sertorius as a commander one of the chief was his skill in choosing recruits. Veget. i. 7.

§ 7. **Quod ubi.** 'But when.' The expression seems to be on a par with 'quod si,' 'quod nisi,' 'quod ni.'

ubi omnes idem sentire intellexit, posterum diem pugnae constituit.

24 Prima luce productis omnibus copiis duplici acie instituta, auxiliis in mediam aciem coniectis, quid hostes
2 consilii caperent, exspectabat. Illi, etsi propter multitudinem et veterem belli gloriam paucitatemque nostrorum se tuto dimicaturos existimabant, tamen tutius esse arbitrabantur obsessis viis commeatu intercluso sine ullo
3 vulnere victoria potiri et, si propter inopiam rei frumentariae Romani sese recipere coepissent, impeditos in agmine et sub sarcinis infirmiore animo adoriri cogita-
4 bant. Hoc consilio probato ab ducibus, productis
5 Romanorum copiis, sese castris tenebant. Hac re perspecta Crassus cum sua cunctatione [atque opinione timidiores] hostes nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum effecissent, atque omnium voces audirentur, exspectari diutius non oportere, quin ad castra iretur, cohortatus suos omnibus cupientibus ad hostium castra contendit. Crassus attacks their camp,

25 Ibi cum alii fossas complerent, alii multis telis coniectis defensores vallo munitionibusque depellerent, auxiliaresque, quibus ad pugnam non multum Crassus confidebat, lapidibus telisque subministrandis et ad aggerem caespitibus comportandis speciem atque opinionem pugnantium praeberent, cum item ab hostibus constanter ac non timide pugnaretur, telaque ex loco superiore
2 missa non frustra acciderent, equites circumitis hostium castris Crasso renuntiaverunt, non eadem esse diligentia ab decumana porta castra munita facilemque aditum habere. and by surprising it in the rear

24. § 5. [atque opinione timidiores]. There is something amiss with the text here. Most editors, following the conjecture of R. Stephanus, read 'opinione timoris.'

gains a great victory.

Crassus equitum praefectos cohortatus, ut magnis 26
praemiis pollicitationibusque suos excitarent, quid fieri
velit, ostendit. Illi, ut erat imperatum, eductis iis 2
cohortibus, quae praesidio castris relictae intritae ab
labore erant, et longiore itinere circumductis, ne ex
hostium castris conspici possent, omnium oculis men-
tibusque ad pugnam intentis celeriter ad eas, quas
diximus, munitiones pervenerunt atque his prorutis prius 3
in hostium castris constiterunt, quam plane ab his videri
aut, quid rei gereretur, cognosci posset. Tum vero 4
clamore ab ea parte audito nostri redintegratis viribus,
quod plerumque in spe victoriae accidere consuevit,
acrius impugnare coeperunt. Hostes undique circum- 5
venti desperatis omnibus rebus se per munitiones deicere
et fuga salutem petere intenderunt. Quos equitatus 6
apertissimis campis consectatus ex milium L numero,
quae ex Aquitania Cantabrisque convenisse constabat,
vix quarta parte relicta, multa nocte se in castra recipit.

The greater part of Aquitania surrenders.

Hac audita pugna maxima pars Aquitaniae sese 27
Crasso dedidit obsidesque ultro misit; quo in numero
fuerunt Tarbelli, Bigerriones, Ptianii, Vocates, Tarusates,

26. § 2. **intritae.** For the participle with negative prefix cp. vii. 17, § 5 'infectus': vii. 38, § 2 'indictus.'

ab labore. 'Ab' is occasionally used thus of things without life. Cp. vii. 17, § 1 'intermissa a flumine et a paludibus': Cic. Cat. i. § 25 'ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictis.'

§ 6. **Cantabrisque.** On the north coast of Spain.

27. § 1. **Tarbelli, &c.** The Tarbelli are generally placed in the department of the Basses-Pyrénées, though the town of Tarbes in the adjoining department of the Hautes-Pyrénées might suggest a connexion with their name; the Bigerriones are represented to-day by the district called Bigorre in the Hautes-Pyrénées; the position of the Ptianii, if that be the right reading, is quite uncertain; neither is that of the Vocates much better determined; the Tarusates are assigned conjecturally to the small town of Tartas in the department of Landes; the site of the Elusates is marked by Eauze in the department of Gers; the form of the name Gates (for which there is a variant Garites) is as uncertain as the position of the tribe; the Ausci are supposed to have their name perpetuated in Auch, the chief town of the department of

Elusates, Gates, Ausci, Garumni, Sibuzates, Cocosates;
2 paucae ultimae nationes anni tempore confisae, quod hiems suberat, hoc facere neglexerunt.

Expedition against the Morini and Menapii. 28, 29.

28 Eodem fere tempore Caesar, etsi prope exacta iam aestas erat, tamen, quod omni Gallia pacata Morini Menapiique supererant, qui in armis essent neque ad eum umquam legatos de pace misissent, arbitratus id bellum celeriter confici posse, eo exercitum adduxit; qui longe alia ratione ac reliqui Galli bellum gerere
2 coeperunt. Nam quod intellegebant maximas nationes, quae proelio contendissent, pulsas superatasque esse, continentesque silvas ac paludes habebant, eo se suaque
3 omnia contulerunt. Ad quarum initium silvarum cum Caesar pervenisset castraque munire instituisset, neque hostis interim visus esset, dispersis in opere nostris subito ex omnibus partibus silvae evolaverunt et in nostros
4 impetum fecerunt. Nostri celeriter arma ceperunt eosque in silvas reppulerunt et compluribus interfectis longius impeditioribus locis secuti paucos ex suis deperdiderunt.

29 Reliquis deinceps diebus Caesar silvas caedere instituit, et ne quis inermibus imprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam materiam, quae erat caesa, conversam ad hostem collocabat et pro vallo
2 ad utrumque latus exstruebat. Incredibili celeritate magno spatio paucis diebus confecto, cum iam pecus atque extrema impedimenta ab nostris tenerentur, ipsi

Gers; Mela (iii. § 20) informs us that they were the most famous tribe among the Aquitanians: the Garumni are conjectured to have lain towards the source of the Garonne; the Sibuzates may be represented at present by the village of Saubusse near Bayonne; the Cocosates lived on the sea-board of the department of Landes.

§ 4. **paucos ex suis deperdiderunt.** Dio Cassius (xxxix. 44) states the case more strongly, saying of the Morini and Menapii *πολὺ πλείω τοὺς προσμίξαντάς σφισι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκάκωσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον.*

densiores silvas peterent, eiusmodi sunt tempestates consecutae, uti opus necessario intermitteretur et continuatione imbrium diutius sub pellibus milites contineri
non possent. Itaque vastatis omnibus eorum agris, vicis 3
aedificiisque incensis Caesar exercitum reduxit et in Aulercis Lexoviisque, reliquis item civitatibus, quae proxime bellum fecerant, in hibernis collocavit.

C. IULII CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

LIBER QUARTUS

B.C. 55

SUMMARY.

THE fourth book contains three episodes—the war with the Usipetes and Tencteri, the first passage of the Rhine and the first invasion of Britain, besides some operations against the Morini and Menapii.

The Usipetes and Tencteri were two German tribes which suffered like others from the overwhelming power of the vast confederation of the Suebi. Dislodged from their own abodes, they wandered for three years in many parts of Germany, and at last came to the Rhine, not far from where it flows into the sea. The Menapii dwelt in these parts and had possessions on both sides of the river. They retired before the invaders to the left bank, which they were able to hold against them. Despairing of accomplishing their passage by force, the Usipetes and Tencteri had recourse to fraud. They retired a three days' journey from the Rhine, and when the Menapii had resumed their possessions on the right bank, they sent their cavalry back by night, who surprised the Menapii, and possessed themselves of their vessels. After this the whole body of invaders established themselves on the Gallic side of the river.

Here was a new complication for Caesar, who was well aware that the Gauls would be likely to intrigue with the new-comers.

He rejoined his army earlier than his wont, but found that the Germans were already extending their incursions into the territories of the Eburones and of the Condrusi, who were vassals of the Treveri. Without hesitation he marched against them. While he was still a few days off he was met by an embassy. Caesar refused all terms with the Germans so long as they remained on Gallic soil, but offered to provide them with land in the territory of the Ubii, whose envoys had come to ask his aid against the Suebi. The ambassadors promised to report his proposal to their countrymen and to return within three days. Meantime they begged him to advance no further. Caesar knew that a great part of their cavalry had been sent across the Meuse into the country of the Ambivariti, and suspected that the Germans wanted to gain time for recalling them: so he was already within twelve miles of them on the day when the ambassadors returned. They now asked for another three days' delay, that they might come to an understanding with the Ubii, but all that they could obtain from Caesar was the promise that he would not advance more than four miles that day, it being understood that their claims were to be considered in a conference on the next. The whole of Caesar's cavalry, to the number of 5,000, were already in advance of him, but orders were sent to the officers not to engage until he advanced to their support. The Germans had only 800 horsemen, but with these they routed Caesar's cavalry, causing them a loss of seventy-four men. Next day their chiefs and elders came in a body to apologize for this misadventure. Caesar ordered them to be retained, and advancing rapidly over the eight miles which separated him from the German encampment, slaughtered men, women, and children. The survivors were pursued as far as the point where the Meuse meets the Waal, where those who were not slain perished in the waters. So ended the war with the Usipetes and Tencteri.

We have no clue to the movements of Caesar or the Germans in this campaign. The Emperor Napoleon III places the Ambivariti on the left bank of the Meuse; M. Desjardins places them on the right.

Having now had twice to contend with Germans on Gallic soil, Caesar began to think that a forward move on the part of the Roman legions might make them less ready to invade the country. So he determined himself to cross the Rhine. He had two osten-

sible reasons for this step. One was that the cavalry of the Usipetes and Tencteri, after hearing of the destruction of their people, had crossed into the territory of the Sugambri, who now refused to surrender them at Caesar's order; the other was that the Ubii were imploring his protection against the Suebi. The Ubii offered ships to transport the army, but Caesar considered that it would be at once safer and more impressive to cross by a bridge. The work was finished in ten days from the time when the timber began to be felled. Thus did Rome first set foot upon the soil of Germany, which it was destined never to subdue. The Sugambri retired before Caesar into wildernesses and forests. After doing as much mischief as he could to their territory, Caesar recrossed the Rhine, having spent eighteen days altogether in Germany.

The point at which Caesar entered Germany is unknown beyond the fact that it was in the territory of the Ubii. Napoleon III places it at Bonn.

The campaigning season was now drawing to its close, but Caesar had a still more adventurous design, which he wished to put into effect this year. This was no less than to invade Britain, from which aid had been sent to the Armoricans against him. Knowing nothing of the country he tried to extract information from the merchants, but in vain. So he sent Volusenus in command of a warship to explore. He then marched with all his men into the country of the Morini, where the fleet also was ordered to assemble. Already embassies began to arrive from tribes on the island offering their submission. Caesar sent along with them on their return Commius, whom he had himself made king of the Atrebates. He regarded him as a fitting emissary, since the most advanced among the inhabitants of Britain were themselves of Belgian origin. In four days' time Volusenus came back to Caesar without having ventured to land. The Morini, in whose country Caesar was, had hitherto stubbornly defied him; some maintained their independence even now, but the greater part made offers of submission. Two legions, the seventh and tenth, were selected for the expedition into Britain. The rest were left under the command of Sabinus and Cotta to be led against the Menapii and those cantons of the Morini that had not yet tendered their submission. A lieutenant named P. Sulpicius Rufus was left with a garrison in

charge of the port. Eighty merchant-vessels had been pressed for the transport of the legions, besides which there were a few ships of war. Eighteen more merchant-vessels were lying wind-bound in a harbour eight miles further up the coast. The cavalry were ordered to embark on these. Meanwhile Caesar and the legions set sail at midnight with a fair wind. About nine or ten o'clock next morning he was lying under the beetling cliffs of Britain, which were lined with the armed forces of the enemy. Caesar and his officers had come in the ships of war. While the heavier transport vessels were assembling, Caesar employed the time in laying before his officers his proposed plan of operations, and exhorting them to promptitude in the execution. To attempt a landing where they had arrived was hopeless. But aided both by wind and tide they went on seven miles and, in spite of the opposition of the natives, effected their landing on an open and flat shore. No sooner were they landed than they dispersed the enemy, but they were not able to follow up their victory for want of the cavalry, who had not arrived.

After the battle the enemy made overtures to Caesar and restored to him his emissary Commius, whom they had thrown into chains on his first landing. Caesar complained of the unprovoked attack they had made upon him after having gone out of their way to send ambassadors to him on the Continent. Nevertheless he was willing to conclude peace, if they gave him hostages for their good behaviour.

There was some delay about the embarkation of the cavalry, so that Caesar had already been three days in Britain before the eighteen vessels which bore them made their appearance. Just as they came in sight of his camp a storm arose which compelled them all, sooner or later, to put back to the Continent.

But the misfortunes of the Romans did not end here. That night the moon was at the full and the tide filled the ships of war which were hauled upon the beach and battered the merchant-vessels which lay at anchor, so as to wreck some and render others unseaworthy. To add to their difficulties they had no supplies, since there had been no idea of wintering in Britain.

Caesar knew very well that the peace which he had made with the Britons would not prevent their trying to make an example of an invader, if they saw their way to doing it: so he prepared

himself against all contingencies. By using the materials of twelve of the ships that had been most damaged, and sending to the Continent for tools, he succeeded in making the rest serviceable. Meantime he daily carried into his camp the crops of the people with whom he was at peace. This was too much for the Britons. They laid an ambush for the seventh legion while it was employed in reaping, and it was only rescued from their war-chariots by the timely arrival of Caesar with some cohorts on the scene. Then followed heavy rains which quenched the ardour of both sides for a time. After this the Britons attacked the camp, but were routed and some loss inflicted on them by about thirty horsemen, whom Commius, king of the Atrebates, had brought over with him. On the same day ambassadors again came to ask for peace. Caesar doubled the number of hostages that he had demanded before, but did not wait to collect them, as the autumnal equinox was at hand.

Availing himself of a favourable wind he put out to sea shortly after midnight, and reached the Continent without accident, except that two of the ships were unable to make the same harbours as the rest, and were carried in to shore some way further down the coast. The 300 men who were landed from these vessels were attacked by the Morini in hope of plunder, but rescued after four hours' fighting by the arrival of Roman cavalry. This led to reprisals on Caesar's part, who sent Labienus against the Morini in command of the two legions that he had just brought back from Britain. The dryness of the marshes prevented the Morini from escaping as well as they had done the year before, and most of them fell into the hands of Labienus. The Menapii fared better, as they retired before Sabinus and Cotta into the depths of their forests. But the season was now over, and the troops went into winter-quarters among the Belgae. Two British states only kept their promise to send hostages. For these exploits Caesar was honoured with a thanksgiving of twenty days' duration.

Out of all the controversy that there has been about Caesar's invasion of Britain one conclusion seems to emerge clear, namely, that Boulogne, or at least the mouth of the Liane, was the port from which he sailed. This theory survives as being the fittest, that is, the one which best suits the facts. It is also better supported by authority than any other, being the view held by

Mariette Bey, by Mr. Thomas Lewin, by the two Napoleons, and by M. Desjardins.

Caesar does not distinctly say that the place from which he started was the same in both expeditions, but his narrative certainly implies it. From his silence as to the name of the harbour in his account of the first expedition, we may conjecture that he had not then learnt it. The name Portus Itius may have been given to the place by the Romans themselves during their second stay there in 54. There is a small village called Isques on the left bank of the Liane, which the sea is said to have reached in former times, and which some have thought may have given its name to the harbour. Gesoriacum is of later date than Caesar, but it sprang rapidly into importance, so that Mela (iii. § 23) speaks of it as the most noted place on all the north coast of Gaul.

If the Portus Itius be Boulogne, then the 'ulterior' or 'superior portus' (23, § 1; 28, § 1) may be safely identified as Ambleteuse, which would be eight miles off for the cavalry, who would have to follow the windings of the hills.

Another point that may be considered highly probable is that it was under the cliffs of Dover that Caesar lay to with his men of war waiting for the arrival of the transports. But after this we are involved in uncertainty. The crucial point is this—When Caesar got the tide as well as the wind in his favour, at the ninth hour of the day, and moved on seven miles (23, § 6), did that tide carry him up or down the Channel? According to Mr. Lewin it carried him down, and he landed at Romney Marsh, which was so called from this fact; according to Napoleon III it carried him up, and he landed at Deal. Attempts have been made to settle this point by the aid of astronomy, and it might conceivably be so settled, for the horologe of heaven is exact in its working, if only we were sure of the day. The month, it is assumed, was August, for the summer had nearly run out (20, § 1), but Caesar found the harvest still in the fields (31, § 2).

Now on the night which followed the fourth day (reckoning inclusively) from Caesar's landing there was a full moon (28, § 1; 29, § 1). But it is known that in B.C. 55 the moon was full at 3 a.m. in the morning of Thursday, Aug. 31. Therefore the day on which Caesar's cavalry were swept away by a storm from before his eyes was Wednesday, Aug. 30. This is the day of which

Caesar speaks by a well-known ungrammatical idiom as 'post diem quartum, quam est in Britanniam ventum.' Therefore Caesar landed in Britain on Sunday, Aug. 27. This is Mr. Lewin's reasoning, and there is no flaw to be found in it, though Napoleon III gets Aug. 25 out of the same data. But can we assume that Caesar speaks with mathematical exactness when he mentions the full moon? If he does, then he is not correct in saying that that is the time of the highest tide, for the highest tide occurs a day and a half after the full moon. All that we can fairly infer from the premisses is that Caesar's fleet was damaged by a high tide somewhere about the time of the full moon, and that does not afford data for determining which way the tide was running about 3 o'clock in the afternoon four days previously.

The strong point in favour of Deal is that Dio Cassius (xxxix. 51, § 2) speaks of Caesar as having sailed round a certain promontory before landing, which seems to point to the South Foreland.

War with the Usipetes and Tencteri. 1–15.

These tribes cross the Rhine under pressure from the Suebi.

1 Ea, quae secuta est, hieme, qui fuit annus Gneo Pompeio, Marco Crasso consulibus, Usipetes Germani et item Tencteri magna cum multitudine hominum flumen Rhenum transierunt, non longe a mari, quo
2 Rhenus influit. Causa transeundi fuit, quod ab Suebis complures annos exagitati bello premebantur et agri-
3 cultura prohibebantur. Sueborum gens est longe maxima
4 et bellicosissima Germanorum omnium. Hi centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis singula milia armatorum bellandi causa ex finibus educunt.
5 Reliqui, qui domi manserunt, se atque illos alunt; hi rursus in vicem anno post in armis sunt, illi domi
6 remanent. Sic neque agricultura nec ratio atque usus

Manners and customs of the Suebi.

1. § 1. **qui.** See ii. 1, § 1 'Belgas, quam,' &c.

§ 5. **Reliqui, &c.** Horace (Carm. iii. 24, 12–16) has given us a free rendering of this passage in verse, transferring what Caesar says of the Germans to the Scythians and Getae—

'Immetata quibus iugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annua,
Defunctumque laboribus
Aequali recreat sorte vicarius.'

belli intermittitur. Sed privati ac separati agri apud 7
eos nihil est, neque longius anno remanere uno in loco
incolendi causa licet. Neque multum frumento, sed 8
maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque
sunt in venationibus; quae res et cibi genere et cotidiana 9
exercitatione et libertate vitae, cum a pueris nullo officio
aut disciplina assuefacti nihil omnino contra voluntatem
faciant, et vires alit et immani corporum magnitudine
homines efficit. Atque in eam se consuetudinem ad- 10
duxerunt, ut locis frigidissimis neque vestitus praeter
pelles haberent quicquam, quarum propter exiguitatem
magna est corporis pars aperta, et lavarentur in flu-
minibus.

Mercatoribus est aditus magis eo, ut, quae bello **2**
ceperint, quibus vendant habeant, quam quo ullam rem
ad se importari desiderent. Quin etiam iumentis, qui- 2
bus maxime Galli delectantur quaeque impenso parant
pretio, [Germani] importatis non utuntur, sed quae
sunt apud eos nata, parva atque deformia, haec cotidiana
exercitatione summi ut sint laboris efficiunt. Equestri- 3
bus proeliis saepe ex equis desiliunt ac pedibus proe-
liantur, equosque eodem remanere vestigio assuefecerunt,

§ 8. **multumque sunt in venationibus.** Cp. vi. 21, § 3: Tac. Germ. 15 'Quotiens bella non ineunt, multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt.'

§ 9. **quae res, &c.** The hunting, the meat diet, the daily exercise, and the absence of all cramping restraint accounted in Caesar's opinion for the size and strength of the Germans.

§ 10. **adduxerunt . . . haberent.** The historic sequence after the full perfect is employed regularly by Cicero, but less often by other writers. Cp. vi. 17, § 5: vii. 5, § 5.

2. § 2. **quibus, &c.** Many of the Latin terms connected with riding and driving are of Celtic origin. It is so with 'benna,' 'covinus,' 'esseda,' 'petorritum' (Aul. Gell. xv. 30, § 6), 'raeda' (Quint. i. 5, § 57) and perhaps with 'carrus,' 'carruca,' and 'cisium.' Introd. p. 100.

parva atque deformia. Tac. Germ. 6 'Equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui.'

§ 3. **eodem . . . vestigio,** 'stock-still.' The phrase occurs in another

4 ad quos se celeriter, cum usus est, recipiunt; neque eorum moribus turpius quicquam aut inertius habetur,
5 quam ephippiis uti. Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephip-
6 piatorum equitum quamvis pauci adire audent. Vinum ad se omnino importari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines atque effeminari arbitrantur.

3 Publice maximam putant esse laudem, quam latissime a suis finibus vacare agros; hac re significari magnum numerum civitatum suam vim sustinere non posse.
2 Itaque una ex parte a Suebis circiter milia passuum
3 sescenta agri vacare dicuntur. Ad alteram partem succedunt Ubii, quorum fuit civitas ampla atque florens, ut est captus Germanorum, et paulo, quam sunt eiusdem generis, [et ceteri] humaniores, propterea quod Rhenum attingunt multumque ad eos mercatores ventitant, et ipsi propter propinquitatem Gallicis sunt moribus assue-
4 facti. Hos cum Suebi multis saepe bellis experti propter amplitudinem gravitatemque civitatis finibus expellere non potuissent, tamen vectigales sibi fecerunt ac multo humiliores infirmioresque redegerunt.

The Ubii reduced by the Suebi.

4 In eadem causa fuerunt Usipetes et Tencteri, quos supra diximus, qui complures annos Sueborum vim

The Usipetes and Tencteri

sense in C. ii. 7, § 3, where it means 'at the same moment.'

§ 4. ephippiis, 'housings,' i.e. cloths thrown over the back of the animal after the manner of a Turkish saddle. Cic. (De Fin. iii. § 15) gives this as an instance of a Greek word which had become naturalised in Latin.

§ 6. remollescere homines. Cp. ii. 15, § 4. The ancient Germans were of the same opinion as Hector. Il. vi. 264, 5—

Μή μοι οἶνον ἄειρε μελίφρονα, πότνια μῆτερ,
Μή μ' ἀπογυιώσης, μένεος δ' ἀλκῆς τε λάθωμαι.

See Introd. p. 166.

3. § 3. [et ceteri]. The text is here corrupt. Hoffmann would omit the words in brackets, and take 'et paulo' as co-ordinate with 'et ipsi.'

§ 4. redegerunt. ii. 27, § 5.

4. § 1. In eadem causa. 'In the same case.' We see here the beginning of the usage, which gives us 'chose' = 'thing' in French.

succeed in crossing the Rhine by surprising the Menapii.

sustinuerunt, ad extremum tamen agris expulsi et multis locis Germaniae triennium vagati ad Rhenum pervenerunt. Quas regiones Menapii incolebant et ad 2
utramque ripam fluminis agros, aedificia vicosque habebant, sed tantae multitudinis aditu perterriti ex iis 3
aedificiis, quae trans flumen habuerant, demigraverunt et cis Rhenum dispositis praesidiis Germanos transire prohibebant. Illi omnia experti, cum neque vi con- 4
tendere propter inopiam navium neque clam transire propter custodias Menapiorum possent, reverti se in suas 5
sedes regionesque simulaverunt et tridui viam progressi rursus reverterunt atque omni hoc itinere una nocte equitatu confecto inscios inopinantesque Menapios oppresserunt, qui de Germanorum discessu per exploratores 6
certiores facti sine metu trans Rhenum in suos vicos remigraverant. His interfectis navibusque eorum occu- 7
patis, priusquam ea pars Menapiorum, quae citra Rhenum erat, certior fieret, flumen transierunt atque omnibus eorum aedificiis occupatis reliquam partem hiemis se eorum copiis aluerunt.

Liability of the Gauls to be swayed by rumour.

His de rebus Caesar certior factus et infirmitatem **5**
Gallorum veritus, quod sunt in consiliis capiendis mobiles et novis plerumque rebus student, nihil his committendum existimavit. Est enim hoc Gallicae 2
consuetudinis, uti et viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant, et quid quisque eorum de quaque re audierit aut cognoverit, quaerant, et mercatores in oppidis vulgus

§ 4. **reverti . . . reverterunt.** This verb is a semi-deponent of an unusual kind, the perfect with the tenses formed from it being active in form and the rest passive. Cp. vii. 5, § 5 'revertuntur . . . revertisse.'

§ 5. **equitatu**, abl. of instrument. Cp. 32, § 4 'equitatu atque essedis circumdederant': iv. 11, § 4 'iis legionibus': i. 8, § 1 'ea legione': vi. 8, § 7 'equitatu consectatus': vii. 69, § 7 'excubitoribus . . . tenebantur.'

circumsistat quibusque ex regionibus veniant quasque
3 ibi res cognoverint, pronuntiare cogant. His rebus atque auditionibus permoti de summis saepe rebus consilia ineunt, quorum eos in vestigio poenitere necesse est, cum incertis rumoribus serviant, et plerique ad voluntatem eorum ficta respondeant.

Caesar determines to attack the German intruders.

6 Qua consuetudine cognita Caesar, ne graviori bello occurreret, maturius, quam consuerat, ad exercitum
2 proficiscitur. Eo cum venisset, ea, quae fore suspicatus
3 erat, facta cognovit: missas legationes ab nonnullis civitatibus ad Germanos invitatosque eos, uti ab Rheno discederent, omniaque, quae postulassent, ab se fore
4 parata. Qua spe adducti Germani latius vagabantur et in fines Eburonum et Condrusorum, qui sunt
5 Treverorum clientes, pervenerant. Principibus Galliae evocatis Caesar ea, quae cognoverat, dissimulanda sibi existimavit eorumque animis permulsis et confirmatis equitatuque imperato bellum cum Germanis gerere constituit.

On Caesar's approach the Germans send him an embassy.

7 Re frumentaria comparata equitibusque delectis iter in ea loca facere coepit, quibus in locis esse Germanos
2 audiebat. A quibus cum paucorum dierum iter abesset,
3 legati ab iis venerunt, quorum haec fuit oratio: 'Germanos neque priores populo Romano bellum inferre neque tamen recusare, si lacessantur, quin armis contendant, quod Germanorum consuetudo [haec] sit a maioribus tradita, quicumque bellum inferant, resistere

5. § 2. **circumsistat . . . cogant.** The whole crowd stood round, while individuals questioned the merchants.

§ 3. **in vestigio**, 'on the spot.' For the transition from space to time cp. 'statim,' 'illico.' We have the phrase 'e vestigio' in viii. 21, § 1: C. ii. 25, § 6. 'Vestigium temporis' occurs in the sense of 'a moment' in vii. 25, § 1: C. ii. 26, § 2.

6. § 3. **fore parata** = 'paratum iri.' Cp. Sall. Jug. 27, § 4 'quorum auctoritate quae deliquisset munita fore sperabat.'

neque deprecari. Haec tamen dicere: venisse invitos, 4
eiectos domo; si suam gratiam Romani velint, posse iis utiles esse amicos; vel sibi agros attribuant, vel patiantur eos tenere, quos armis possederint: sese unis Suebis 5
concedere, quibus ne dii quidem immortales pares esse possint; reliquum quidem in terris esse neminem, quem non superare possint.'

Caesar's reply.

Ad haec, quae visum est, Caesar respondit; sed **8**
exitus fuit orationis: 'sibi nullam cum iis amicitiam esse posse, si in Gallia remanerent; neque verum esse, 2
qui suos fines tueri non potuerint, alienos occupare; neque ullos in Gallia vacare agros, qui dari tantae praesertim multitudini sine iniuria possint; sed licere, 3
si velint, in Ubiorum finibus considere, quorum sint legati apud se et de Sueborum iniuriis querantur et a se auxilium petant: hoc se Ubiis imperaturum.'

The ambassadors plead for delay.

Legati haec se ad suos relaturos dixerunt et re **9**
deliberata post diem tertium ad Caesarem reversuros: interea ne propius se castra moveret, petierunt. Ne id 2
quidem Caesar ab se impetrari posse dixit. Cognoverat 3
enim magnam partem equitatus ab iis aliquot diebus ante praedandi frumentandique causa ad Ambivaritos trans Mosam missam: hos exspectari equites atque eius rei causa moram interponi arbitrabatur.

Absence of the German cavalry, who had been sent across the Mosa.

The Mosa

Mosa profluit ex monte Vosego, qui est in finibus **10**

7. § 5. **unis Suebis**, 'to the Suebi alone.' Cp. 16, § 5: vi. 5, § 4.

8. § 1. **quae visum est.** This convenient formula is used by Caesar in a private letter to Oppius. Cic. ad Att. ix. 13[a], § 1 'Pompeius est Brundisii, misit ad me N. Magium de pace: quae visa sunt respondi.'

§ 2. **verum**, 'just.' Cicero uses the word in the same sense, e.g. Mur. § 74 'negat verum esse adlici benevolentiam cibo': Rosc. Am. § 84 'verissimum et sapientissimum iudicem.'

9. § 3. **Ambivaritos.** See vii. 75, § 2 'Ambivareti.'

10. § 1. **Vosego.** The Vosges, called 'Vogesus' by Lucan, i. 397

'castraque quae Vogesi curvam
super ardua rupem
pugnaces pictis cohibebant Lingonas armis.'

2 Lingonum, et parte quadam ex Rheno recepta, quae
appellatur Vacalus, insulam efficit Batavorum, neque
longius ab Oceano milibus passuum LXXX in Rhenum
3 influit. Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes
incolunt, et longo spatio per fines Nantuatium, Helveti-
orum, Sequanorum, Mediomatricum, Tribocorum, Tre-
4 verorum citatus fertur et, ubi Oceano appropinquavit, in
plures defluit partes multis ingentibusque insulis effectis,
quarum pars magna a feris barbarisque nationibus
5 incolitur (ex quibus sunt, qui piscibus atque ovis avium
vivere existimantur), multisque capitibus in Oceanum
influit.

and the Rhenus.

11 Caesar cum ab hoste non amplius passuum XII milibus
abesset, ut erat constitutum, ad eum legati revertuntur;

On the return of the am-

§ 2. **insulam . . . Batavorum.** Thus described by Tacitus, Hist. iv. 12 'insulam inter vada sitam . . . quam mare Oceanus a fronte, Rhenus amnis tergum ac latera circumluit.' He tells us in the same passage that the Batavi were originally part of the Chatti (in Hesse), who were driven from their country in consequence of a feud.

neque longius . . . influit, 'and the point at which it flows into the Rhine is not more than 80 miles from the Ocean.' By 'flowing into the Rhine' we must understand meeting the Vacalus which comes from the Rhine. Caesar speaks in 15, § 2 of the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine. Nap. III says in a note on that passage—'The study of the deserted beds of the Rhine leads us to believe that the confluence of the Waal and the Meuse, which is at present near Gorkum, was then much more to the east towards Fort Saint-André. In that case Caesar made no mistake in reckoning eighty miles from the junction of the Waal and the Meuse to the mouth of the latter river.'

§ 3. **Lepontiis.** Between Mount Gotthard and the Lago Maggiore.

Nantuatium, &c. Strabo (iv. 3, §§ 3, 4) follows precisely this order in enumerating the tribes who dwelt along the Rhine. The position here assigned to the Nantuates does not accord with iii. 1, § 1. Either Caesar has made a mistake or we have here a different tribe under the same name.

Mediomatricum. In vii. 75, § 3 we have the dat. pl. 'Mediomatricis.' The Mediomatrici lived about Metz in Lorraine.

Tribocorum. i. 51, § 2.

§ 5. **sunt, qui . . . existimantur.** The indic. because certain definite tribes are referred to. Cp. Sall. Cat. 39, § 5 'fuere tamen . . . qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt.'

multisque capitibus. Strabo (iv. 3, § 3) quotes Asinius as saying that the Rhine had only two mouths, and that those who assigned it more were wrong. Cp. Verg. Aen. viii. 727 'Rhenusque bicornis.'

bassadors. Caesar orders his cavalry to refrain from attack.

qui in itinere congressi magnopere, ne longius pro-
grederetur, orabant. Cum id non impetrassent, pete- 2
bant, uti ad eos equites, qui agmen antecessissent,
praemitteret eosque pugna prohiberet, sibique ut potes-
tatem faceret in Ubios legatos mittendi; quorum si 3
principes ac senatus sibi iureiurando fidem fecisset, ea
condicione, quae a Caesare ferretur, se usuros ostende-
bant: ad has res conficiendas sibi tridui spatium daret.
Haec omnia Caesar eodem illo pertinere arbitrabatur, ut 4
tridui mora interposita equites eorum, qui abessent,
reverterentur; tamen sese non longius milibus passuum
quattuor aquationis causa processurum eo die dixit; huc 5
postero die quam frequentissimi convenirent, ut de
eorum postulatis cognosceret. Interim ad praefectos, 6
qui cum omni equitatu antecesserant, mittit qui nun-
tiarent, ne hostes proelio lacesserent et, si ipsi laces-
serentur, sustinerent, quoad ipse cum exercitu propius
accessisset.

Caesar's cavalry routed by a small body of German horse.

At hostes, ubi primum nostros equites conspexerunt, **12**
quorum erat V milium numerus, cum ipsi non amplius
octingentos equites haberent, quod ii, qui frumentandi
causa ierant trans Mosam, nondum redierant, nihil
timentibus nostris, quod legati eorum paulo ante a
Caesare discesserant atque is dies indutiis erat ab his
petitus, impetu facto celeriter nostros perturbaverunt;
rursus resistentibus consuetudine sua ad pedes desilue- 2

11. § 2. **in Ubios.** See 8, § 3. Appian (De Reb. Gall. iv. 18) quotes Caesar in his Commentaries as saying that the Usipetes and Tencteri, when ordered by him to return to their own country, replied that they had sent ambassadors to the Suevi who had invaded them, and were awaiting their reply. When a statement which can be verified is found to be so erroneous, we must certainly accept with caution what cannot thus be brought to the test.

12. § 1. **non amplius octingentos.** It is recorded in Af. 6, § 3 (unless there is something wrong with the text) that on one occasion less than 30 Gallic horsemen routed 2000 Moorish.

runt, suffossis equis compluribusque nostris deiectis reli-
quos in fugam coniecerunt atque ita perterritos egerunt,
ut non prius fuga desisterent, quam in conspectum
3 agminis nostri venissent. In eo proelio ex equitibus
4 nostris interficiuntur quattuor et septuaginta, in his vir
fortissimus Piso Aquitanus, amplissimo genere natus,
cuius avus in civitate sua regnum obtinuerat amicus ab
5 senatu nostro appellatus. Hic cum fratri intercluso
ab hostibus auxilium ferret, illum ex periculo eripuit,
ipse equo vulnerato deiectus, quoad potuit, fortissime
6 restitit; cum circumventus multis vulneribus acceptis
cecidisset, atque id frater, qui iam proelio excesserat,
procul animadvertisset, incitato equo se hostibus obtulit
atque interfectus est.

Death of Piso the Aquitanian.

13 Hoc facto proelio Caesar neque iam sibi legatos
audiendos neque condiciones accipiendas arbitrabatur
ab iis, qui per dolum atque insidias petita pace ultro
2 bellum intulissent; exspectare vero, dum hostium copiae
augerentur equitatusque reverteretur, summae dementiae
3 esse iudicabat, et cognita Gallorum infirmitate, quantum
iam apud eos hostes uno proelio auctoritatis essent con-
secuti, sentiebat; quibus ad consilia capienda nihil
4 spatii dandum existimabat. His constitutis rebus et
consilio cum legatis et quaestore communicato, ne quem
diem pugnae praetermitteret, opportunissima res accidit,
quod postridie eius diei mane eadem et perfidia et
simulatione usi Germani frequentes omnibus principibus
maioribusque natu adhibitis ad eum in castra venerunt,
5 simul, ut dicebatur, sui purgandi causa, quod contra,
atque esset dictum et ipsi petissent, proelium pridie com-
misissent, simul ut, si quid possent, de indutiis fallendo

This repulse determines Caesar to fight at once.

Seizure of the German elders who come to apologize.

§ 4. **amicus . . . appellatus.** See i. 3, § 4 'amicus.'

13. § 4. **et quaestore.** i. 52, § 1.

impetrarent. Quos sibi Caesar oblatos gavisus illos 6
retineri iussit; ipse omnes copias castris eduxit equitatumque, quod recenti proelio perterritum esse existimabat, agmen subsequi iussit.

Surprise and slaughter of the Germans.

Acie triplici instituta et celeriter octo milium itinere **14**
confecto prius ad hostium castra pervenit, quam, quid
ageretur, Germani sentire possent. Qui omnibus rebus 2
subito perterriti, et celeritate adventus nostri et discessu suorum, neque consilii habendi neque arma capiendi spatio dato perturbantur, copiasne adversus hostem ducere, an castra defendere, an fuga salutem petere
praestaret. Quorum timor cum fremitu et concursu 3
significaretur, milites nostri pristini diei perfidia incitati
in castra irruperunt. Quo loco qui celeriter arma capere 4
potuerunt, paulisper nostris restiterunt atque inter carros
impedimentaque proelium commiserunt; at reliqua 5
multitudo puerorum mulierumque (nam cum omnibus suis domo excesserant Rhenumque transierant) passim fugere coepit; ad quos consectandos Caesar equitatum misit.

Germani post tergum clamore audito, cum suos **15**
interfici viderent, armis abiectis signisque militaribus
relictis se ex castris eiecerunt, et cum ad confluentem 2
Mosae et Rheni pervenissent, reliqua fuga desperata, magno numero interfecto, reliqui se in flumen prae-

14. § 5. **puerorum mulierumque.** With us the women naturally precede the children, but in Latin the case is as often as not the reverse. Cp. 19, § 2: vii. 14, § 10; 78, § 3: ii. 13, § 3; 28, § 1.

15. § 2. **confluentem,** 'confluence.' Used in the sing. also by Pliny. For the substantival use of the participle, cp. 'profluens, continens.' Caesar has already spoken of the Mosa flowing into the Rhine (10, § 2), by which he means the part of the Rhine which is called the Vacalus. Göler supposes that the 'Mosa' here does not mean the Maas but the Mosel. But if this were so, Caesar could not fail to have told us that he now meant another river from that which he had previously been speaking of under this name.

cipitaverunt atque ibi timore, lassitudine, vi fluminis
3 oppressi perierunt. Nostri ad unum omnes incolumes
perpaucis vulneratis ex tanti belli timore, cum hostium
numerus capitum CCCCXXX milium fuisset, se in castra
4 receperunt. Caesar iis, quos in castris retinuerat, dis-
5 cedendi potestatem fecit. Illi supplicia cruciatusque
Gallorum veriti, quorum agros vexaverant, remanere
se apud eum velle dixerunt. His Caesar libertatem
concessit.

Passage of the Rhine. 16–19.

Caesar's motives for it.

16 Germanico bello confecto multis de causis Caesar
statuit sibi Rhenum esse transeundum; quarum illa
fuit iustissima, quod, cum videret Germanos tam facile
impelli, ut in Galliam venirent, suis quoque rebus eos
timere voluit, cum intellegerent et posse et audere populi
2 Romani exercitum Rhenum transire. Accessit etiam,
quod illa pars equitatus Usipetum et Tencterorum,
quam supra commemoravi praedandi frumentandique
causa Mosam transisse neque proelio interfuisse, post
fugam suorum se trans Rhenum in fines Sugambrorum
3 receperat seque cum iis coniunxerat. Ad quos cum
Caesar nuntios misisset, qui postularent, 'eos, qui sibi
Galliaeque bellum intulissent, sibi dederent,' respon-
4 derunt: 'populi Romani imperium Rhenum finire; si se
invito Germanos in Galliam transire non aequum existi-
maret, cur sui quicquam esse imperii aut potestatis trans
5 Rhenum postularet?' Ubii autem, qui uni ex Trans-
rhenanis ad Caesarem legatos miserant, amicitiam
fecerant, obsides dederant, magnopere orabant, ut 'sibi
auxilium ferret, quod graviter ab Suebis premerentur;
6 vel, si id facere occupationibus rei publicae prohiberetur,
exercitum modo Rhenum transportaret: id sibi ad

16. § 2. **Sugambrorum.** On the Rhine between the Sieg and the Lippe.

auxilium spemque reliqui temporis satis futurum. Tan- 7
tum esse nomen atque opinionem eius exercitus Ariovisto pulso et hoc novissimo proelio facto etiam ad ultimas Germanorum nationes, uti opinione et amicitia populi Romani tuti esse possint.' Navium 8
magnam copiam ad transportandum exercitum pollicebantur.

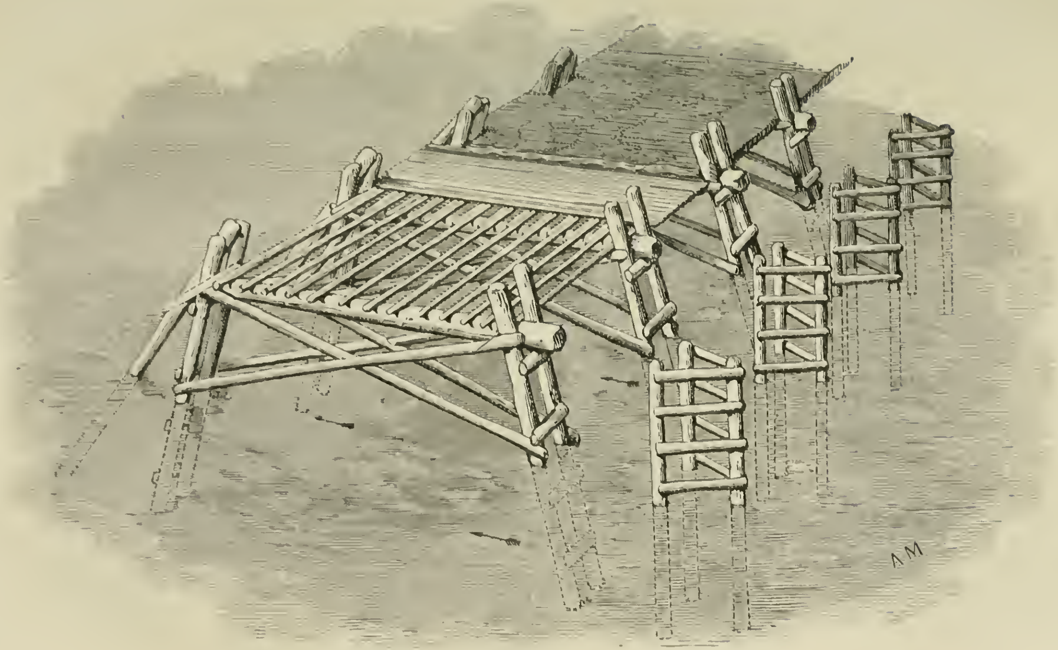
The bridge.

17 Caesar his de causis, quas commemoravi, Rhenum
transire decreverat; sed navibus transire neque satis tutum esse arbitrabatur, neque suae neque populi Romani dignitatis esse statuebat. Itaque, etsi summa difficul- 2
tas faciendi pontis proponebatur propter latitudinem, rapiditatem altitudinemque fluminis, tamen id sibi contendendum aut aliter non traducendum exercitum existimabat. Rationem pontis hanc instituit. Tigna 3
bina sesquipedalia, paulum ab imo praeacuta, dimensa ad altitudinem fluminis intervallo pedum duorum inter se iungebat. Haec cum machinationibus immissa in 4
flumen defixerat fistucisque adegerat, non sublicae modo directe ad perpendiculum, sed prone ac fastigate, ut secundum naturam fluminis procumberent; his item 5
contraria duo ad eundem modum iuncta intervallo pedum quadragenum ab inferiore parte contra vim atque impetum fluminis conversa statuebat. Haec 6
utraque insuper bipedalibus trabibus immissis, quantum eorum tignorum iunctura distabat, binis utrimque fibulis ab extrema parte distinebantur; quibus disclusis atque 7
in contrariam partem revinctis tanta erat operis firmitudo

16. § 7. **tuti**, 'protected by.' The word here retains its full force as the participle of 'tueor' in its passive signification.

17. § 3. **Rationem . . . instituit.** For the turn of phrase cp. vii. 72, § 1 'Caesar haec genera munitionis instituit.' On the bridge see Note B.

§ 7. **quibus disclusis.** This refers to 'Haec utraque,' not to 'fibulis.'



Caesar's Bridge across the Rhine.

To face p. 138, Vol. II.]

atque ea rerum natura, ut, quo maior vis aquae se
8 incitavisset, hoc artius illigata tenerentur. Haec directa materia iniecta contexebantur ac longuriis cratibusque
9 consternebantur; ac nihilo secius sublicae et ad inferiorem partem fluminis oblique agebantur, quae pro ariete subiectae et cum omni opere coniunctae vim fluminis
10 exciperent, et aliae item supra pontem mediocri spatio, ut, si arborum trunci sive naves deiciendi operis essent a barbaris missae, his defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur, neu ponti nocerent.

Invasion of the Sugambri, who take to flight.

18 Diebus decem, quibus materia coepta erat comportari,
2 omni opere effecto exercitus traducitur. Caesar ad utramque partem pontis firmo praesidio relicto in fines
3 Sugambrorum contendit. Interim a compluribus civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt; quibus pacem atque amicitiam petentibus liberaliter respondit obsidesque
4 ad se adduci iubet. Sugambri ex eo tempore, quo pons institui coeptus est, fuga comparata hortantibus iis, quos ex Tencteris atque Usipetibus apud se habebant, finibus suis excesserant suaque omnia exportaverant seque in solitudinem ac silvas abdiderant.

Return to the territory of the Ubii.

19 Caesar paucos dies in eorum finibus moratus omnibus vicis aedificiisque incensis frumentisque succisis se in fines Ubiorum recepit atque iis auxilium suum pollicitus,

Preparations of the Suebi to resist.

2 si ab Suebis premerentur, haec ab iis cognovit: 'Suebos, posteaquam per exploratores pontem fieri comperissent, more suo concilio habito nuntios in omnes partes dimisisse, uti de oppidis demigrarent, liberos, uxores suaque

§ 10. **deiciendi operis.** An instance of what may be called the genitive of motive or tendency. Cp. v. 8, § 6 'quas sui quisque commodi fecerat': Al. 65, § 1 'quae dissolvendae disciplinae severitatisque essent': Liv. xxi. 22, § 4 'Classis praeterea data tuendae maritimae orae': ib. 23, § 3 'Decem millia peditum Hannoni ad praesidium obtinendae regionis data.' It is especially common in Tacitus.

18. § 1. **Diebus decem, quibus.** iii. 23, § 2.

omnia in silvis deponerent, atque omnes, qui arma ferre
possent, unum in locum convenirent; hunc esse delectum 3
medium fere regionum earum, quas Suebi obtinerent;
hic Romanorum adventum exspectare atque ibi decertare

Return to Gaul.

constituisse.' Quod ubi Caesar comperit, omnibus rebus 4
iis confectis, quarum rerum causa traducere exercitum
constituerat, ut Germanis metum iniceret, ut Sugambros
ulcisceretur, ut Ubios obsidione liberaret, diebus omnino
decem et octo trans Rhenum consumptis, satis et ad
laudem et ad utilitatem profectum arbitratus, se in
Galliam recepit pontemque rescidit.

First expedition to Britain. 20–36.

Caesar's motives.

Exigua parte aestatis reliqua Caesar, etsi in his locis, 20
quod omnis Gallia ad septentriones vergit, maturae sunt
hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod
omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde sub-
ministrata auxilia intellegebat et, si tempus anni ad 2
bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore
arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset et genus hominum
perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset; quae 3

Difficulty of obtaining information.

omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. Neque enim temere
praeter mercatores illo adit quisquam, neque iis ipsis
quicquam praeter oram maritimam atque eas regiones,
quae sunt contra Gallias, notum est. Itaque vocatis 4
ad se undique mercatoribus neque quanta esset insulae
magnitudo, neque quae aut quantae nationes incolerent,
neque quem usum belli haberent aut quibus institutis
uterentur, neque qui essent ad maiorum navium mul-
titudinem idonei portus, reperire poterat.

C. Volusenus sent to explore.

Ad haec cognoscenda, priusquam periculum faceret, 21
idoneum esse arbitratus Gaium Volusenum cum navi
longa praemittit. Huic mandat, ut exploratis omnibus 2

19. § 4. decem et octo. i. 8, § 1.
20. § 1. auxilia. Cp. iii. 9, § 10.

The army and fleet assemble in the country of the Morini.

3 rebus ad se quam primum revertatur. Ipse cum om-
nibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat
4 brevissimus in Britanniam traiectus. Huc naves undique
ex finitimis regionibus et quam superiore aestate ad
Veneticum bellum effecerat classem iubet convenire.

Embassies from Britain.

5 Interim consilio eius cognito et per mercatores perlato
ad Britannos a compluribus insulae civitatibus ad eum
legati veniunt, qui polliceantur obsides dare atque
6 imperio populi Romani obtemperare. Quibus auditis
liberaliter pollicitus hortatusque, ut in ea sententia per-
manerent, eos domum remittit et cum iis una Commium,

Commius is sent there.

7 quem ipse Atrebatibus superatis regem ibi constituerat,
cuius et virtutem et consilium probabat et quem sibi
fidelem esse arbitrabatur, cuiusque auctoritas in his
8 regionibus magni habebatur, mittit. Huic imperat,
quas possit, adeat civitates horteturque, ut populi
Romani fidem sequantur, seque celeriter eo venturum

Return of Volusenus.

9 nuntiet. Volusenus perspectis regionibus omnibus, quan-
tum ei facultatis dari potuit, qui navi egredi ac se
barbaris committere non auderet, quinto die ad Caesarem
revertitur quaeque ibi perspexisset, renuntiat.

Voluntary surrender

22 Dum in his locis Caesar navium parandarum causa moratur, ex magna parte Morinorum ad eum legati

21. § 3. **brevissimus . . . traiectus.** Caesar, it should be noticed, says that the shortest passage was from the country of the Morini: he does not say that it was from the particular port from which he sailed. In v. 2, § 2 he rather implies the contrary, where he gives us to understand that he chose the 'Portus Itius' because it was most convenient. The distance from Dover to Calais is declared in the L. C. D. railway-book to be twenty-five miles, and this is not the shortest line that can be drawn from England to France.

§ 4. **naves.** Strabo (iv. 3, § 3) says that Caesar's shipyard (*ναυπήγιον*) in his British expeditions was on the Seine; he speaks at the same time of *τὸ Ἴτιον* in the country of the Morini as his *ναύσταθμον* (iv. 5, § 2).

§ 5. **polliceantur dare.** 'Polliceor' occurs again with a pres. infin. in vi. 9, § 7.

§ 6. **Atrebatibus.** II. 16, § 2 'Atrebatis.'

§ 8. **imperat . . . adeat.** Cp. vii. 86, § 2 'imperat . . . pugnaret.'

of the Morini.

venerunt, qui se de superioris temporis consilio excusarent, quod homines barbari et nostrae consuetudinis imperiti bellum populo Romano fecissent, seque ea, quae imperasset, facturos pollicerentur. Hoc sibi Caesar 2
satis opportune accidisse arbitratus, quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat neque belli gerendi propter anni tempus facultatem habebat neque has tantularum rerum occupationes Britanniae anteponendas iudicabat, magnum iis numerum obsidum imperat. Quibus adductis eos in fidem recepit. Navibus circiter 3
LXXX onerariis coactis constratisque, quot satis esse ad duas transportandas legiones existimabat, quod praeterea navium longarum habebat, quaestori, legatis praefectisque distribuit. Huc accedebant XVIII onerariae naves, 4
quae ex eo loco a milibus passuum octo vento tenebantur, quo minus in eundem portum venire possent: has equitibus distribuit. Reliquum exercitum Quinto 5
Titurio Sabino et Lucio Aurunculeio Cottae legatis in Menapios atque in eos pagos Morinorum, a quibus ad eum legati non venerant, ducendum dedit; Publium 6
Sulpicium Rufum legatum cum eo praesidio, quod satis esse arbitrabatur, portum tenere iussit.

Arrangements before starting.

Arrival off Britain.

His constitutis rebus nactus idoneam ad navigandum 23
tempestatem tertia fere vigilia solvit equitesque in ulteriorem portum progredi et naves conscendere et se

22. § 1. **superioris temporis.** See iii. 28, § 1.

§ 3. **duas . . . legiones.** *Δύο τάγματα μόνον περαιώσας τῆς στρατιᾶς*, Strabo, iv. 5, § 3. Two legions was the ordinary consular army. Vegetius (ii. 4) says that the Ancients thought these, with their contingent of auxiliaries, enough for any war.

23. § 1. **ulteriorem portum.** This is called 'superior portus' in 28, § 1, and 'superior' may be interpreted by a passage in § 2 of the same chapter—'inferiorem partem insulae, quae est propius solis occasum.' Hence it appears that that is 'ulterior' or 'superior' which is on Caesar's right as he faces the sea, and that 'inferior' which is on his left. This agrees with the position of Ambleteuse as compared with Boulogne.

2 sequi iussit. A quibus cum paulo tardius esset administratum, ipse hora circiter diei quarta cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas
3 hostium copias armatas conspexit. Cuius loci haec erat natura, atque ita montibus anguste mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adigi posset.
4 Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum locum arbitratus, dum reliquae naves eo convenirent, ad horam
5 nonam in ancoris exspectavit. Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis et quae ex Voluseno cognosset, et quae fieri vellet, ostendit monuitque, ut rei militaris ratio, maxime ut maritimae res postularent, ut quae celerem atque instabilem motum haberent, ad nutum
6 et ad tempus omnes res ab iis administrarentur. His dimissis et ventum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum dato signo et sublatis ancoris circiter milia passuum septem ab eo loco progressus aperto ac plano litore naves constituit.

Instructions to the officers.

A landing-place found.

24 At barbari, consilio Romanorum cognito, praemisso equitatu et essedariis, quo plerumque genere in proeliis uti consuerunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti nostros navibus
2 egredi prohibebant. Erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naves propter magnitudinem nisi in alto constitui non poterant, militibus autem ignotis locis, impeditis manibus, magno et gravi onere armorum oppressis simul et de navibus desiliendum et in fluctibus

Difficulties of landing.

§ 2. **cum primis navibus.** So in Tacitus (Agr. 24) we find Agricola going in advance of his fleet, 'nave prima transgressus.'

§ 3. **anguste,** MSS. 'angustis.' The fame of the cliffs of Dover had reached Cicero in July, 54 B.C. For in a letter to Atticus of that date he says 'constat enim aditus insulae esse munitos mirificis molibus' (Ad Att. iv. 16, § 7).

24. § 1. **egredi prohibebant.** Cp. ii. 4, § 2 'ingredi prohibuerint': v. 9, § 6 'ingredi prohibebant': iv. 16, § 6 'facere . . . prohiberetur': vii. 38, § 3 'prohibeor . . . pronuntiare': Af. 85, § 2 'prohibiti terram attingere': Sall. Cat. 18 'prohibitus erat consulatum petere.'

consistendum et cum hostibus erat pugnandum, cum 3
illi aut ex arido aut paulum in aquam progressi omnibus
membris expeditis, notissimis locis audacter tela coni-
cerent et equos insuefactos incitarent. Quibus rebus 4
nostri perterriti atque huius omnino generis pugnae
imperiti non eadem alacritate ac studio, quo in pedes-
tribus uti proeliis consuerant, nitebantur.

The war-ships brought into play.

Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, naves longas, quarum **25**
et species erat barbaris inusitatior et motus ad usum
expeditior, paulum removeri ab onerariis navibus et
remis incitari et ad latus apertum hostium constitui
atque inde fundis, sagittis, tormentis hostes propelli ac
submoveri iussit; quae res magno usui nostris fuit.
Nam et navium figura et remorum motu et inusitato 2
genere tormentorum permoti barbari constiterunt ac
paulum modo pedem rettulerunt. Atque nostris militi-
bus cunctantibus, maxime propter altitudinem maris, qui
decimae legionis aquilam ferebat, contestatus deos, ut 3
ea res legioni feliciter eveniret, 'desilite,' inquit, 'milites,
nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere: ego certe meum
rei publicae atque imperatori officium praestitero.' Hoc 4
cum voce magna dixisset, se ex navi proiecit atque in
hostes aquilam ferre coepit. Tum nostri cohortati inter 5
se, ne tantum dedecus admitteretur, universi ex navi
desiluerunt. Hos item ex proximis navibus cum con-
spexissent, subsecuti hostibus appropinquarunt.

Gallantry of a standard-bearer.

§ 4. nitebantur. Al. 'utebantur.'

25. § 1. ad latus apertum, 'on their exposed flank,' i.e. on the right side, which was unprotected by the shield. Cp. vii. 50, § 1; 82, § 2.

§ 3. aquilam. 'Primum signum totius legionis est aquila, quam aquilifer portat,' Veg. ii. 13. It is described by Dio Cassius (xl. 18) as a small shrine carried on the top of a long pole and containing a golden eagle. The pole ended in a spike by which the eagle could be fixed into the ground. The eagle was not allowed to leave the camp except when the whole army was going out.

26 Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter. Nostri tamen, quod neque ordines servare neque firmiter insistere neque signa subsequi poterant, atque alius alia ex navi, quibuscumque signis occurrerat, se aggregabat, mag- The landing effected.
2 nopere perturbantur; hostes vero notis omnibus vadis, ubi ex litore aliquos singulares ex navi egredientes conspexerant, incitatis equis impeditos adoriebantur,
3 plures paucos circumsistebant, alii ab latere aperto in
4 universos tela coniciebant. Quod cum animadvertisset Caesar, scaphas longarum navium, item speculatoria navigia militibus compleri iussit et, quos laborantes
5 conspexerat, his subsidia submittebat. Nostri, simul in arido constiterunt, suis omnibus consecutis in hostes impetum fecerunt atque eos in fugam dederunt, neque longius prosequi potuerunt, quod equites cursum tenere atque insulam capere non potuerant. Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Caesari defuit.

26. § 1. **firmiter.** Adverbs in -ter formed from adjectives of the 2nd decl. tended to die out as the language became more regular, and give place to forms in -e. 'Firmiter' however is used by Cicero (De Rep. i. § 69), and by Lactantius (Div. Inst. v. 6). We had 'largiter' in i. 18, § 6, and it occurs also in Af. 72, § 6. 'Ignaviter' occurs in Af. 81, § 1 and is used by Hirtius in a letter to Cicero (see Ad Att. xv. 6, § 2). We find also in good writers 'humaniter,' 'luculenter,' 'truculenter,' &c. 'Duriter' is used by Terence (Andr. 74: Ad. 45).

§ 2. **singulares.** Not the same as 'singulos,' but meaning 'in small bodies.'

§ 4. **scaphas.** Cp. C. i. 28, § 4: ii. 43, § 1: Af. 44, § 1 'scaphis naviculisque actuariis.'

speculatoria navigia. Florus (ii. 13, § 37), speaking of Caesar's supposed attempt to cross the Adriatic, says 'speculatorio navigio solus ire temptaverit.' Livy (xxii. 19, § 5) uses the form 'speculatoriae' (sc. 'naves,' cp. xxx. 10, § 13). Vegetius (iv. 37) mentions that 'scaphae exploratoriae' were always attached to the 'liburnae' of his time. They are described as being rowed with twenty oars on each side, and as being painted blue so as to escape observation in the waters.

§ 5. **simul** = 'simul atque.'

pristinam fortunam. i. 40, § 13 'felicitatem.' Caesar was deeply impressed by the power of fortune in war, and often dwells upon the subject. See vi. 30, §§ 2, 4; 35, § 2; 42, § 1: C. iii. 68, § 1. What Caesar puts down to fortune the author of the Alexandrine War (75, § 4) ascribes to divine intervention—'multum adiuvante natura loci, plurimum deorum immortalium

Overtures for peace on the part of the natives. Commius is restored to Caesar.

27 Hostes proelio superati, simul atque se ex fuga receperunt, statim ad Caesarem legatos de pace miserunt; obsides daturos quaeque imperasset facturos esse polliciti sunt. Una cum his legatis Commius Atrebas 2 venit, quem supra demonstraveram a Caesare in Britanniam praemissum. Hunc illi e navi egressum, cum ad 3 eos oratoris modo Caesaris mandata deferret, comprehenderant atque in vincula coniecerant; tum proelio 4 facto remiserunt et in petenda pace eius rei culpam in multitudinem coniecerunt et propter imprudentiam ut ignosceretur, petiverunt. Caesar questus, quod, cum 5 ultro in continentem legatis missis pacem ab se petissent, bellum sine causa intulissent, ignoscere imprudentiae dixit obsidesque imperavit; quorum illi partem statim 6 dederunt, partem ex longinquioribus locis arcessitam paucis diebus sese daturos dixerunt. Interea suos 7 remigrare in agros iusserunt, principesque undique convenire et se civitatesque suas Caesari commendare coeperunt.

The ships which carried Caesar's cavalry

28 His rebus pace confirmata post diem quartum, quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves XVIII, de quibus supra demonstratum est, quae equites sustulerant, ex superiore

benignitate; qui cum omnibus casibus belli intersunt, tum praecipue, quibus nihil ratione potuit administrari.'

27. § 1. **legatos.** Dio Cassius (xxxix. 51) mentions that the Britons sent some of the Morini, with whom they were on friendly terms.

§ 2. **supra.** 21, § 6.

§ 3. **oratoris modo,** 'in the character of an envoy.' Cp. Verg. Aen. vii. 153

'centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis
ire iubet.'

28. § 1. **post diem quartum.** As this day is said in 29, § 1 to have been followed by the new moon, it is all important in determining the time of Caesar's arrival in Britain. The Emperor Napoleon vitiates his reasoning on this head by insisting that the expression does not include the day of landing, notwithstanding that he had before him Mr. Lewin's apposite quotation from Cic. Phil. ii. § 89 'neque te illo die neque postero vidi . . . Post diem tertium veni,' &c.

dispersed by a storm.

2 portu leni vento solverunt. Quae cum appropinquarent
Britanniae et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas
subito coorta est, ut nulla earum cursum tenere posset,
sed aliae eodem, unde erant profectae, referrentur, aliae
ad inferiorem partem insulae, quae est propius solis
3 occasum, magno sui cum periculo deicerentur; quae
tamen ancoris iactis cum fluctibus complerentur, neces-
sario adversa nocte in altum provectae continentem
petierunt.

His fleet damaged by a high tide.

29 Eadem nocte accidit, ut esset luna plena, qui dies
maritimos aestus maximos in Oceano efficere consuevit,
2 nostrisque id erat incognitum. Ita uno tempore et
longas naves, quibus Caesar exercitum transportandum
curaverat quasque in aridum subduxerat, aestus com-
pleverat, et onerarias, quae ad ancoras erant deligatae,
tempestas afflictabat, neque ulla nostris facultas aut
3 administrandi aut auxiliandi dabatur. Compluribus
navibus fractis reliquae cum essent funibus, ancoris reli-
quisque armamentis amissis ad navigandum inutiles,
magna, id quod necesse erat accidere, totius exercitus
4 perturbatio facta est. Neque enim naves erant aliae,
quibus reportari possent, et omnia deerant, quae ad
reficiendas naves erant usui, et, quod omnibus constabat
hiemari in Gallia oportere, frumentum his in locis in
hiemem provisum non erat.

The Britons prepare to renew hostilities.

30 Quibus rebus cognitis principes Britanniae, qui post
proelium ad Caesarem convenerant, inter se collocuti,
cum equites et naves et frumentum Romanis deesse
intellegerent et paucitatem militum ex castrorum exi-
guitate cognoscerent, quae hoc erant etiam angustiora,

§ 2. **magno sui cum periculo**, 'at great risk to themselves.' Cp. 31, § 1 'ex eventu navium suarum': v. 19, § 2 'magno cum periculo nostrorum equitum.'

quod sine impedimentis Caesar legiones transportaverat, optimum factu esse duxerunt, rebellione facta frumento 2
commeatuque nostros prohibere et rem in hiemem producere, quod his superatis aut reditu interclusis neminem postea belli inferendi causa in Britanniam transiturum confidebant. Itaque rursus coniuratione facta paulatim 3
ex castris discedere ac suos clam ex agris deducere coeperunt.

Caesar's counter-preparations.

At Caesar, etsi nondum eorum consilia cognoverat, 31
tamen et ex eventu navium suarum et ex eo, quod obsides dare intermiserant, fore id, quod accidit, suspicabatur. Itaque ad omnes casus subsidia comparabat. 2
Nam et frumentum ex agris cotidie in castra conferebat et quae gravissime afflictae erant naves, earum materia atque aere ad reliquas reficiendas utebatur et quae ad eas res erant usui, ex continenti comportari iubebat. Itaque, cum summo studio a militibus administraretur, 3
XII navibus amissis, reliquis ut navigari commode posset, effecit.

The seventh legion is attacked while foraging.

Dum ea geruntur, legione ex consuetudine una 32
frumentatum missa, quae appellabatur septima, neque ulla ad id tempus belli suspicione interposita, cum pars hominum in agris remaneret, pars etiam in castra ventitaret, ii, qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant, Caesari nuntiaverunt pulverem maiorem, quam consuetudo ferret, in ea parte videri, quam in partem legio iter fecisset. Caesar id, quod erat, suspicatus aliquid 2
novi a barbaris initum consilii, cohortes, quae in stationibus erant, secum in eam partem proficisci, ex reliquis duas in stationem cohortes succedere, reliquas armari et confestim sese subsequi iussit. Cum paulo longius 3

32. § 2. **armari**, middle. Cp. vi. 21, § 5 'perluuntur': vii. 5, § 7 'iunguntur.'

a castris processisset, suos ab hostibus premi atque aegre sustinere et conferta legione ex omnibus partibus
4 tela conici animadvertit. Nam quod omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumento pars una erat reliqua, suspicati hostes, huc nostros esse venturos, noctu in silvis delituerant; tum dispersos depositis armis in metendo occupatos subito adorti, paucis interfectis, reliquos incertis ordinibus perturbaverant, simul equitatu atque essedis circumdederant.

33 Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnae. Primo per omnes partes perequitant et tela coniciunt atque ipso terrore equorum et strepitu rotarum ordines plerumque perturbant, et cum se inter equitum turmas insinuaverunt, ex Manner of fighting from war-chariots.
2 essedis desiliunt et pedibus proeliantur. Aurigae interim paulatim ex proelio excedunt atque ita currus collocant, ut, si illi a multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum
3 ad suos receptum habeant. Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in proeliis praestant, ac tantum usu cotidiano et exercitatione efficiunt, uti in declivi ac praecipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere et brevi moderari ac flectere et per temonem percurrere et in iugo insistere et se inde in currus citissime recipere consuerint.

33. § 1. ex essedis. The 'essedum' was also called 'covinus.' Lucan (i. 426) ascribes it to the Belgae

'et docilis rector monstrati Belga covini.'

Tacitus (Agr. 35, 36) speaks of the Caledonian charioteers as 'covinarii.' Mela (iii. § 52) says that these chariots had scythes attached to their wheels, 'dimicant non equitatu modo aut pedite, verum et bigis et curribus Gallice armatis: "covinnos" vocant, quorum falcatis axibus utuntur.' Lucian (Zeux. vel Ant. 8) speaks of ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα as being used by the Gauls of Asia Minor when they fought against Antiochus Soter. Florus (i. 24, § 16) mentions 'falcati currus' as among the forces employed by Antiochus the Great against the Romans. We may infer that these were Galatian. Cp. Flor. i. 27, § 2. Silius Italicus (xvii. 417, 418) says—

'Caerulus haud aliter, cum dimicat, incola Thules
Agmina falcifero circumvenit arcta covinno.'

Nevertheless, as Caesar says nothing about scythes, we must suppose that *these* chariots were without them.

Rescue of the legion.

Quibus rebus perturbatis nostris [novitate pugnae] 34
tempore opportunissimo Caesar auxilium tulit: namque
eius adventu hostes constiterunt, nostri se ex timore
receperunt. Quo facto ad lacessendum et ad commit- 2
tendum proelium alienum esse tempus arbitratus suo se
loco continuit et brevi tempore intermisso in castra
legiones reduxit. Dum haec geruntur, nostris omnibus 3
occupatis, qui erant in agris reliqui, discesserunt. Secutae 4
sunt continuos complures dies tempestates, quae et
nostros in castris continerent et hostem a pugna pro-
hiberent. Interim barbari nuntios in omnes partes 5
dimiserunt paucitatemque nostrorum militum suis prae-
dicaverunt et, quanta praedae faciendae atque in per-
petuum sui liberandi facultas daretur, si Romanos castris
expulissent, demonstraverunt. His rebus celeriter magna
multitudine peditatus equitatusque coacta ad castra
venerunt.

An attack on the camp planned and repulsed.

Caesar, etsi idem, quod superioribus diebus acciderat, 35
fore videbat, ut, si essent hostes pulsi, celeritate peri-
culum effugerent, tamen nactus equites circiter XXX,
quos Commius Atrebas, de quo ante dictum est, secum
transportaverat, legiones in acie pro castris constituit.
Commisso proelio diutius nostrorum militum impetum 2
hostes ferre non potuerunt ac terga verterunt. Quos 3
tanto spatio secuti, quantum cursu et viribus efficere
potuerunt, complures ex iis occiderunt, deinde omnibus
longe lateque aedificiis incensis se in castra receperunt.

Caesar leaves Britain.

Eodem die legati ab hostibus missi ad Caesarem de 36
pace venerunt. His Caesar numerum obsidum, quem 2

34. § 3. **qui erant in agris reliqui.** See 32, § 1 'cum pars hominum in agris remaneret.'

35. § 2. **ac terga verterunt.** iii. 19, § 3 'ac statim.'

§ 3. **tanto spatio,** abl. of space within which.

ante imperaverat, duplicavit eosque in continentem
adduci iussit, quod propinqua die aequinoctii infirmis
navibus hiemi navigationem subiciendam non existima-
3 bat. Ipse idoneam tempestatem nanctus paulo post
mediam noctem naves solvit; quae omnes incolumes ad
continentem pervenerunt; sed ex iis onerariae duae
eosdem, quos reliqui, portus capere non potuerunt et
paulo infra delatae sunt.

Two ship-loads of men attacked by the Morini,

37 Quibus ex navibus cum essent expositi milites circiter
trecenti atque in castra contenderent, Morini, quos
Caesar in Britanniam proficiscens pacatos reliquerat, spe
praedae adducti primo non ita magno suorum numero
circumsteterunt ac, si sese interfici nollent, arma ponere
2 iusserunt. Cum illi orbe facto sese defenderent, celeriter
ad clamorem hominum circiter milia sex convenerunt.
Qua re nuntiata Caesar omnem ex castris equitatum
3 suis auxilio misit. Interim nostri milites impetum
hostium sustinuerunt atque amplius horis quattuor for-
tissime pugnaverunt et paucis vulneribus acceptis
4 complures ex his occiderunt. Postea vero quam equi-
tatus noster in conspectum venit, hostes abiectis armis
terga verterunt magnusque eorum numerus est occisus.

but rescued by Caesar's cavalry.

38 Caesar postero die Titum Labienum legatum cum iis
legionibus, quas ex Britannia reduxerat, in Morinos, qui
2 rebellionem fecerant, misit. Qui cum propter siccitates
paludum, quo se reciperent, non haberent, quo superiore
anno perfugio fuerant usi, omnes fere in potestatem
3 Labieni pervenerunt. At Qu. Titurius et L. Cotta
legati, qui in Menapiorum fines legiones duxerant, omni-
bus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis succisis, aedificiis

Operations against the Morini and Menapii.

36. § 2. **aequinoctii.** The equinox, according to the calculations of Le Verrier, fell on the 26th of September.

37. § 2. **orbe facto.** See v. 33, § 3.

Winter-quarters among the Belgae.

Thanksgiving of twenty days.

incensis, quod Menapii se omnes in densissimas silvas abdiderant, se ad Caesarem receperunt. Caesar in 4
Belgis omnium legionum hiberna constituit. Eo duae omnino civitates ex Britannia obsides miserunt, reliquae neglexerunt. His rebus gestis ex litteris Caesaris dierum viginti supplicatio a senatu decreta est.

C. IULII CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

LIBER QUINTUS

B.C. 54

SUMMARY.

THE fifth book contains three striking episodes—the second expedition to Britain, the affair of Sabinus and Cotta, and the defence of his camp by Q. Cicero. Besides these there are some minor incidents. During the winter of 55–54 Caesar's soldiers were busily employed in building ships made according to special instructions from himself. There is a curious parallel between the craft designed by Caesar and those constructed by order of the Emperor Napoleon I, when he contemplated invading England from the same port of Boulogne. Napoleon's ships like Caesar's were flat-bottomed, so as to strand without breaking, and were made to go with oars.

Meantime Caesar was administrating his other provinces of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, holding assizes in both and quelling an incipient attack of the Pirustae upon the latter. On his return to Further Gaul he was well pleased to find about 600 vessels of the pattern he had ordered as well as twenty-eight ships of war

almost ready to be launched. The Portus Itius was appointed as the place of meeting, while Caesar himself went off with four legions lightly equipped and 800 horse into the territory of the Treveri, who were contumacious enough not to come to his councils. There were two claimants for power in that tribe, Indutiomarus and his son-in-law Cingetorix. The latter at once tendered his submission; the former at first meditated resistance, but, finding himself insufficiently supported by the nobles, made a forced surrender, and was converted into a mortal enemy by Caesar's preference for his rival.

On returning to Boulogne Caesar found all the ships assembled, with the exception of sixty, which had been built on the Seine, and which had been driven back by contrary winds. The Gallic cavalry were there besides to the number of 4,000, and also the chiefs from all the states, most of whom Caesar was determined to bring with him as hostages to prevent a rising in Gaul. Among the rest was Dumnorix, who was extremely unwilling to go. Twenty-five days did Caesar wait while the wind was settled in the north-west. At last it blew fair, but at the moment of embarkation Dumnorix rode off with the Aeduan cavalry. Caesar stopped the proceedings and sent a large force in pursuit of him with orders to kill him, if he resisted. He did resist, and the orders were carried out. The Aeduan cavalry returned to Caesar.

Leaving Labienus in charge on the Continent with three legions and 2,000 horse, Caesar now embarked five legions and the other half of the cavalry on board the fleet, and set sail at sundown with a gentle breeze from the south-west. During the night the wind dropped and the ships were carried from their course by the tide, so that in the morning Britain was to be seen on the left. The tide however now turned in Caesar's favour, and by dint of hard rowing the ships were got to the old landing-place about mid-day. The landing was this time unopposed.

Consigning the fleet to the care of Quintus Atrius, who was left with ten cohorts and 300 horse, Caesar set out by night and marched twelve miles to the spot where, as he had been informed by captives, the enemy were collected. Their cavalry and war-chariots attempted resistance from the high ground on the far bank of a stream, but were dislodged by the Roman horse and took refuge in a woodland fortress formed of a barricade of timber.

The men of the seventh legion made short work of this by raising a mound against it under the protection of a roof of shields. The enemy were expelled, but Caesar did not deem it advisable to pursue them far that day. He was doing so on the next when news was brought to him of a disaster to his fleet. This led him to stop the pursuit and return to the sea. Forty ships were irretrievably gone, but the rest might be repaired, and orders were sent to Labienus to employ his legions in building new ones. To prevent a repetition of the disaster Caesar beached all the ships and enclosed them and the camp within a strong line of defences, a labour which occupied the army for ten days, working night and day.

After this interruption Caesar returned to the enemy, who were now congregated in great numbers under the command of Cassivellaunus, a chief whose territories lay north of the Thames. The Britons, after the manner of Celts in general, were at war with one another, but they had united for the moment against the invader.

The first day's fighting with the Britons showed Caesar that his adversaries were not to be despised. Their war-chariots dashed up the narrow lane left between his cohorts and returned safe from this perilous expedition before the bewildered legionaries recovered their self-possession. If the Britons were repulsed, they took refuge in the woods, where it was death to follow them. Emboldened by their success they made an attack in force next day upon three legions and the whole body of cavalry that had been sent out to forage under the command of Gaius Trebonius. This time, however, their reception was very different. The infantry supported the cavalry, the Britons were driven in headlong rout, and never afterwards attempted a general engagement.

Cassivellaunus had found out that it was his policy to adopt Fabian tactics. Having dismissed the main part of his army, he retained a body of about 4,000 charioteers with which he kept so close a watch upon Caesar's march as to reduce him to the alternatives of loss of men or want of provisions. The only point where the Britons attempted direct resistance was at the Thames. The bank was strongly staked, and stakes were also fixed under the water. But the cavalry with the legions following, though the

heads of the latter only were above water, carried all before them, and the Britons forsook the bank.

The internal animosities of the Celts now began to act to their own detriment in Britain as in Gaul. The king of the Trinobantes, a powerful tribe in Essex, had been slain by Cassivellaunus, and his son Mandubracius had taken refuge with Caesar on the Continent. The Trinobantes now asked to have Mandubracius restored to them and protected against Cassivellaunus. They gave hostages to Caesar and supplied him with corn. Other tribes followed their example, and soon the 'town' of Cassivellaunus, which was only some earthworks in a place protected by woods and marshes, was taken by storm. The British general now sent orders to the four kings who then reigned in Kent to make a diversion in his favour by an attack on the naval camp of the Romans. When this was foiled Cassivellaunus was ready to come to terms with Caesar, a matter in which he employed the good offices of Commius. Caesar took hostages, imposed a tribute on Britain, and threatened Cassivellaunus with pains and penalties, if he molested Mandubracius or the Trinobantes. Owing to the loss of ships and the number of captives the army had to be brought back in two relays. The ships, when returning empty, were met by a storm, and very few of them could make their place of destination; the rest had to put back. Caesar waited for them for some time, but the equinox was again at hand, so he crowded all the rest of his men on board the few ships he had, and by good luck got them across safely. He left Britain about nine in the evening and reached land at daybreak.

Before Caesar left Britain he received the news of the death of his daughter Julia (Sen. Cons. ad Marc. 14), an event pregnant with consequences, which however do not concern us here.

We must be content to forgo the idea of following in the footsteps of Caesar in Britain, for we do not even know the point from which he started.

Mr. Lewin lands him on Romney Marsh, near Lymne, which was in those days a haven, as the name is thought to indicate. The river, at which the Britons first offered resistance (9, § 3) he identifies with the Great Stour near Wye. The silvan stronghold, which fell before the seventh legion (9, §§ 4, 7), he finds in Challock

Wood, about a mile from Wye on the north side of the river. From Wye he conjectures that Caesar went to Dorking and then down the left bank of the Mole to the nearest point of the Thames. He is inclined to accede to the tradition that Caesar crossed the Thames at the point known as Cowey or Coway Stakes, a little above Walton and below Weybridge, though he thinks that the famous stakes themselves, which are referred to by the Venerable Bede as having been planted by Cassivellaunus (Eccl. Hist. I. 2), must have been the piles of an ancient bridge. No one need look for these stakes now, but the place where they once stood is 'at the distance of a furlong to the west of the northern end of Walton Bridge.' Lastly, the town of Cassivellaunus he considers to be the ancient Verulam or St. Albans.

The Emperor Napoleon III, on the other hand, who had Mr. Lewin's reasoning before him, lands Caesar at Deal, represents the barbarians as drawn up to oppose him on the heights of Kingston beyond the Little Stour, makes Caesar march to the Thames by Maidstone and Westerham, and cross it perhaps at Sunbury. He inclines to accept St. Albans as the 'oppidum' of Cassivellaunus. This is the sole point in which the two writers agree, and for this there is no evidence. As regards time the two authorities are much better agreed than as regards place. Mr. Lewin calculates that Caesar sailed for Britain on July 18; the Emperor makes it the 20th. Both agree that he left Britain finally on September 21, but Mr. Lewin arrives at this conclusion by a calculation of the tides, while the Emperor takes it from Cicero (ad Att. iv. 17, § 3), who says that he had received letters from his brother Quintus and from Caesar when they were in the act of departing from Britain, and that these letters were dated the 6th day before the Kalends of October. Now this is the day which in Le Verrier's tables corresponds to September 21.

After his return from Britain Caesar's first care was to hold out at Amiens (Samarobriva) the 'council of the Gauls' which he had instituted for his own purposes; his next was to arrange the winter-quarters of his army. The harvest had been bad owing to the dryness of the season, so that he was obliged to scatter his forces over a wide area.

There are eight and a half legions mentioned. The following scheme represents their distribution among the tribes of northern

Gaul together with Napoleon the Third's conjectural assignment of them to modern localities.

Legions.	Commanders.	Tribes.	Modern Name of Locality.
1	C. Fabius	Morini .	St. Pol.
1	Q. Cicero	Nervii .	Charleroi.
1	L. Roscius	Esuvii .	Séez in Normandy.
1	T. Labienus . . .	Remi. .	Lavacherie on the Ourthe.
1	M. Crassus. . . .	Belgae	Montdidier.
1	L. Munatius Plancus	Belgae	Champlieu.
1	C. Trebonius . . .	Belgae	Amiens.
$1\frac{1}{2}$	Q. Titurius Sabinus and L. Aurunculeius Cotta	Eburones	Tongres.

A disturbance among the Carnutes, who assassinated by public consent the descendant of their old kings whom Caesar had reimposed upon them, caused an immediate alteration in these arrangements. The legion under L. Plancus was ordered to march at once into the country of the Carnutes (Chartres) and take up its winter-quarters there.

Caesar meant to leave Gaul as soon as he heard that his legions were established in their winter-quarters (24, § 8; 25, § 5), but fortunately for himself he did not do so. He was apparently detained by a feeling of uneasiness for which there was good cause. We can hardly doubt but that the mind of the Gauls was gravely affected by his high-handed proceedings in the case of Dumnorix, perhaps too by a certain loss of prestige attendant upon his very doubtful success in Britain.

But, whatever the cause, hardly a fortnight had elapsed after the retirement of the legions into winter-quarters before an attack was made upon the joint camp of Sabinus and Cotta at Aduatuca. The leaders of this movement were Ambiorix and Catuvolcus, the two chiefs of the small tribe of the Eburones, who were incited thereto by Indutiomarus. Failing in the attack on the camp Ambiorix proposed a conference. Two men were sent out to him, one of whom was a friend of Sabinus. Ambiorix posed as being grateful to Caesar for certain benefits and personally friendly to

Sabinus, but as being forced into an attack on the camp as part of a concerted movement; he added that a large body of Germans had crossed the Rhine, and would be on the spot in two days; in conclusion he promised a safe-conduct to the Romans, if they would relieve his country of winter-quarters by withdrawing to the camp of Cicero or Labienus. The words of Ambiorix were reported to the lieutenants and a council of war was called. Cotta and most of the officers were in favour of staying where they were and defying any number of Germans; Sabinus was strongly in favour of withdrawing, and his opinion ultimately prevailed. At daybreak next morning they set out from the camp with a long train of baggage, but they had not gone more than two miles before they fell into an ambush of the enemy. The Romans were obliged to abandon their baggage and form into a circle, in which order they managed to hold out until about two o'clock in the afternoon. Then their losses induced Sabinus to sue for terms. Ambiorix ordered him and the officers who accompanied him to lay down their arms; they did so and were treacherously murdered. Cotta died fighting along with most of the men. The residue returned into their camp, where they held out with difficulty till nightfall, and then slew themselves. A few escaped from the field and found their way to the camp of Labienus, which was more than fifty miles distant.

Elated with victory, Ambiorix rode on into the neighbouring territory of the Aduatuci, ordering the foot forces to follow him, and then into that of the Nervii. The three tribes with all their vassals fell with fury upon the camp of Cicero. But the energy of the defence was equal to that of the attack. Quintus, though in ill health, did not rest even at night, until he was forced by his men to spare himself. Then the chiefs of the Nervii who were acquainted with the lieutenant made the same representations and offers to him that had been made to Sabinus, informing him in addition of the fate of that commander. But Cicero's only reply was that, if they wanted terms, they must lay down their arms. After this the Gauls began to invest the camp in Roman fashion, as well as they could without the necessary tools. On the seventh day of the siege they managed to set fire to the soldiers' huts, which were thatched with straw after the manner of the country, and at the same time made a desperate assault upon the rampart.

But the soldiers stood firm and the centurions vied with one another in displaying their valour upon the assailants.

Many attempts had been made to communicate with Caesar. At last a Gaul, himself a Nervian, who was in the camp, employed his servant to carry a despatch concealed in a spear.

Caesar was at Samarobriva, though he forgets to say so. The news reached him an hour before nightfall. He at once sent a messenger to M. Crassus, whose quarters were twenty-five miles off, in the country of the Bellovaci, ordering the legion to start at midnight and come to him. A second messenger was despatched to C. Fabius bringing him instructions to march his legion into the country of the Atrebates so as to join Caesar on the way. Discretionary orders were also sent to Labienus to come into the territory of the Nervii, but, being himself threatened by the Treveri, that commander thought it advisable not to stir. About the third hour next day couriers arrived announcing the approach of Crassus. Leaving him in charge of the head-quarters at Samarobriva, Caesar hastened by forced marches into the territory of the Nervii, having with him one legion and picking up that of Fabius on the way: he had also collected about 400 cavalry. News of his coming was conveyed to Cicero by a Gallic horseman, who hurled a spear into the camp with a despatch attached to the thong. The spear stuck in a tower, and was not noticed till the third day, when the joyful news it contained was confirmed by the smoke in the distance which marked the devastating advance of the Roman army.

The Gauls now raised the siege and advanced with all their forces against Caesar. The latter, warned by Cicero of his danger, entrenched himself in a safe position in an ostentatiously small camp. Then by the usual Roman tactics of playing on the self-confidence of the Gauls he drew them into an attack on his camp, and by a sudden sally routed them with great slaughter.

The same day Caesar arrived in the camp of Cicero and praised him and the legion for their gallant conduct. On the next he called the soldiers together and consoled them for the loss of their comrades under Sabinus and Cotta by the thought that they had now avenged it[1].

[1] Suetonius (J. C. 67) mentions it as an instance of Caesar's love for his soldiers that on hearing of the disaster to Sabinus he let his

News travelled fast in Gaul. The camp of Cicero was sixty miles from that of Labienus. Caesar did not reach it till the ninth hour of the day, yet before midnight the Remi were congratulating Labienus on Caesar's victory. The tidings had the effect of deterring Indutiomarus from an attack upon the camp of Labienus, which he had planned for the very next day.

Caesar seems to have taken Cicero's legion back with him, for, owing to the disturbed state of the country, he wintered at Amiens with three legions in three separate camps, and the camps, it is claimed, are there to this day. Fabius was sent back to his old quarters.

This winter was very unquiet. The Senones followed the example of the Carnutes in expelling a king who was a nominee of Caesar; no states could be trusted but the Aedui and Remi; the Treveri under Indutiomarus were especially active in organizing rebellion. All the patriotism of the country was gathering round the chieftain of the Treveri, who might have played the part of Vercingetorix, had he not fallen a victim to the craft of Labienus, who set a price upon his head. After his death Caesar found Gaul a little more quiet.

Caesar, on departing from Gaul, leaves instructions for the building of ships.

1 L. DOMITIO, Ap. Claudio consulibus discedens ab hibernis Caesar in Italiam, ut quotannis facere consuerat, legatis imperat, quos legionibus praefecerat, uti, quam plurimas possent, hieme naves aedificandas veteresque reficiendas curarent. Earum modum formamque demon-
2 strat. Ad celeritatem onerandi subductionesque paulo facit humiliores, quam quibus in nostro mari uti consuevimus, atque id eo magis, quod propter crebras commutationes aestuum minus magnos ibi fluctus fieri cognoverat; ad onera ac multitudinem iumentorum transportandam paulo latiores, quam quibus in reliquis
3 utimur maribus. Has omnes actuarias imperat fieri,

beard and hair grow until he had avenged it. Caesar was informed of it first by the despatch from Labienus which he received in reply to his own. See v. 47, § 5.

1. § 3. actuarias. Cp. C. i. 27,

quam ad rem multum humilitas adiuvat. Ea, quae sunt 4
usui ad armandas naves, ex Hispania apportari iubet.
Caesar in Illyricum.
Ipse conventibus Galliae citerioris peractis in Illyricum 5
proficiscitur, quod a Pirustis finitimam partem provinciae
incursionibus vastari audiebat. Eo cum venisset, civi- 6
tatibus milites imperat certumque in locum convenire
iubet. Qua re nuntiata Pirustae legatos ad eum mittunt, 7
qui doceant nihil earum rerum publico factum consilio,
seseque paratos esse demonstrant omnibus rationibus de
iniuriis satisfacere. Percepta oratione eorum Caesar 8
obsides imperat eosque ad certam diem adduci iubet;
nisi ita fecerint, sese bello civitatem persecuturum
demonstrat. Iis ad diem adductis, ut imperaverat, 9
arbitros inter civitates dat, qui litem aestiment poenamque constituant.

On returning to Gaul he finds the ships built.
His confectis rebus conventibusque peractis in citeri- 2
orem Galliam revertitur atque inde ad exercitum pro-
ficiscitur. Eo cum venisset, circuitis omnibus hibernis 2
singulari militum studio in summa omnium rerum inopia circiter sescentas eius generis, cuius supra demonstravimus, naves et longas XXVIII invenit instructas neque multum abesse ab eo, quin paucis diebus deduci possint.
The Portus Itius appointed as the meeting-place.
Collaudatis militibus atque iis, qui negotio praefuerant, 3
quid fieri velit ostendit atque omnes ad portum Itium convenire iubet, quo ex portu commodissimum in

§ 6 'actuaria navigia': iii. 62, § 2 'naves actuarias': Al. 9, § 4 'navigio actuario': 44, § 3 'navibus actuariis': Af. 44, § 1 'naviculis actuariis': Liv. xxi. 28, § 9 'actuariis . . . navibus.' Aul. Gell. x. 25, § 5 'actuariae, quas Graeci ἱστιοκώπους vocant vel ἐπακτρίδας. The 'actuaria' was intended for sailing and rowing.

imperat fieri. See 7, § 9 're-trahique imperat.'

2. § 3. portum Itium. According to the Emperor Napoleon the Portus Itius is Boulogne; according to D'Anville it is Wissant, between that and Calais. Professor Rhys (Celt. Brit. p. 299) suggests that the true form of the name is Portus Ictius, and that the Channel was called the Ictian Sea. He infers this from the old name for the Channel in Irish, which was Muir n-Icht.

Britanniam traiectum esse cognoverat, circiter milium passuum XXX [transmissum] a continenti: huic rei quod
4 satis esse visum est militum reliquit. Ipse cum legionibus expeditis IIII et equitibus DCCC in fines Treverorum proficiscitur, quod hi neque ad concilia veniebant neque imperio parebant Germanosque Transrhenanos sollicitare dicebantur.

Expedition against the Treveri.

3 Haec civitas longe plurimum totius Galliae equitatu valet magnasque habet copias peditum Rhenumque, ut
2 supra demonstravimus, tangit. In ea civitate duo de principatu inter se contendebant, Indutiomarus et Cin-
3 getorix; e quibus alter, simul atque de Caesaris legionumque adventu cognitum est, ad eum venit, 'se suosque omnes in officio futuros neque ab amicitia populi Romani defecturos' confirmavit, quaeque in Treveris
4 gererentur ostendit. At Indutiomarus equitatum peditatumque cogere iisque, qui per aetatem in armis esse non poterant, in silvam Arduennam abditis, quae ingenti

Indutiomarus and Cingetorix.

circiter milium passuum xxx. 30 statute miles + 2,622 feet is said to be just the distance of Boulogne from Folkestone. Caesar is not here giving us the shortest distance from the Continent to Britain, but the distance as he found it. But he is much more accurate in his statement than subsequent writers. Diodorus Siculus (v. 21, § 3) makes the distance to the nearest point in Kent to be about 100 stades ($=11\frac{1}{2}$ English miles), which is an underestimate. Strabo (iv. 5, § 2) makes Caesar's voyage to be 320 stades or about 37 English miles, which is perhaps got from Caesar himself by adding the 7 miles which he sailed along the coast (iv. 23, § 6). Pliny (iv. 102 Detl.) says that Britain is 50 miles from Boulogne, 'Haec abest a Gesoriaco Morinorum gentis litore proximo traiectu L̄.' Dio Cassius (xxxix. 50, § 2) makes the shortest distance from the Morini to Britain to be 450 stades, which is nearly 52 miles English.

§ 4. **neque . . . neque . . . que.** iii. 14, § 4.

concilia. Cp. 24, § 1.

3. § 1. **supra.** iv. 10, § 3.

§ 4. **silvam Arduennam.** The present Forest of Ardennes. It would appear in ancient times to have covered a great part of the north of France and Belgium. Strabo (iv. 3, § 5) speaks of it as spreading through the country of the Morini, Atrebates, and Eburones, if not that of the Menapii as well. But he says that its extent had been exaggerated by former writers, who put it at 4,000 stades (460 miles). The trees of which it consisted were small and bushy.

magnitudine per medios fines Treverorum a flumine
Rheno ad initium Remorum pertinet, bellum parare
instituit. Sed posteaquam nonnulli principes ex ea
civitate et familiaritate Cingetorigis adducti et adventu
nostri exercitus perterriti ad Caesarem venerunt et de
suis privatim rebus ab eo petere coeperunt, quoniam
civitati consulere non possent, veritus, ne ab omnibus
desereretur, Indutiomarus legatos ad Caesarem mittit:
'sese idcirco ab suis discedere atque ad eum venire 6
noluisse, quo facilius civitatem in officio contineret,
ne omnis nobilitatis discessu plebs propter impruden-
tiam laberetur; itaque esse civitatem in sua potestate, 7
seseque, si Caesar permitteret, ad eum in castra
venturum, suas civitatisque fortunas eius fidei per-
missurum.'

Feigned surrender of Indutiomarus.

Caesar, etsi intellegebat, qua de causa ea dicerentur, 4
quaeque eum res ab instituto consilio deterreret, tamen,
ne aestatem in Treveris consumere cogeretur omnibus
ad Britannicum bellum rebus comparatis, Indutiomarum
ad se cum CC obsidibus venire iussit. His adductis, in 2
iis filio propinquisque eius omnibus, quos nominatim
evocaverat, consolatus Indutiomarum hortatusque est,
uti in officio maneret; nihilo tamen secius principibus 3
Treverorum ad se convocatis hos singillatim Cingetorigi
conciliavit, quod cum merito eius a se fieri intellegebat,
tum magni interesse arbitrabatur eius auctoritatem inter
suos quam plurimum valere, cuius tam egregiam in se
voluntatem perspexisset. Id tulit factum graviter Indu- 4
tiomarus, suam gratiam inter suos minui, et, qui iam
ante inimico in nos animo fuisset, multo gravius hoc
dolore exarsit.

Arrangements be-

His rebus constitutis Caesar ad portum Itium cum 5
legionibus pervenit. Ibi cognoscit LX naves, quae in 2

dis factae erant, tempestate reiectas cursum tenere non potuisse atque eodem, unde erant profectae, revertisse; reliquas paratas ad navigandum atque omnibus rebus instructas invenit. Eodem equitatus totius Galliae convenit numero milium quattuor principesque ex omnibus civitatibus; ex quibus perpaucos, quorum in se fidem perspexerat, relinquere in Gallia, reliquos obsidum loco secum ducere decreverat, quod, cum ipse abesset, motum Galliae verebatur. fore leaving for Britain.

3 rebus instructas invenit.

4 bus civitatibus;

6 Erat una cum ceteris Dumnorix Aeduus, de quo ante ab nobis dictum est. Hunc secum habere in primis constituerat, quod eum cupidum rerum novarum, cupidum imperii, magni animi, magnae inter Gallos auctoritatis cognoverat. Dumnorix got rid of.

2 Accedebat huc, quod in concilio Aeduorum Dumnorix dixerat, sibi a Caesare regnum civitatis deferri; quod dictum Aedui graviter ferebant neque recusandi aut deprecandi causa legatos ad Caesarem mittere audebant. Id factum ex suis hospitibus Caesar cognoverat.

3 Ille omnibus primo precibus petere contendit, ut in Gallia relinqueretur, partim, quod insuetus navigandi mare timeret, partim, quod religionibus impediri sese diceret.

4 Posteaquam id obstinate sibi negari vidit, omni spe impetrandi adempta principes Galliae sollicitare, sevocare singulos hortarique coepit, uti in continenti remanerent;

5 metu territare: 'non sine causa fieri, ut Gallia omni nobilitate spoliaretur; id esse consilium Caesaris, ut, quos in conspectu Galliae interficere vereretur, hos omnes in Britanniam traductos necaret';

6 fidem reliquis interponere, iusiurandum poscere, ut, quod esse ex usu Galliae intellexissent, communi con-

5. § 2. in Meldis. About Meaux in the department of Seine-et-Marne.

6. § 1. ante. i. 18.

§ 3. quod . . . diceret. i. 23, § 3.

silio administrarent. Haec a compluribus ad Caesarem
deferebantur.

Qua re cognita Caesar, quod tantum civitati Aeduae 7
dignitatis tribuebat, coërcendum atque deterrendum,
quibuscumque rebus posset, Dumnorigem statuebat;
quod longius eius amentiam progredi videbat, prospi- 2
ciendum, ne quid sibi ac rei publicae nocere posset.
Itaque dies circiter XXV in eo loco commoratus, quod 3
Corus ventus navigationem impediebat, qui magnam
partem omnis temporis in his locis flare consuevit, dabat
operam, ut in officio Dumnorigem contineret, nihilo
tamen secius omnia eius consilia cognosceret; tandem 4
idoneam nactus tempestatem milites equitesque con-
scendere in naves iubet. At omnium impeditis animis 5
Dumnorix cum equitibus Aeduorum a castris insciente
Caesare domum discedere coepit. Qua re nuntiata 6
Caesar intermissa profectione atque omnibus rebus post-
positis magnam partem equitatus ad eum insequendum
mittit retrahique imperat; si vim faciat neque pareat, 7
interfici iubet, nihil hunc se absente pro sano facturum
arbitratus, qui praesentis imperium neglexisset. Ille 8
iam revocatus resistere ac se manu defendere suorumque
fidem implorare coepit saepe clamitans 'liberum se
liberaeque esse civitatis.' Illi, ut erat imperatum, cir- 9

7. § 3. **Corus ventus.** 'Corus' or 'Caurus,' the north-west wind, was called by the Greeks Ἀργέστης, Aul. Gell. ii. 22, § 12. Vegetius (iv. 38) makes it blow from the south-west, identifying it with the Greek Λιβόνοτος, but here he is out of harmony with better authorities.

§ 6. **retrahique imperat.** We had 'imperare' with the infin. in i. § 3, 'imperat fieri,' and it occurs again in vii. 60, § 3, 'proficisci imperat.' The same construction is employed by Hirtius (B. G. viii. 27, § 4), 'procedere . . . imperat,' and even by Cicero (Cat. i. § 27), 'mactari imperabis.'

§ 8. **Ille iam.** The MSS. have 'Ille enim,' which has been altered on the ground that 'enim' here gives no sense. But 'enim' may be used like 'enimvero.' Cp. Ter. Phorm. 113, 'illa enim se negat':

cumsistunt hominem atque interficiunt; at equites Aedui ad Caesarem omnes revertuntur.

8 His rebus gestis Labieno in continente cum tribus
legionibus et equitum milibus duobus relicto, ut portus
tueretur et rem frumentariam provideret, quaeque in
Gallia gererentur, cognosceret consiliumque pro tempore
2 et pro re caperet, ipse cum quinque legionibus et pari
numero equitum, quem in continenti reliquerat, ad solis
occasum naves solvit et leni Africo provectus media
circiter nocte vento intermisso cursum non tenuit et
longius delatus aestu orta luce sub sinistra Britanniam
3 relictam conspexit. Tum rursus aestus commutationem
secutus remis contendit, ut eam partem insulae caperet,
qua optimum esse egressum superiore aestate cognoverat.
4 Qua in re admodum fuit militum virtus laudanda, qui
vectoriis gravibusque navigiis non intermisso remigandi
5 labore longarum navium cursum adaequarunt. Acces-
sum est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano fere
6 tempore, neque in eo loco hostis est visus; sed, ut postea
Caesar ex captivis cognovit, cum magnae manus eo
convenissent, multitudine navium perterritae, quae cum
annotinis privatisque, quas sui quisque commodi fecerat,

Second expedition to Britain. 8–23.

Labienus left in charge on the Continent.

The fleet carried out of its course by the tide.

The landing unopposed.

Liv. xxii. 25, § 3 'tum M. Metilius tribunus plebis id enim ferendum esse negat.'

§ 9. **hominem.** More emphatic than a mere pronoun. Cp. 58, § 6.

8. § 1. **in continente.** This form of the abl. is used only here by Caesar. Cp. § 2, 'in continenti.'

§ 2. **pari numero . . . quem.** In 13, § 2 we find 'pari spatio . . . atque,' and in i. 28, § 5 'parem . . . condicionem atque.'

Africo. 'Africus, qui Graece λίψ,' Aul. Gell. ii. 22, § 12, the south-west wind. The Romans naturally carried their own ideas with them to the north.

§ 6. **annotinis,** 'those of the year before.' Plin. N. H. xvi. § 107 'novusque fructus in his cum annotino pendet.' The penult is short as in 'diutinus,' 'hornotinus,' 'pristinus.' There were eighty ships of the year before, which with the 628 of this year make up 708, but from this number we have perhaps to deduct the sixty mentioned in 5, § 1.

sui . . . commodi. iv. 17, § 10, 'deiciendi operis.'

amplius octingentae uno erant visae tempore, a litore discesserant ac se in superiora loca abdiderant.

Leaving the fleet at anchor Caesar marches against the enemy, crosses a river in spite of them, and captures a silvan stronghold.

Caesar exposito exercitu et loco castris idoneo capto, 9
ubi ex captivis cognovit, quo in loco hostium copiae
consedissent, cohortibus decem ad mare relictis et equi-
tibus trecentis, qui praesidio navibus essent, de tertia
vigilia ad hostes contendit, eo minus veritus navibus,
quod in litore molli atque aperto deligatas ad ancoram
relinquebat, et praesidio navibus Quintum Atrium prae-
fecit. Ipse noctu progressus milia passuum circiter XII 2
hostium copias conspicatus est. Illi equitatu atque 3
essedis ad flumen progressi ex loco superiore nostros
prohibere et proelium committere coeperunt. Repulsi 4
ab equitatu se in silvas abdiderunt locum nancti egregie
et natura et opere munitum, quem domestici belli, ut
videbatur, causa iam ante praeparaverant; nam crebris 5
arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant praeclusi. Ipsi 6
ex silvis rari propugnabant nostrosque intra munitiones
ingredi prohibebant. At milites legionis septimae tes- 7
tudine facta et aggere ad munitiones adiecto locum
ceperunt eosque ex silvis expulerunt paucis vulneribus
acceptis. Sed eos fugientes longius Caesar prosequi 8
vetuit, et quod loci naturam ignorabat, et quod magna
parte diei consumpta munitioni castrorum tempus relin-
qui volebat.

News of a disaster to the fleet.

Postridie eius diei mane tripertito milites equitesque 10

amplius octingentae. Athenaeus (vi. 273 b) quoting Caesar's lieutenant Cotta speaks of Caesar as having crossed to Britain *μετὰ χιλίων σκαφῶν*, but the language is there rhetorical, its object being to emphasize the fact that, despite this ample accommodation, Caesar only took with him three private servants.

9. § 1. **cohortibus decem.** Ten cohorts made a legion: but we may suppose Caesar to have left two cohorts from each of his five legions.

§ 3. **equitatu atque essedis.** For the collocation, cp. iv. 32, § 4.

flumen. The Great Stour according to Lewin; the Little Stour according to Napoleon III.

in expeditionem misit, ut eos, qui fugerant, perseque-
2 rentur. His aliquantum itineris progressis, cum iam
extremi essent in prospectu, equites a Quinto Atrio ad
Caesarem venerunt, qui nuntiarent, superiore nocte
maxima coorta tempestate prope omnes naves afflictas
atque in litore eiectas esse, quod neque ancorae funesque
subsisterent, neque nautae gubernatoresque vim tempes-
3 tatis pati possent; itaque ex eo concursu navium
magnum esse incommodum acceptum.

11 His rebus cognitis Caesar legiones equitatumque Caesar returns to the coast.
revocari atque in itinere resistere iubet, ipse ad naves
2 revertitur; eadem fere, quae ex nuntiis litterisque cog-
noverat, coram perspicit, sic ut amissis circiter XL navibus
reliquae tamen refici posse magno negotio viderentur.
3 Itaque ex legionibus fabros deligit et ex continenti alios Measures to retrieve the disaster.
4 arcessi iubet; Labieno scribit, ut, quam plurimas possit,
5 iis legionibus, quae sunt apud eum, naves instituat. Ipse,
etsi res erat multae operae ac laboris, tamen commodis-
simum esse statuit, omnes naves subduci et cum castris
6 una munitione coniungi. In his rebus circiter dies
X consumit ne nocturnis quidem temporibus ad laborem
7 militum intermissis. Subductis navibus castrisque egre-
gie munitis easdem copias, quas ante, praesidio navibus
8 reliquit, ipse eodem, unde redierat, proficiscitur. Eo

10. § 2. **extremi.** This seems to refer to the rear of the enemy, but Long and Kraner agree in referring it to the Romans, who were still in sight of Caesar from his camp. The question turns on whether 'castrorum' in 9, § 8 refers to the same camp as 'castris' in 9, § 1. That it does not seems to be proved by 11, § 7.

11. § 1. **in itinere resistere.** Moebius and Kraner have 'itinere desistere.'

§ 2. **sic ut,** 'in so far at least that.' Here the force of 'sic' is extenuative: not so in 17, § 2.

§ 3. **fabros.** Veget. i. 7 'fabros ferrarios carpentarios macellarios et cervorum aprorumque venatores convenit sociare militiae.' The ideal Roman legion was a self-supporting body with members acquainted with all the arts of practical life.

§ 4. **quae sunt apud eum.** i. 40, § 5, 'cum . . . videbatur.'

Cassivellaunus appointed to the command of the Britons.

cum venisset, maiores iam undique in eum locum copiae
Britannorum convenerant summa imperii bellique administrandi
communi consilio permissa Cassivellauno;
cuius fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod
appellatur Tamesis, a mari circiter milia passuum LXXX.
Huic superiore tempore cum reliquis civitatibus con- 9
tinentia bella intercesserant; sed nostro adventu permoti
Britanni hunc toti bello imperioque praefecerant.

Description of Britain. 12–15. Inhabitants.

Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in **12**
insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt, maritima pars ab 2
iis, qui praedae [ac belli inferendi] causa ex Belgio
transierant (qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum
appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt)
et bello illato ibi permanserunt atque agros colere
Dwellings. coeperunt. Hominum est infinita multitudo creberrima- 3
que aedificia fere Gallicis consimilia, pecorum magnus
Money. numerus. Utuntur aut aere [aut nummo aureo] aut 4
taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo.
Minerals. Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, 5
in maritimis ferrum, sed eius exigua est copia; aere

§ 8. **Cassivellauno.** 'The whole name would seem, in accordance with what has already been guessed with regard to Cassi, to mean a ruler of the league or a tribe-king.' Rhys.

12. § 1. **ipsa.** The best MSS. have here 'ipsi.'

§ 4. **aut nummo aureo.** These words are generally regarded as spurious. 'Nummo aereo,' which is found in some MSS., may have been written in the margin as a gloss on 'aere,' and then have crept into the text, and have been emended into 'nummo aureo.' Cicero (Ad Fam. vii. 7, § 1) says, 'in Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti,' and again (Ad Att. iv. 16, § 7) 'etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula neque ullam spem praedae nisi ex mancipiis.' Strabo however says (iv. 5, § 2) *φέρει δὲ σῖτον καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ σίδηρον.* Tacitus (Agr. 12) says the same, 'Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae.'

taleis. vii. 73, § 9. The name was also given to a cylindrical bar of wood which was rolled upon the assailants in a siege. Veget. iv. 8.

§ 5. **plumbum album.** 'Tin,' as opposed to 'plumbum nigrum,' which is 'lead.' Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. § 156. When 'plumbum' is used alone, as in Af. 20, § 3, it means 'plumbum nigrum.'

utuntur importato. Materia cuiusque generis ut in Gallia est praeter fagum atque abietem. Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant; haec tamen alunt animi voluptatisque causa. Loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.

Timber. Food. Climate.

6 (Gallia est praeter fagum …)

13 Insula natura triquetra, cuius unum latus est contra Galliam. Huius lateris alter angulus, qui est ad Cantium, quo fere omnes ex Gallia naves appelluntur, ad orientem solem, inferior ad meridiem spectat. Hoc pertinet
2 circiter milia passuum quingenta. Alterum vergit ad Hispaniam atque occidentem solem; qua ex parte est Hibernia, dimidio minor, ut existimatur, quam Britannia,

Geography of the British Isles.

praeter fagum atque abietem. See Introduction, p. 133.

§ 6. **animi voluptatisque causa,** 'for fancy and pleasure.' Cp. vii. 77, § 10: Cic. Rosc. Am. §§ 133, 134.

temperatiora. Similar testimony to the comparative mildness of the British climate is borne by Strabo and by Tacitus. Strabo (iv. 5, § 2) says, Ἐπόμβριοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἀέρες μᾶλλον ἢ νιφετώδεις, and Tacitus (Agr. 12) 'Caelum crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum: asperitas frigorum abest.'

13. § 1. **triquetra.** Cp. Strabo, iv. 5, § 1, Ἡ δὲ Βρεττανικὴ τρίγωνος μέν ἐστι τῷ σχήματι. Livy is said by Tacitus (Agr. 10) to have likened the shape of Britain to a rhomboid ('oblongae scutulae') and Fabius Rusticus to a battle-axe ('bipenni'): but Tacitus adds that this description leaves out of account the enormous wedge-like end added to it by Caledonia.

inferior, sc. 'angulus,' but the word must not be pressed, and we may translate 'the lower part of it.' Caesar rightly divides the side of Britain which is over against Gaul into two parts, the corner made by Kent which looks east, and the rest of the coast which looks south.

Hoc. Supply 'latus' from 'lateris' above.

circiter milia passuum quingenta. Strabo makes the south coast of England 4,300 or 4,400 stades (4,000 stades = 500 Roman miles).

§ 2. **ad Hispaniam.** This error was still rife in the time of Tacitus. See Agr. 10, 11, 24. Agricola is said to have entertained designs upon Ireland, because, lying half-way between Britain and Spain, the possession of it would knit together important parts of the empire. The Ancients seem to have imagined the coast of France to stretch in one unbroken line from the north of the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Rhine, and Britain to lie the whole way along it. Ireland then, being west of Britain, would be off the coast of Spain. See Strabo, iv. 5, § 1.

Hibernia. Called 'Iuverna' in Juvenal, ii. 160, and by the Greeks Ἰέρνη. The poetic 'Erin' represents the accusative of the Irish form of the name, which in the nominative is Eriu.

sed pari spatio transmissus atque ex Gallia est in Britanniam. In hoc medio cursu est insula, quae appel- 3
latur Mona; complures praeterea minores subiectae insulae existimantur; de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt dies continuos triginta sub bruma esse noctem. Nos 4
nihil de eo percontationibus reperiebamus, nisi certis ex aqua mensuris breviores esse quam in continenti noctes videbamus. Huius est longitudo lateris, ut fert illorum 5
opinio, septingentorum milium. Tertium est contra 6
septentriones; cui parti nulla est obiecta terra, sed eius angulus lateris maxime ad Germaniam spectat. Hoc milia passuum octingenta in longitudinem esse existimatur. Ita omnis insula est in circuitu vicies centum 7
milium passuum.

The inhabitants of Kent civilized; those of the interior savages.

14 Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi, qui Cantium incolunt, quae regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine. Interiores plerique 2
frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt pellibusque sunt vestiti. Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horridiores sunt in pugna aspectu; capilloque sunt 3
promisso atque omni parte corporis rasa praeter caput

spatio transmissus. 'Transmissus' is gen., depending on the descriptive abl. that precedes. 'spatio' here more probably refers to space than to time. See i. 52, § 3 'spatium.'

§ 3. **Mona.** Caesar's 'Mona' is evidently the Isle of Man; that of Tacitus (Agr. 14, 18) is Anglesey.

§ 4. **nisi.** This use of 'nisi' with the force of 'all I know is that' is somewhat colloquial. It occurs frequently in Terence, e.g. Andria 663—

'Nescio, nisi mihi
Deos satis fuisse iratos, qui auscultaverim.'

Cp. Sall. Jug. 24, § 5 'Plura de Iugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea . . . nisi tamen intelligo illum supra quam ego sum petere': ib. 67, § 3.

§ 7. **vicies . . . passuum.** Two million paces = 2,000 Roman miles. 'milium' is a descriptive gen.

14. § 1. **Gallica . . . consuetudine.** Strabo, iv. 5, § 2 *τὰ δ' ἤθη τὰ μὲν ὅμοια τοῖς Κελτοῖς, τὰ δ' ἁπλούστερα καὶ βαρβαρώτερα.*

4 et labrum superius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes et maxime fratres cum fratribus 5 parentesque cum liberis; sed qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo primum virgo quaeque deducta est.

15 Equites hostium essedariique acriter proelio cum equitatu nostro in itinere conflixerunt, tamen ut nostri omnibus partibus superiores fuerint atque eos in silvas First day's fighting with the Britons.
2 collesque compulerint; sed compluribus interfectis cupi-
3 dius insecuti nonnullos ex suis amiserunt. At illi intermisso spatio imprudentibus nostris atque occupatis in munitione castrorum subito se ex silvis eiecerunt impetuque in eos facto, qui erant in statione pro castris
4 collocati, acriter pugnaverunt, duabusque missis subsidio cohortibus a Caesare atque his primis legionum duarum, cum hae perexiguo intermisso loci spatio inter se constitissent, novo genere pugnae perterritis nostris per medios audacissime perruperunt seque inde incolumes
5 receperunt. Eo die Quintus Laberius Durus, tribunus militum, interficitur. Illi pluribus submissis cohortibus repelluntur.

16 Toto hoc in genere pugnae, cum sub oculis omnium ac pro castris dimicaretur, intellectum est nostros propter gravitatem armorum, quod neque insequi cedentes possent neque ab signis discedere auderent, minus aptos Caesar's reflexions thereon.
2 esse ad huius generis hostem; equites autem magno cum periculo proelio dimicare, propterea quod illi etiam con-

§ 5. quo, 'to whom.' Adverbs of place are sometimes thus used of persons. This is especially the case with 'unde'; 'hinc' also is frequently thus used by Terence. Cicero (Pro Quinctio § 34) has 'neque . . . praeter te quisquam fuit, ubi,' &c.

15. § 4. **atque his primis.** Vegetius, ii. 6 'Sed prima cohors reliquas et numero militum et dignitate praecedit.' In Vegetius' own time the first cohort contained 1,105 infantry and 132 cavalry; it was called 'cohors miliaria.'

sulto plerumque cederent et, cum paulum ab legionibus nostros removissent, ex essedis desilirent et pedibus dispari proelio contenderent. Equestris autem proelii 3
ratio et cedentibus *illis* et insequentibus par atque idem periculum inferebat. Accedebat huc, ut numquam 4
conferti, sed rari magnisque intervallis proeliarentur stationesque dispositas haberent, atque alios alii deinceps exciperent, integrique et recentes defatigatis succederent.

The Britons attack in force, but are routed.

Postero die procul a castris hostes in collibus con- 17
stiterunt rarique se ostendere et lenius quam pridie nostros equites proelio lacessere coeperunt. Sed meridie, 2
cum Caesar pabulandi causa tres legiones atque omnem equitatum cum Gaio Trebonio legato misisset, repente ex omnibus partibus ad pabulatores advolaverunt, sic uti ab signis legionibusque non absisterent. Nostri 3
acriter in eos impetu facto repulerunt neque finem sequendi fecerunt, quoad subsidio confisi equites, cum post se legiones viderent, praecipites hostes egerunt, magnoque eorum numero interfecto neque sui colligendi 4
neque consistendi aut ex essedis desiliendi facultatem dederunt. Ex hac fuga protinus, quae undique con- 5
venerant, auxilia discesserunt, neque post id tempus umquam summis nobiscum copiis hostes contenderunt.

Passage of the Thames in the teeth of the enemy.

Caesar cognito consilio eorum ad flumen Tamesim in 18
fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit; quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc aegre, transiri potest. Eo cum venisset, animum advertit ad alteram fluminis 2
ripam magnas esse copias hostium instructas. Ripa 3

16. § 3. *illis.* Inserted by Hoffmann to make it clear that 'cedentibus' and 'insequentibns' refer to the Britains, and are ablatives and not datives.

18. § 1. uno omnino loco. There are many fords of the Thames, but Caesar is of course speaking of the part where he visited it.

autem erat acutis sudibus praefixis munita, eiusdemque
4 generis sub aqua defixae sudes flumine tegebantur. His rebus cognitis a captivis perfugisque Caesar praemisso
5 equitatu confestim legiones subsequi iussit. Sed ea celeritate atque eo impetu milites ierunt, cum capite solo ex aqua exstarent, ut hostes impetum legionum atque equitum sustinere non possent ripasque dimitterent ac se fugae mandarent.

Cassivellaunus adopts Fabian tactics.

19 Cassivellaunus, ut supra demonstravimus, omni deposita spe contentionis, dimissis amplioribus copiis, milibus circiter quattuor essedariorum relictis, itinera nostra servabat paulumque ex via excedebat locisque impeditis ac silvestribus sese occultabat atque iis regionibus, quibus nos iter facturos cognoverat, pecora atque
2 homines ex agris in silvas compellebat et, cum equitatus noster liberius praedandi vastandique causa se in agros eiecerat, omnibus viis notis semitisque, essedarios ex silvis emittebat et magno cum periculo nostrorum equitum cum iis confligebat atque hoc metu latius vagari
3 prohibebat. Relinquebatur, ut neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi Caesar pateretur, et tantum in agris vastandis incendiisque faciendis hostibus noceretur, quantum labore atque itinere legionarii milites efficere poterant.

Submission of the Trinobantes.

20 Interim Trinobantes, prope firmissima earum regionum civitas, ex qua Mandubracius adulescens Caesaris fidem secutus ad eum in continentem Galliam venerat, cuius pater in ea civitate regnum obtinuerat interfectusque

19. § 1. supra. 17, § 5.
§ 2. hoc metu, 'by fear of this.' Cp. Sall. Jug. 54, § 6 'ea formidine' = 'eius rei formidine,' and so commonly in Latin.
20. § 1. Trinobantes. In Essex and part of Middlesex. 'In "trino-" we seem to have the Welsh word *trin*, a battle or conflict . . . The whole word "Trinovantes" would then mean battle-stabbers or battle-spearers.' Rhys.

erat a Cassivellauno, ipse fuga mortem vitaverat, legatos 2
ad Caesarem mittunt pollicenturque sese ei dedituros
atque imperata facturos ; petunt, ut Mandubracium ab 3
iniuria Cassivellauni defendat atque in civitatem mittat,
qui praesit imperiumque obtineat. His Caesar imperat 4
obsides quadraginta frumentumque exercitui, Mandubraciumque ad eos mittit. Illi imperata celeriter fecerunt, obsides ad numerum frumentumque miserunt.

Other tribes follow their example.

Trinobantibus defensis atque ab omni militum iniuria **21**
prohibitis Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci,
Cassi legationibus missis sese Caesari dedunt. Ab his 2
cognoscit non longe ex eo loco oppidum Cassivellauni
abesse silvis paludibusque munitum, quo satis magnus
hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit. Oppidum 3
autem Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque
fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandae causa
convenire consuerunt. Eo proficiscitur cum legionibus ; 4
locum repperit egregie natura atque opere munitum ;
tamen hunc duabus ex partibus oppugnare contendit.
Hostes paulisper morati militum nostrorum impetum non 5
tulerunt seseque alia ex parte oppidi eiecerunt. Magnus 6

Cassivellaunus' 'town' stormed.

§ 2. **sese.** See ii. 3, § 2.

21. § 1. **Cenimagni.** It has been conjectured that this name conceals the Iceni of Norfolk and Suffolk.

Segontiaci. 'The Segontiaci are identified with the neighbourhood of the Silchester Calleva by the finding there of a Roman inscription in honour of a divinity styled the Segontiac Hercules.' Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 29.

Ancalites. This people are supposed to have dwelt at Henley in Oxfordshire.

Bibroci. 'Nothing serious,' says Professor Rhys, 'stands in the way of the guess which identifies the name of the Bibroci with the Berroc, whence the modern name of the county of Berks is derived.' Celtic Britain, p. 28.

Cassi. This people used to be assigned to Herts. Professor Rhys identifies them with 'the Catti of coins found in Gloucestershire and the neighbouring country of Monmouth.'

§ 3. **Oppidum, &c.** Strabo, iv. 5, § 2 Πόλεις δ' *αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἱ δρυμοί· περιφράξαντες γὰρ δένδρεσι καταβεβλημένοις εὐρυχωρῆ κύκλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθα καλυβοποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα κατασταθμεύουσιν, οὐ πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον.*

ibi numerus pecoris repertus, multique in fuga sunt comprehensi atque interfecti.

22 Dum haec in his locis geruntur, Cassivellaunus ad Cantium, quod esse ad mare supra demonstravimus, quibus regionibus quattuor reges praeerant, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, Segovax, nuntios mittit atque his imperat, uti coactis omnibus copiis castra navalia de
2 improviso adoriantur atque oppugnent. Ii cum ad castra venissent, nostri eruptione facta multis eorum interfectis, capto etiam nobili duce Lugotorige suos
3 incolumes reduxerunt. Cassivellaunus hoc proelio nuntiato, tot detrimentis acceptis, vastatis finibus, maxime etiam permotus defectione civitatum, legatos per Atrebatem Commium de deditione ad Caesarem mittit.
4 Caesar, cum constituisset hiemare in continenti propter repentinos Galliae motus, neque multum aestatis superesset, atque id facile extrahi posse intellegeret, obsides imperat et, quid in annos singulos vectigalis populo
5 Romano Britannia penderet, constituit; interdicit atque imperat Cassivellauno, ne Mandubracio neu Trinobantibus noceat.

An attack on the naval camp foiled.

Peace concluded with Cassivellaunus.

23 Obsidibus acceptis exercitum reducit ad mare, naves
2 invenit refectas. His deductis, quod et captivorum

Return to Gaul.

22. § 1. **supra.** 14, § 1.

de improviso adoriantur. This is in accordance with the principle laid down by Donatus, that 'aggredi' refers to an open and 'adoriri' to a secret attack. 'Aggredimur de longinquo; adorimur ex insidiis et ex proximo; nam adoriri est quasi ad aliquem oriri, i. e. exsurgere.'

§ 4. **quid . . . Britannia penderet.** Cicero writes to Atticus (iv. 18, § 5 or 17, § 3) 'a Quinto fratre et a Caesare accepi a. d. viiii Kal. Nov. litteras, datas a litoribus Britanniae a. d. vi Kal. Octobr. confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla praeda, imperata tamen pecunia, exercitum Britannia reportabant; Q. Pilius erat iam ad Caesarem profectus.'

§ 5. **interdicit atque imperat.** Cp. 58, § 4 'praecipit atque interdicit.' In both cases the meaning is the same—'He gave stringent orders'—he bade one thing and forbade anything else.

magnum numerum habebat et nonnullae tempestate deperierant naves, duobus commeatibus exercitum reportare instituit. Ac sic accidit, uti ex tanto navium 3
numero tot navigationibus neque hoc neque superiore anno ulla omnino navis, quae milites portaret, desideraretur; at ex iis, quae inanes ex continenti ad eum 4
remitterentur et prioris commeatus expositis militibus et quas postea Labienus faciendas curaverat numero LX, perpaucae locum caperent, reliquae fere omnes reicerentur. Quas cum aliquamdiu Caesar frustra exspec- 5
tasset, ne anni tempore a navigatione excluderetur, quod aequinoctium suberat, necessario angustius milites collocavit ac summa tranquillitate consecuta, secunda inita cum solvisset vigilia, prima luce terram attigit omnesque incolumes naves perduxit.

Distribution of the troops in winter-quarters.

Subductis navibus concilioque Gallorum Samarobrivae **24**
peracto, quod eo anno frumentum in Gallia propter siccitates angustius provenerat, coactus est aliter ac superioribus annis exercitum in hibernis collocare legionesque in plures civitates distribuere. Ex quibus unam 2
in Morinos ducendam Gaio Fabio legato dedit, alteram in Nervios Quinto Ciceroni, tertiam in Esuvios Lucio Roscio; quartam in Remis cum Tito Labieno in confinio Treverorum hiemare iussit; tres in Belgis collocavit: 3
his Marcum Crassum quaestorem et Lucium Munatium Plancum et Gaium Trebonium legatos praefecit. Unam 4

23. § 2. **commeatibus**, 'relays.' In the Bellum Africanum the word occurs four times in this sense, 8, § 1; 31, § 10; 34, § 4; 37, § 1.

§ 4. **postea**, 'at a later date (than the others),' i.e. after Caesar's landing in Britain. Cp. 11, § 4.

24. § 1. **concilioque.** 2, § 4; vi. 3, § 4; 4, § 6; 20, § 3; 44, § 1.

Samarobrivae. Now Amiens, from the name of the people, Ambiani.

§ 2. **Quinto Ciceroni.** The younger brother of the orator.

§ 3. **in Belgis.** Used here in a narrower sense than in i. 1, § 1.

quaestorem. i. 52, § 1.

Lucium Munatium Plancum.

legionem, quam proxime trans Padum conscripserat, et cohortes V in Eburones, quorum pars maxima est inter Mosam ac Rhenum, qui sub imperio Ambiorigis et
5 Catuvolci erant, misit. His militibus Quintum Titurium Sabinum et Lucium Aurunculeium Cottam legatos
6 praeesse iussit. Ad hunc modum distributis legionibus facillime inopiae frumentariae sese mederi posse existi-
7 mavit. Atque harum tamen omnium legionum hiberna praeter eam, quam Lucio Roscio in pacatissimam et quietissimam partem ducendam dederat, milibus passuum
8 centum continebantur. Ipse interea, quoad legiones collocatas munitaque hiberna cognovisset, in Gallia morari constituit.

Assassination of Tasgetius by the Carnutes.

25 Erat in Carnutibus summo loco natus Tasgetius, cuius
2 maiores in sua civitate regnum obtinuerant. Huic Caesar pro eius virtute atque in se benevolentia, quod in omnibus bellis singulari eius opera fuerat usus, maio-
3 rum locum restituerat. Tertium iam hunc annum regnantem inimici, etiam multis palam ex civitate auctoribus, [eum] interfecerunt. Defertur ea res ad
4 Caesarem. Ille veritus, quod ad plures pertinebat, ne civitas eorum impulsu deficeret, Lucium Plancum cum legione ex Belgio celeriter in Carnutes proficisci iubet ibique hiemare, quorumque opera cognoverat Tasgetium
5 interfectum, hos comprehensos ad se mittere. Interim ab omnibus legatis quibusque legiones tradiderat, certior

Plancus is sent into their country.

Consul in B.C. 42. He is the Plancus of Horace (Carm. i. 7, 19) and the founder of Lyon.

§ 7. **millibus passuum centum.** Nap. III takes this to mean 'within a radius of 100 miles.' M. Desjardins thinks it should be understood of the diameter rather than of the radius, while granting that as a matter of fact the camps were further distant than this from one another.

25. § 3. **inimici.** The MSS. here have 'inimicis iam multis palam ex civitate et iis auctoribus eum interfecerunt.'

§ 5. **quibusque legiones tradiderat.** See 24, § 3; 53, § 6. The MSS. here have 'ab omnibus legatis quaestoribusque, quibus legiones tradiderat.'

factus est in hiberna perventum locumque hibernis esse munitum.

Affair of Cotta and Sabinus. 26-37.

Ambiorix and Catuvolcus attack the Roman camp.

Diebus circiter XV, quibus in hiberna ventum est, 26
initium repentini tumultus ac defectionis ortum est ab
Ambiorige et Catuvolco; qui, cum ad fines regni sui 2
Sabino Cottaeque praesto fuissent frumentumque in
hiberna comportavissent, Indutiomari Treveri nuntiis
impulsi suos concitaverunt subitoque oppressis lignatoribus magna manu ad castra oppugnatum venerunt. Cum 3
celeriter nostri arma cepissent vallumque ascendissent
atque una ex parte Hispanis equitibus emissis equestri
proelio superiores fuissent, desperata re hostes suos ab
oppugnatione reduxerunt. Tum suo more conclamave- 4
runt, uti 'aliquis ex nostris ad colloquium prodiret:
habere sese, quae de re communi dicere vellent, quibus
rebus controversias minui posse sperarent.'

A parley.

Mittitur ad eos colloquendi causa Gaius Arpineius, 27
eques Romanus, familiaris Quinti Titurii, et Quintus
Iunius ex Hispania quidam, qui iam ante missu Caesaris

Speech of Ambiorix.

ad Ambiorigem ventitare consuerat; apud quos Ambiorix ad hunc modum locutus est: 'sese pro Caesaris 2
in se beneficiis plurimum ei confiteri debere, quod eius
opera stipendio liberatus esset, quod Aduatucis, finitimis
suis, pendere consuesset, quodque ei et filius et fratris
filius a Caesare remissi essent, quos Aduatuci obsidum
numero missos apud se in servitute et catenis tenuissent;
neque id, quod fecerit de oppugnatione castrorum, aut 3
iudicio aut voluntate sua fecisse, sed coactu civitatis;

26. § 2. **ad castra oppugnatum venerunt**, 'came to the camp to attack it.' Cp. i. 30, § 1 'ad Caesarem gratulatum convenerunt.' The supine is added on the same principle as a second acc. in the case of a verb of motion, e.g. v. 20, § 1 'in continentem Galliam venerat.'

27. § 1. **missu Caesaris.** Cp. vi. 7, § 2: C. ii. 22, § 3 'missu Bruti.' So 'iussu, coactu (v. 27, § 3) alicuius,' &c.

suaque esse eiusmodi imperia, ut non minus haberet iuris in se multitudo, quam ipse in multitudinem.
4 Civitati porro hanc fuisse belli causam, quod repentinae Gallorum coniurationi resistere non potuerit. Id se facile ex humilitate sua probare posse, quod non adeo sit imperitus rerum, ut suis copiis populum Romanum
5 superari posse confidat. Sed esse Galliae commune consilium: omnibus hibernis Caesaris oppugnandis hunc esse dictum diem, ne qua legio alterae legioni subsidio
6 venire posset. Non facile Gallos Gallis negare potuisse, praesertim cum de recuperanda communi libertate con-
7 silium initum videretur. Quibus quoniam pro pietate satisfecerit, habere nunc se rationem officii pro beneficiis Caesaris: monere, orare Titurium pro hospitio, ut suae
8 ac militum saluti consulat. Magnam manum Germanorum conductam Rhenum transisse; hanc affore biduo.
9 Ipsorum esse consilii, velintne prius, quam finitimi sentiant, eductos ex hibernis milites aut ad Ciceronem aut ad Labienum deducere, quorum alter milia passuum circiter quinquaginta, alter paulo amplius ab iis absit.
10 Illud se polliceri et iureiurando confirmare, tutum iter
11 per fines daturum. Quod cum faciat, et civitati sese consulere, quod hibernis levetur, et Caesari pro eius meritis gratiam referre.' Hac oratione habita discedit Ambiorix.

§ 4. **imperitus rerum.** Cp. i. 44, § 9.

§ 5. **alterae.** This archaic form occurs in Terence, Phorm. 928, Andr. 983. The same author has the dat. fem. 'solae,' Eun. 1004. In Caesar himself we have 'nullo' as a dative in vi. 13, § 1, and 'toto' in vii. 89, § 5. Even Cicero in one of his earlier speeches (Rosc. Com. § 48) has 'nulli consilii,' which is very likely borrowed from the language of comedy (cp. Ter. Andr. 608). See vii. 89, § 5 'toto exercitui.'

§ 7. **pro hospitio.** 'Hospitium' with the Romans was one of the most solemn duties of life, ranking even before 'clientela' (Aul. Gell. xiv. 13). Some similar institution existed among the Gauls. Cp. vi. 5, § 4; vii. 75, § 5.

§ 8. **biduo,** i. e. the next day. See i. 47, § 1 'Biduo post.'

§ 9. **consilii.** MSS. 'consilium.'

Council of war among the Romans.

Arpineius et Iunius, quae audierunt, ad legatos 28
deferunt. Illi repentina re perturbati, etsi ab hoste
ea dicebantur, tamen non neglegenda existimabant
maximeque hac re permovebantur, quod civitatem ig-
nobilem atque humilem Eburonum sua sponte populo
Romano bellum facere ausam vix erat credendum.
Itaque ad consilium rem deferunt, magnaque inter eos 2
exsistit controversia. Lucius Aurunculeius compluresque 3
tribuni militum et primorum ordinum centuriones 'nihil
temere agendum neque ex hibernis iniussu Caesaris
discedendum' existimabant; 'quantasvis copias etiam 4
Germanorum sustineri posse munitis hibernis' docebant
'rem esse testimonio, quod primum hostium impetum
multis ultro vulneribus illatis fortissime sustinuerint; re 5
frumentaria non premi; interea et ex proximis hibernis
et a Caesare conventura subsidia; postremo quid esse 6
levius aut turpius, quam auctore hoste de summis rebus
capere consilium?'

Opinion of Cotta.

Opinion of Sabinus.

Contra ea Titurius 'sero facturos' clamitabat, 'cum 29
maiores manus hostium adiunctis Germanis convenissent,
aut cum aliquid calamitatis in proximis hibernis esset
acceptum. Brevem consulendi esse occasionem. Cae- 2
sarem arbitrari profectum in Italiam; neque aliter
Carnutes interficiundi Tasgetii consilium fuisse capturos,
neque Eburones, si ille adesset, tanta contemptione
nostri ad castra venturos esse. Non hostem auctorem, 3

28. § 2. **ad consilium.** i. 40, § 1: iii. 23, § 8.

29. § 2. **interficiundi.** This form of the gerundive is rare in Caesar; but we had 'potiundi' in ii. 7, § 2, and again 'potiundorum' in iii. 6, § 2. 'Faciundae' occurs in 41, § 4: 'ferundum' in 52, § 6: 'satisfaciundi' in 54, § 3: 'faciundi' in i. 7, § 5: 'faciundum' in vii. 56, § 2. MSS. however are liable to vary in this matter.

venturos esse. In the direct oration this would be 'venirent,' while the 'fuisse capturos' preceding would be represented by 'cepissent.' The fut. part. here has the same conditional force as the particle ἄν in Greek.

sed rem spectare: subesse Rhenum; magno esse Germanis dolori Ariovisti mortem et superiores nostras
4 victorias; ardere Galliam tot contumeliis acceptis sub populi Romani imperium redactam, superiore gloria rei
5 militaris exstincta. Postremo quis hoc sibi persuaderet, sine certa re Ambiorigem ad eiusmodi consilium descen-
6 disse? Suam sententiam in utramque partem esse tutam: si nihil esset durius, nullo cum periculo ad proximam legionem perventuros; si Gallia omnis cum Germanis consentiret, unam esse in celeritate positam
7 salutem. Cottae quidem atque eorum, qui dissentirent, consilium quem haberet exitum? in quo si non praesens periculum, at certe longinqua obsidione fames esset timenda.'

30 Hac in utramque partem disputatione habita, cum a Cotta primisque ordinibus acriter resisteretur: 'vincite,' inquit, 'si ita vultis,' Sabinus, et id clariore voce, ut
2 magna pars militum exaudiret; 'neque is sum,' inquit, 'qui gravissime ex vobis mortis periculo terrear: hi sapient; si gravius quid acciderit, abs te rationem
3 reposcent; qui, si per te liceat, perendino die cum proximis hibernis coniuncti communem cum reliquis belli casum sustineant, non reiecti et relegati longe ab ceteris aut ferro aut fame intereant.'

Sabinus appeals to the soldiers.

§ 5. **quis hoc sibi persuaderet.** In the direct form—'quis vestrum hoc sibi persuadeat?' In § 7 we have a question in the 3rd person put into the subjunctive.

descendisse, 'had had recourse.' In the direct oration the sentence would have run 'that Ambiorix has had recourse to a policy of this kind.' For 'descendere,' cp. vi. 16, § 5.

30. § 1. **primisque ordinibus.** Cp. 37, § 1 'primorum ordinum centuriones': vi. 7, § 8 'tribunis militum primisque ordinibus convocatis.'

§ 3. **perendino die** ='die tertio.' Cicero, when bantering Servius Sulpicius, says that the lawyers with all their learning had never been able to make up their minds which of these two expressions was the more correct—'utrum diem tertium an perendinum . . . dici oporteret' (Mur. § 27).

His opinion at last prevails.

Consurgitur ex consilio; comprehendunt utrumque 31
et orant, 'ne sua dissensione et pertinacia rem in summum
periculum deducant: facilem esse rem, seu maneant, 2
seu proficiscantur, si modo unum omnes sentiant ac
probent; contra in dissensione nullam se salutem
perspicere.' Res disputatione ad mediam noctem per- 3
ducitur. Omnia excogitantur, quare nec sine periculo 4
maneatur, et languore militum ex vigiliis periculum
augeatur. Tandem dat Cotta permotus manus: superat
sententia Sabini. Pronuntiatur prima luce ituros. Con- 5
sumitur vigiliis reliqua pars noctis, cum sua quisque
miles circumspiceret, quid secum portare posset, quid
ex instrumento hibernorum relinquere cogeretur. Prima 6
luce sic ex castris proficiscuntur, ut quibus esset per-
suasum non ab hoste, sed ab homine amicissimo [Am-
biorige] consilium datum, longissimo agmine maximisque
impedimentis.

The Romans fall into an ambush.

At hostes, posteaquam ex nocturno fremitu vigiliis- 32
que de profectione eorum senserunt, collocatis insidiis
bipertito in silvis opportuno atque occulto loco a milibus
passuum circiter duobus Romanorum adventum ex-
spectabant, et cum se maior pars agminis in magnam 2
convallem demisisset, ex utraque parte eius vallis subito
se ostenderunt novissimosque premere et primos pro-
hibere ascensu atque iniquissimo nostris loco proelium
committere coeperunt.

Different behaviour of Sabinus and Cotta.

Tum demum Titurius, qui nihil ante providisset, 33
trepidare et concursare cohortesque disponere, haec

31. § 4. **quare.** Cp. i. 33, § 2; 45, § 1.

§ 5. **instrumento.** Cp. vi. 30, § 2 'omni militari instrumento.'

32. § 2. **magnam convallem.** According to Nap. III, the vale of Lowaige.

33. § 1. **concursare.** The 'con-' is intensive, as in 'contremo,' 'conticesco,' &c. The word denotes rapid motion to and fro, often with the idea of fuss and bustle. Cp. 50,

tamen ipsa timide atque ut eum omnia deficere viderentur; quod plerumque iis accidere consuevit, qui in
2 ipso negotio consilium capere coguntur. At Cotta, qui cogitasset haec posse in itinere accidere atque ob eam causam profectionis auctor non fuisset, nulla in re communi saluti deerat et in appellandis cohortandisque militibus
3 imperatoris et in pugna militis officia praestabat. Cum propter longitudinem agminis minus facile omnia per se obire et, quid quoque loco faciendum esset, providere possent, iusserunt pronuntiare, ut impedimenta relin-
4 querent atque in orbem consisterent. Quod consilium etsi in eiusmodi casu reprehendendum non est, tamen
5 incommode accidit; nam et nostris militibus spem minuit et hostes ad pugnam alacriores effecit, quod non sine summo timore et desperatione id factum videbatur.
6 Praeterea accidit, quod fieri necesse erat, ut vulgo milites ab signis discederent, quae quisque eorum carissima haberet, ab impedimentis petere atque arripere properaret, clamore et fletu omnia complerentur.

The Romans form into a circle.

34 At barbaris consilium non defuit. Nam duces eorum tota acie pronuntiare iusserunt, 'ne quis ab loco dis-

Good generalship of Ambiorix.

§ 5: Af. 81, § 1; 82, § 1: Cic. Quinct. § 53; Rosc. Am. § 81; Cat. iv. § 17; Brut. § 242.

eum . . . deficere. We had this transitive use of 'deficere' in ii. 10, § 4; iii. 5, § 1. It accounts for the passive construction which we occasionally meet with, e.g. C. iii. 64, § 3 'cum gravi vulnere esset affectus aquilifer et a viribus deficeretur': Hirtius (B. G. viii. 3, § 2) 'ne . . . copia pabuli . . . deficeretur': V. P. ii. 116, 120. The past part. pass. occurs often in Lucan, e. g. ii. 560: iii. 625 'defectis robore nervis': iv. 600, 635.

§ 2. **imperatoris . . . militis.** Cp. Sall. Cat. 60, § 4 'strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur.'

§ 3. **in orbem consisterent.** Modern troops form a hollow square instead of a circle, when they are surrounded by a superior force. The formation of the circle was mentioned before in iv. 37, § 2. Cp. Al. 40, § 3 'pugnans in orbem': Liv. xxi. 56, § 2 'quum iam in orbem pugnarent,' xxviii. 22, § 15 'in orbem pugnantes.' 'In' with the acc. is perhaps used because the manœuvre had to be performed while the men were under action, so that they fought their way into a square.

34. § 1. **pronuntiare iusserunt.**

cederet: illorum esse praedam atque illis reservari, quaecumque Romani reliquissent; proinde omnia in victoria posita existimarent.' Erant et virtute et sae- 2
penumero pugnando pares nostris; hi tametsi ab duce et a fortuna deserebantur, tamen omnem spem salutis in virtute ponebant, et quotiens quaeque cohors procurrerat, ab ea parte magnus numerus hostium cadebat.
Qua re animadversa Ambiorix pronuntiari iubet, ut 3
'procul tela coniciant neu propius accedant et, quam in partem Romani impetum fecerint, cedant (levitate armorum et cotidiana exercitatione nihil iis noceri posse,) rursus se ad signa recipientes insequantur.'

Quo praecepto ab iis diligentissime observato, cum **35**
quaepiam cohors ex orbe excesserat atque impetum fecerat, hostes velocissime refugiebant. Interim eam 2
partem nudari necesse erat et ab latere aperto tela recipi. Rursus, cum in eum locum, unde erant egressi, 3
reverti coeperant, et ab iis, qui cesserant, et ab iis, qui proximi steterant, circumveniebantur; sin autem locum 4
tenere vellent, nec virtuti locus relinquebatur, neque ab tanta multitudine coniecta tela conferti vitare poterant.
Tamen tot incommodis conflictati, multis vulneribus 5
acceptis resistebant et magna parte diei consumpta, cum a prima luce ad horam octavam pugnaretur, nihil, quod ipsis esset indignum, committebant. Tum Tito 6
Balventio, qui superiore anno primum pilum duxerat,

Losses of the Romans.

So in 33, § 3, but below in § 3 'pronuntiari iubet.' Cp. 51, § 2.

illorum. 'Ille' in the obl. orat. sometimes represents an emphatic 'you' in the direct. Cp. i. 44, §§ 11, 13.

§ 2. **saepenumero pugnando.** The reading in the text is Hoffmann's emendation for the words of the MSS.—'erant et virtute et numero pugnandi pares: nostri . . .' 'Pugnando,' as opposed to 'virtute,' must mean skill in the use of weapons.

35. § 5. **conflictati,** 'suffering under,' 'beset by.' Caesar uses the word three times in the Civil War, i. 52, § 3: ii. 22, § 1: iii. 28, § 5.

viro forti et magnae auctoritatis, utrumque femur tragula
7 traicitur; Quintus Lucanius, eiusdem ordinis, fortissime pugnans, dum circumvento filio subvenit, interficitur;
8 Lucius Cotta legatus omnes cohortes ordinesque adhortans in adversum os funda vulneratur.

Sabinus proposes to sue for terms, which Cotta refuses.

36 His rebus permotus Quintus Titurius, cum procul Ambiorigem suos cohortantem conspexisset, interpretem suum Gneum Pompeium ad eum mittit rogatum, ut
2 sibi militibusque parcat. Ille appellatus respondit: 'si velit secum colloqui, licere; sperare a multitudine impetrari posse, quod ad militum salutem pertineat; ipsi vero nihil nocitum iri, inque eam rem se suam fidem
3 interponere.' Ille cum Cotta saucio communicat, si videatur, pugna ut excedant et cum Ambiorige una colloquantur; sperare ab eo de sua ac militum salute
4 impetrari posse. Cotta se ad armatum hostem iturum negat atque in eo perseverat.

Murder of Sabinus.

37 Sabinus quos in praesentia tribunos militum circum se habebat et primorum ordinum centuriones se sequi iubet et, cum propius Ambiorigem accessisset, iussus arma abicere imperatum facit suisque, ut idem faciant,
2 imperat. Interim, dum de condicionibus inter se agunt longiorque consulto ab Ambiorige instituitur sermo,
3 paulatim circumventus interficitur. Tum vero suo more victoriam conclamant atque ululatum tollunt impetuque

Death of Cotta and the rest.

4 in nostros facto ordines perturbant. Ibi Lucius Cotta

36. § 2. inque eam rem. Generally the preposition is not considered strong enough to bear the weight of the enclitic. Thus in Cic. N. D. iii. § 89 we have 'in portumque . . . in marique.' Exceptions to this rule however are especially frequent with 'in,' e. g. Cic. Div. i. § 102 'inque feriis imperandis'; Rep. i. § 67 'inque tanta libertate': Rosc. Am. § 114: Suet. J. C. 39 'inque earum locum.' See ii. 11, § 6 'sub occasumque.'

se suam fidem interponere. Cp. 6, § 6: Cic. Rosc. Am. § 114 'inque eam rem fidem suam . . . interponeret.'

pugnans interficitur cum maxima parte militum. Reliqui
se in castra recipiunt, unde erant egressi. Ex quibus 5
Lucius Petrosidius aquilifer, cum magna multitudine
hostium premeretur, aquilam intra vallum proiecit, ipse
pro castris fortissime pugnans occiditur. Illi aegre ad 6
noctem oppugnationem sustinent; noctu ad unum omnes
desperata salute se ipsi interficiunt. Pauci ex proelio 7
elapsi incertis itineribus per silvas ad Titum Labienum
legatum in hiberna perveniunt atque eum de rebus
gestis certiorem faciunt.

A few escape from the field to Labienus.

Defence of his camp by Q. Cicero. 38–52.

Ambiorix raises the country.

Hac victoria sublatus Ambiorix statim cum equitatu **38**
in Aduatucos, qui erant eius regno finitimi, proficiscitur;
neque noctem neque diem intermittit peditatumque sese
subsequi iubet. Re demonstrata Aduatucisque concitatis 2
postero die in Nervios pervenit hortaturque, 'ne sui in
perpetuum liberandi atque ulciscendi Romanos pro iis,
quas acceperint, iniuriis occasionem dimittant: inter- 3
fectos esse legatos duos magnamque partem exercitus
interisse' demonstrat; 'nihil esse negotii subito oppres-
sam legionem, quae cum Cicerone hiemet, interfici; se 4
ad eam rem' profitetur 'adiutorem.' Facile hac oratione
Nerviis persuadet.

Sudden attack on the camp of Q. Cicero.

Itaque confestim dimissis nuntiis ad Ceutrones, **39**
Grudios, Levacos, Pleumoxios, Geidumnos, qui omnes
sub eorum imperio sunt, quam maximas manus possunt
cogunt et de improviso ad Ciceronis hiberna advolant,
nondum ad eum fama de Titurii morte perlata. Huic 2
quoque accidit, quod fuit necesse, ut nonnulli milites,

38. § 2. **in Nervios.** They could not have been so nearly annihilated as Caesar thought after his great battle with them. See ii. 28, § 1.

39. § 1. **Ceutrones.** See i. 10, § 4 'Centrones.'

Grudios, &c. Our knowledge of these tribes seems to depend on this passage only. Possibly Groede in the south of Holland may be connected with the Grudii.

qui lignationis munitionisque causa in silvas discessissent,
3 repentino equitum adventu interciperentur. His circum-
ventis magna manu Eburones, Nervii, Aduatuci atque
horum omnium socii et clientes legionem oppugnare
incipiunt. Nostri celeriter ad arma concurrunt, vallum
4 conscendunt. Aegre is dies sustentatur, quod omnem
spem hostes in celeritate ponebant atque hanc adepti
victoriam in perpetuum se fore victores confidebant.

40 Mittuntur ad Caesarem confestim a Cicerone litterae, Energetic
magnis propositis praemiis qui pertulissent; obsessis measures of defence.
2 omnibus viis missi intercipiuntur. Noctu ex materia,
quam munitionis causa comportaverant, turres admodum
CXX excitantur incredibili celeritate; quae deesse operi
3 videbantur, perficiuntur. Hostes postero die multo
maioribus coactis copiis castra oppugnant, fossam com-
4 plent. Eadem ratione, qua pridie, ab nostris resistitur.
5 Hoc idem reliquis deinceps fit diebus. Nulla pars
nocturni temporis ad laborem intermittitur; non aegris,
non vulneratis facultas quietis datur. Quaecumque ad
proximi diei oppugnationem opus sunt, noctu com-
6 parantur; multae praeustae sudes, magnus muralium
pilorum numerus instituitur; turres contabulantur, pinnae
7 loricaeque ex cratibus attexuntur. Ipse Cicero, cum
tenuissima valetudine esset, ne nocturnum quidem sibi
tempus ad quietem relinquebat, ut ultro militum con-
cursu ac vocibus sibi parcere cogeretur.

41 Tunc duces principesque Nerviorum, qui aliquem

40. § 6. **praeustae sudes.** It appears from vii. 81, § 4 that these improvised weapons were intended to be thrown. We often hear of them in ancient warfare. Cp. Sall. Cat. 56 'alii praeacutas sudes portabant': Tac. Ann. iv. 51 'praeustas sudes . . . iacere.'

muralium pilorum. We hear of these again in vii. 82, § 1: cp. Tac. Ann. iv. 51. They were, no doubt, heavier than the ordinary 'pila.'

pinnae loricaeque, 'battlements and breastworks.' Cp. vii. 72, § 4; 86, § 5.

Cicero refuses terms.

sermonis aditum causamque amicitiae cum Cicerone habebant, colloqui sese velle dicunt. Facta potestate 2
eadem, quae Ambiorix cum Titurio egerat, commemorant: 'omnem esse in armis Galliam; Germanos Rhenum 3
transisse; Caesaris reliquorumque hiberna oppugnari.' Addunt etiam de Sabini morte; Ambiorigem ostentant 4
fidei faciundae causa. 'Errare eos' dicunt, 'si quicquam 5
ab his praesidii sperent, qui suis rebus diffidant; sese tamen hoc esse in Ciceronem populumque Romanum animo, ut nihil nisi hiberna recusent atque hanc inveterascere consuetudinem nolint; licere illis incolumibus 6
per se ex hibernis discedere et, quascumque in partes velint, sine metu proficisci.' Cicero ad haec unum modo 7
respondit: 'non esse consuetudinem populi Romani accipere ab hoste armato condicionem; si ab armis 8
discedere velint, se adiutore utantur legatosque ad Caesarem mittant; sperare pro eius iustitia, quae petierint, impetraturos.'

The Nervii regularly invest the camp.

Ab hac spe repulsi Nervii vallo pedum IX et fossa **42**
pedum XV hiberna cingunt. Haec et superiorum anno- 2
rum consuetudine ab nobis cognoverant et quosdam de exercitu nacti captivos, ab his docebantur; sed nulla 3
ferramentorum copia, quae esset ad hunc usum idonea, gladiis caespites circumcidere, manibus sagulisque terram exhaurire nitebantur. Qua quidem ex re hominum 4
multitudo cognosci potuit; nam minus horis tribus 5
milium passuum XV in circuitu munitionem perfecerunt reliquisque diebus turres ad altitudinem valli, falces testudinesque, quas iidem captivi docuerant, parare ac facere coeperunt.

42. § 3. **sagulisque.** The diminutive occurs also in Af. 57, § 5 'sagulo purpureo.' 'Sagum' itself occurs in C. I. 75, § 3.

§ 5. **passuum.** Napoleon III would here substitute 'pedum' on the ground of the intrinsic incredibility of the other statement.

43 Septimo oppugnationis die maximo coorto vento The camp fired and attacked.
ferventes fusili ex argilla glandes fundis et fervefacta
iacula in casas, quae more Gallico stramentis erant
2 tectae, iacere coeperunt. Hae celeriter ignem com-
prehenderunt et venti magnitudine in omnem locum
3 castrorum distulerunt. Hostes maximo clamore sicuti
parta iam atque explorata victoria turres testudinesque
4 agere et scalis vallum ascendere coeperunt. At tanta
militum virtus atque ea praesentia animi fuit, ut, cum
undique flamma torrerentur maximaque telorum multi-
tudine premerentur suaque omnia impedimenta atque
omnes fortunas conflagrare intellegerent, non modo
demigrandi causa de vallo decederet nemo, sed paene
ne respiceret quidem quisquam, ac tum omnes acerrime
5 fortissimeque pugnarent. Hic dies nostris longe gravis-
simus fuit; sed tamen hunc habuit eventum, ut eo die
maximus numerus hostium vulneraretur atque interfi-
ceretur, ut se sub ipso vallo constipaverant recessumque
6 primis ultimi non dabant. Paulum quidem intermissa
flamma et quodam loco turri adacta et contingente
vallum tertiae cohortis centuriones ex eo, quo stabant,
loco recesserunt suosque omnes removerunt, nutu voci-
busque hostes, si introire vellent, vocare coeperunt;
7 quorum progredi ausus est nemo. Tum ex omni parte
lapidibus coniectis deturbati, turrisque succensa est.

44 Erant in ea legione fortissimi viri, centuriones, qui Rivalry of Pulio and Vorenus.
primis ordinibus appropinquarent, Titus Pulio et Lucius

43. § 1. **stramentis.** Always in the pl. in Caesar. Cp. vii. 45, § 2: viii. 5, § 2; 15, § 5.

§ 4. **praesentia animi.** Cp. Cic. Mil. § 29 'qui animo fideli in dominum et praesenti fuerunt.'

44. § 1. **appropinquarent.** On promotion by merit in the Roman army, cp. vi. 40, § 7: C. iii. 53, § 5.

Titus Pulio. In C. iii. 67, § 5 we find him displaying his courage against Caesar after he had been instrumental in betraying the army of C. Antonius.

Vorenus. Hi perpetuas inter se controversias habebant, 2
quinam anteferretur, omnibusque annis de locis summis
simultatibus contendebant. Ex his Pulio, cum acerrime 3
ad munitiones pugnaretur, 'quid dubitas,' inquit, 'Vo-
rene? aut quem locum tuae probandae virtutis exspec-
tas? Hic dies de nostris controversiis iudicabit.' Haec 4
cum dixisset, procedit extra munitiones, quaeque pars
hostium confertissima est visa, irrumpit. Ne Vorenus 5
quidem sese vallo continet, sed omnium veritus existima-
tionem subsequitur. Mediocri spatio relicto Pulio pilum 6
in hostes immittit atque unum ex multitudine procur-
rentem traicit; quo percusso et exanimato hunc scutis
protegunt, in hostem tela universi coniciunt neque dant
regrediendi facultatem. Transfigitur scutum Pulioni et 7
verutum in balteo defigitur. Avertit hic casus vaginam, 8
et gladium educere conanti dextram moratur manum,
impeditumque hostes circumsistunt. Succurrit inimicus 9
illi Vorenus et laboranti subvenit. Ad hunc se confestim 10
a Pulione omnis multitudo convertit; illum veruto
arbitrantur occisum. Gladio comminus rem gerit 11
Vorenus atque uno interfecto reliquos paulum propellit;
dum cupidius instat, in locum deiectus inferiorem con- 12
cidit. Huic rursus circumvento fert subsidium Pulio, 13
atque ambo incolumes compluribus interfectis summa
cum laude sese intra munitiones recipiunt. Sic fortuna 14
in contentione et certamine utrumque versavit, ut alter
alteri inimicus auxilio salutique esset, neque diiudicari
posset, uter utri virtute anteferendus videretur.

News of Cicero's position

45 Quanto erat in dies gravior atque asperior oppugnatio,
et maxime quod magna parte militum confecta vulneri-

§ 7. **verūtum.** Livy, xxi. 5, § 11. The word is properly an adjective from 'veru,' and is so used in Verg. Geor. ii. 168 'Volscosque verutos.' Cp. Aen. vii. 665.

bus res ad paucitatem defensorum pervenerat, tanto brought to
crebriores litterae nuntiique ad Caesarem mittebantur; Caesar.
quorum pars deprehensa in conspectu nostrorum mili-
2 tum cum cruciatu necabatur. Erat unus intus Nervius
nomine Vertico, loco natus honesto, qui a prima obsi-
dione ad Ciceronem perfugerat suamque ei fidem prae-
3 stiterat. Hic servo spe libertatis magnisque persuadet
4 praemiis, ut litteras ad Caesarem deferat. Has ille in
iaculo illigatas effert et Gallus inter Gallos sine ulla
5 suspicione versatus ad Caesarem pervenit. Ab eo de
periculis Ciceronis legionisque cognoscitur.

6 Caesar acceptis litteris hora circiter XI diei statim Measures for the relief of the garrison.
nuntium in Bellovacos ad M. Crassum quaestorem
mittit, cuius hiberna aberant ab eo milia passuum XXV;
2 iubet media nocte legionem proficisci celeriterque ad se
3 venire. Exit cum nuntio Crassus. Alterum ad Gaium
Fabium legatum mittit, ut in Atrebatium fines legionem
4 adducat, qua sibi iter faciendum sciebat. Scribit Labieno,
si rei publicae commodo facere posset, cum legione ad
fines Nerviorum veniat. Reliquam partem exercitus,
quod paulo aberat longius, non putat exspectandam;
equites circiter quadringentos ex proximis hibernis
colligit.

7 Hora circiter tertia ab antecursoribus de Crassi
adventu certior factus eo die milia passuum XX procedit.
2 Crassum Samarobrivae praeficit legionemque attribuit,
quod ibi impedimenta exercitus, obsides civitatum, lit-
teras publicas frumentumque omne, quod eo tolerandae
3 hiemis causa devexerat, relinquebat. Fabius, ut impera-

46. § 1. **ab eo.** Caesar himself appears to have been at Samarobriva. Cp. 24, § 1; 47, § 2; 53, § 3.

§ 3. **Atrebatium.** In viii. 47, § 2, gen. pl. 'Atrebatum.'

47. § 2. **tolerandae hiemis causa.** The same phrase is used by Hirtius (viii. 5, § 1) of hurriedly constructed buildings. Cp. i. 28, § 3 'quo famem tolerarent.'

tum erat, non ita multum moratus in itinere cum legione occurrit. 4 Labienus interitu Sabini et caede cohortium cognita, cum omnes ad eum Treverorum copiae venissent, veritus, ne, si ex hibernis fugae similem profectionem fecisset, hostium impetum sustinere non posset, praesertim quos recenti victoria efferri sciret, litteras Caesari 5 remittit, quanto cum periculo legionem ex hibernis educturus esset; rem gestam in Eburonibus perscribit; docet omnes equitatus peditatusque copias Treverorum tria milia passuum longe ab suis castris consedisse.

Labienus thinks it advisable not to stir.

48 Caesar consilio eius probato, etsi opinione trium legionum deiectus ad duas redierat, tamen unum communis salutis auxilium in celeritate ponebat. 2 Venit magnis itineribus in Nerviorum fines. Ibi ex captivis cognoscit, quae apud Ciceronem gerantur, quantoque in periculo res sit. 3 Tum cuidam ex equitibus Gallis magnis praemiis persuadet, uti ad Ciceronem epistolam deferat. 4 Hanc Graecis conscriptam litteris mittit, ne intercepta epistola nostra ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur. 5 Si adire non possit, monet, ut tragulam cum epistola ad amentum deligata intra munitionem cas-

Caesar hurries to the rescue.

Attempt to communicate with Cicero.

48. § 1. **opinione . . . deiectus.** Cp. i. 8, § 4 'ea spe deiecti': v. 55, § 3 'Hac spe lapsus': Ter. Heaut. 250 'quanta de spe decidi!' The word ἔκπτωσις is used for a disappointment in Cebetis Tabula, ch. 7 ad fin.

§ 4. **Graecis . . . litteris.** We must understand this to mean 'in the Greek language,' as we know from Caesar himself (i. 29, § 1; vi. 14, § 3) that the Greek characters were well understood in Gaul. Suetonius (J. C. 56) and Dio Cassius (xl. 9, § 3) inform us that Caesar sometimes used a cryptogram which consisted in substituting for each letter the one that stood fourth from it in the alphabet.

§ 5. **amentum.** The 'amentum' was a leathern strap attached to the middle of a spear, by the aid of which it could be propelled to a greater distance. Monsieur Reinach tells us that it was established by experiments made in 1862 that a light javelin which could only be thrown 20 mètres with the hand could attain a range of 80 mètres by the use of the 'amentum.' The correctness of the aim was at the same time increased. The 'amentum' had a loop into which the fingers were inserted. Ovid, Met. xii. 321

6 trorum abiciat. In litteris scribit se cum legionibus profectum celeriter affore ; hortatur, ut pristinam virtu-
7 tem retineat. Gallus periculum veritus, ut erat prae-
8 ceptum, tragulam mittit. Haec casu ad turrim adhaesit neque ab nostris biduo animadversa tertio die a quodam
9 milite conspicitur, dempta ad Ciceronem defertur. Ille perlectam in conventu militum recitat maximaque
10 omnes laetitia afficit. Tum fumi incendiorum procul videbantur; quae res omnem dubitationem adventus legionum expulit.

The Gauls turn against Caesar, who is warned by Cicero of his danger.

49 Galli re cognita per exploratores obsidionem relin-
2 quunt, ad Caesarem omnibus copiis contendunt. Haec erant armata circiter milia LX. Cicero data facultate Gallum ab eodem Verticone, quem supra demonstravimus, repetit, qui litteras ad Caesarem deferat; hunc
3 admonet, 'iter caute diligenterque faciat'; perscribit in litteris 'hostes ab se discessisse omnemque ad eum multi-
4 tudinem convertisse.' Quibus litteris circiter media nocte Caesar allatis suos facit certiores eosque ad dimi-
5 candum animo confirmat. Postero die luce prima movet castra et circiter milia passuum quattuor progressus trans vallem et rivum multitudinem hostium conspicatur.

'Inserit amento digitos.' The Greek name for this loop was ἀγκύλη. Strabo, iv. 4, § 3 *ἐκ χειρὸς οὐκ ἐξ ἀγκύλης ἐφιέμενον*. Xenophon (Anab. iv. 2, § 27) mentions that the arrows of the Carduchi were so long and powerful, that the Greeks attached these thongs to them and used them as darts—*Ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκοντίοις ἐναγκυλῶντες*. If 'amentum' is for 'ap-mentum,' and connected with 'aptus,' the more correct spelling would be 'ammentum,' as we have it in Kennedy's Vergil (Aen. ix. 665)—

'intendunt acris arcus ammentaque torquent.'

§ 9. **perlectam . . . recitat.** The one word refers to the eyes, the other to the voice.

§ 10. **fumi incendiorum, &c.** Cp. what Hirtius says (B. G. viii. 3, § 2), 'illud vulgare incursionis hostium signum, quod incendiis aedificiorum intellegi consuevit.'

49. § 2. **supra.** 45, § 2.

§ 5. **vallem et rivum.** The valley of the Haine. Napoleon III.

Caesar by feigning fear tempts the Gauls into an attack on his camp.

Erat magni periculi res tantulis copiis iniquo loco dimi- 6
care; tum, quoniam obsidione liberatum Ciceronem
sciebat, aequo animo remittendum de celeritate existi-
mabat: consedit et, quam aequissimo loco potest, castra 7
communit atque haec, etsi erant exigua per se, vix
hominum milium septem praesertim nullis cum impedi-
mentis, tamen angustiis viarum, quam maxime potest,
contrahit eo consilio, ut in summam contemptionem
hostibus veniat. Interim speculatoribus in omnes partes 8
dimissis explorat, quo commodissime itinere vallem
transire possit.

Eo die parvulis equestribus proeliis ad aquam factis 50
utrique sese suo loco continent: Galli, quod ampliores 2
copias, quae nondum convenerant, exspectabant; Caesar, 3
si forte timoris simulatione hostes in suum locum elicere
posset, ut citra vallem pro castris proelio contenderet;
si id efficere non posset, ut exploratis itineribus minore
cum periculo vallem rivumque transiret. Prima luce 4
hostium equitatus ad castra accedit proeliumque cum
nostris equitibus committit. Caesar consulto equites 5
cedere seque in castra recipere iubet; simul ex omnibus
partibus castra altiore vallo muniri portasque obstrui
atque in his administrandis rebus quam maxime concur-
sari et cum simulatione agi timoris iubet.

Quibus omnibus rebus hostes invitati copias traducunt 51
aciemque iniquo loco constituunt, nostris vero etiam de 2
vallo deductis propius accedunt et tela intra munitionem
ex omnibus partibus coniciunt praeconibusque circum-
missis pronuntiari iubent, 'seu quis Gallus seu Romanus 3
velit ante horam tertiam ad se transire, sine periculo
licere; post id tempus non fore potestatem'; ac sic nostros 4

§ 7. **angustiis viarum**, 'by reducing the breadth of the avenues.'

contempserunt, ut obstructis in speciem portis singulis
ordinibus caespitum, quod ea non posse introrumpere
videbantur, alii vallum manu scindere, alii fossas com-
5 plere inciperent. Tum Caesar omnibus portis eruptione
facta equitatuque emisso celeriter hostes in fugam dat,
sic uti omnino pugnandi causa resisteret nemo, magnum-
que ex eis numerum occidit atque omnes armis exuit.

They are routed with great slaughter.

52 Longius prosequi veritus, quod silvae paludesque
intercedebant neque etiam parvulo detrimento illorum
locum relinqui videbat, omnibus suis incolumibus copiis
2 eodem die ad Ciceronem pervenit. Institutas turres,
testudines munitionesque hostium admiratur; legione
producta cognoscit non decimum quemque esse reliquum
3 militem sine vulnere: ex his omnibus iudicat rebus,
quanto cum periculo et quanta cum virtute res sint
4 administratae. Ciceronem pro eius merito legionemque
collaudat; centuriones singillatim tribunosque militum
appellat, quorum egregiam fuisse virtutem testimonio
Ciceronis cognoverat. De casu Sabini et Cottae certius
5 ex captivis cognoscit. Postero die contione habita rem
6 gestam proponit, milites consolatur et confirmat: 'quod
detrimentum culpa et temeritate legati sit acceptum, hoc
aequiore animo ferundum' docet, 'quod beneficio deorum
immortalium et virtute eorum expiato incommodo neque
hostibus diutina laetatio neque ipsis longior dolor relin-
quatur.'

Caesar in the camp of Cicero.

53 Interim ad Labienum per Remos incredibili celeritate

51. § 4. ea. Only here in the Gallic War, but we have 'ea . . . qua' in C. i. 64, § 3.

52. § 1. neque etiam, &c., 'and he did not see that there was room left even for a small amount of damage to them.' Cp. vi. 42, § 1.

§ 6. beneficio deorum immortalium. Cp. i. 12, § 6 'sive consilio deorum.'

53. § 1. per Remos. As Labienus was in the country of the Remi and on the far side of it (see 24, § 1), this probably means 'through the country of the Remi,' but it might mean 'by the Remi,' like 'per mercatores' in iv. 21, § 5.

The news of the victory reaches Labienus the same day.

de victoria Caesaris fama perfertur, ut cum ab hibernis
Ciceronis milia passuum abesset circiter LX, eoque post
horam nonam diei Caesar pervenisset, ante mediam
noctem ad portas castrorum clamor oreretur, quo clamore
significatio victoriae gratulatioque ab Remis Labieno

Abandonment of an attack with which he was threatened.

fieret. Hac fama ad Treveros perlata Indutiomarus, 2
qui postero die castra Labieni oppugnare decreverat,
noctu profugit copiasque omnes in Treveros reducit.
Caesar Fabium cum sua legione remittit in hiberna, 3

Caesar determines to winter in Gaul because of the disturbed state of the country.

ipse cum tribus legionibus circum Samarobrivam trinis
hibernis hiemare constituit et, quod tanti motus Galliae
exstiterant, totam hiemem ipse ad exercitum manere
decrevit. Nam illo incommodo de Sabini morte perlato 4
omnes fere Galliae civitates de bello consultabant, nun-
tios legationesque in omnes partes dimittebant et, quid
reliqui consilii caperent atque unde initium belli fieret,
explorabant nocturnaque in locis desertis concilia habe-
bant. Neque ullum fere totius hiemis tempus sine 5
sollicitudine Caesaris intercessit, quin aliquem de con-
siliis ac motu Gallorum nuntium acciperet. In his ab 6
Lucio Roscio, quem legioni tertiaedecimae praefecerat,
certior factus est magnas Gallorum copias earum civi-
tatum, quae Armoricae appellantur, oppugnandi sui
causa convenisse neque longius milia passuum octo ab
hibernis suis afuisse, sed nuntio allato de victoria Cae- 7
saris discessisse, adeo ut fugae similis discessus videretur.

At Caesar principibus cuiusque civitatis ad se evocatis 54
alias territando, cum se scire, quae fierent, denuntiaret,

53. § 6. **Armoricae.** Cp. vii. 75, § 4. The name is sometimes spelt 'Aremoricae.' Cf. Ausonius, Epist. ix. 35—

'Sunt et Aremorici qui laudent ostrea ponti.'

It means 'on the sea-coast.' *Mor* is the Welsh for 'sea,' and *are*, according to Prof. Rhys, corresponds to the Greek παρά, the initial labial being dropped, as in Irish *athair* = Gk. πατήρ.

alias cohortando magnam partem Galliae in officio tenuit.

The Senones expel the king given them by Caesar.

2 Tamen Senones, quae est civitas imprimis firma et
magnae inter Gallos auctoritatis, Cavarinum, quem
Caesar apud eos regem constituerat, cuius frater Mori-
tasgus adventu in Galliam Caesaris cuiusque maiores
regnum obtinuerant, interficere publico consilio conati,
3 cum ille praesensisset ac profugisset, usque ad fines inse-
cuti regno domoque expulerunt et missis ad Caesarem
satisfaciundi causa legatis, cum is omnem ad se senatum
4 venire iussisset, dicto audientes non fuerunt.

Reflexions on the state of affairs.

Tantum
apud homines barbaros valuit esse aliquos repertos
principes inferendi belli, tantamque omnibus voluntatum
commutationem attulit, ut praeter Aeduos et Remos,
quos praecipuo semper honore Caesar habuit, alteros
pro vetere ac perpetua erga populum Romanum fide,
alteros pro recentibus Gallici belli officiis, nulla fere
5 civitas fuerit non suspecta nobis. Idque adeo haud scio
mirandumne sit, cum compluribus aliis de causis, tum
maxime, quod [ei], qui virtute belli omnibus gentibus
praeferebantur, tantum se eius opinionis deperdidisse, ut
a populo Romano imperia perferrent, gravissime dolebant.

Activity of the Treveri and Indutiomarus.

55 Treveri vero atque Indutiomarus totius hiemis nul-
lum tempus intermiserunt, quin trans Rhenum legatos
mitterent, civitates sollicitarent, pecunias pollicerentur,
'magna parte exercitus nostri interfecta multo minorem
2 superesse' dicerent 'partem.' Neque tamen ulli civitati
Germanorum persuaderi potuit, ut Rhenum transiret,
cum 'se bis expertos' dicerent, 'Ariovisti bello et
Tencterorum transitu: non esse amplius fortunam
3 temptaturos.' Hac spe lapsus Indutiomarus nihilo
minus copias cogere, exercere, a finitimis equos parare,

54. § 2. **Cavarinum.** Caesar admits in vi. 5, § 2 that his nominee had deserved expulsion.

exules damnatosque tota Gallia magnis praemiis ad se allicere coepit. Ac tantam sibi iam his rebus in Gallia 4
auctoritatem comparaverat, ut undique ad eum legationes concurrerent, gratiam atque amicitiam publice privatimque peterent.

Ubi intellexit ultro ad se veniri, altera ex parte 56
Senones Carnutesque conscientia facinoris instigari, altera Nervios Aduatucosque bellum Romanis parare, neque sibi voluntariorum copias defore, si ex finibus suis progredi coepisset, armatum concilium indicit. Hoc more 2
Gallorum est initium belli: quo lege communi omnes puberes armati convenire consuerunt, qui ex iis novissimus convenit, in conspectu multitudinis omnibus cruciatibus affectus necatur. In eo concilio Cingetorigem, 3
alterius principem factionis, generum suum, quem supra demonstravimus Caesaris secutum fidem ab eo non discessisse, hostem iudicat bonaque eius publicat. His rebus 4
confectis in concilio pronuntiat 'arcessitum se a Senonibus et Carnutibus aliisque compluribus Galliae civitatibus; huc iturum per fines Remorum eorumque agros 5
populaturum ac, priusquam id faciat, castra Labieni oppugnaturum.' Quae fieri velit, praecipit.

An armed council.

Labienus, cum et loci natura et manu munitissimis 57
castris sese teneret, de suo ac legionis periculo nihil timebat; ne quam occasionem rei bene gerendae dimitteret, cogitabat. Itaque a Cingetorige atque eius pro- 2
pinquis oratione Indutiomari cognita, quam in concilio habuerat, nuntios mittit ad finitimas civitates equitesque undique evocat; his certum diem conveniendi dicit. Interim prope cotidie cum omni equitatu Indutiomarus 3

Labienus watches for his opportunity.

56. § 1. **armatum concilium.** Cp. Liv. xxi. 20, § 1 'In his nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati (ita mos gentis erat) in concilium venerunt.'

§ 3. **supra.** 3, § 3.

sub castris eius vagabatur, alias ut situm castrorum cognosceret, alias colloquendi aut territandi causa; equites plerumque omnes tela intra vallum coniciebant.
4 Labienus suos intra munitionem continebat timorisque opinionem, quibuscumque poterat rebus, augebat.

58 Cum maiore in dies contemptione Indutiomarus ad castra accederet, nocte una intromissis equitibus omnium finitimarum civitatum, quos arcessendos curaverat, tanta diligentia omnes suos custodiis intra castra continuit, ut nulla ratione ea res enuntiari aut ad Treveros perferri
2 posset. Interim ex consuetudine cotidiana Indutiomarus ad castra accedit atque ibi magnam partem diei consumit; equites tela coniciunt et magna cum contumelia
3 verborum nostros ad pugnam evocant. Nullo ab nostris dato responso, ubi visum est, sub vesperum dispersi ac
4 dissipati discedunt. Subito Labienus duabus portis Death of Indutiomarus.
omnem equitatum emittit; praecipit atque interdicit, 'proterritis hostibus atque in fugam coniectis (quod fore, sicut accidit, videbat) unum omnes peterent Indutiomarum, neu quis quem prius vulneret, quam illum interfectum viderit,' quod mora reliquorum spatium nactum
5 illum effugere nolebat; magna proponit iis, qui occiderint, praemia; submittit cohortes equitibus subsidio.
6 Comprobat hominis consilium fortuna, et cum unum omnes peterent, in ipso fluminis vado deprehensus Indutiomarus interficitur, caputque eius refertur in castra; redeuntes equites, quos possunt, consectantur atque occi-
7 dunt. Hac re cognita omnes Eburonum et Nerviorum, quae convenerant, copiae discedunt, pauloque habuit post id factum Caesar quietiorem Galliam.

58. § 4. **praecipit atque interdicit.** 22, § 5.

§ 6. **hominis.** 7, § 9. There is perhaps an antithesis intended here between 'hominis' and 'fortuna.'

C. IULII CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

LIBER SEXTUS

B.C. 53

SUMMARY.

THIS book constitutes in itself a single episode, for the summer of B.C. 53 was almost wholly devoted by Caesar to taking vengeance on the Eburones and to the pursuit—unsuccessful to the last—of Ambiorix.

In view of the threatening aspect of affairs in Gaul, Caesar's first care was to repair the losses to his army. He raised levies through his own lieutenants, and got Pompeius to send him a legion which had been already enrolled in Cisalpine Gaul: so that before the winter was over there were three new legions to replace the legion and a half that had been lost under Sabinus.

Though Indutiomarus had been slain, his kinsmen carried on the work he had begun. They intrigued with the Germans and made common cause with Ambiorix. Caesar found himself threatened on every side. The Nervii, Aduatuci, and Menapii, together with the German dwellers on the near side of the Rhine, were openly in arms; the Senones and Carnutes had shown their disaffection; while the Treveri might at any time succeed in their endeavour to induce more Germans to cross the Rhine. Prompt action seemed to be called for. So, before the winter had run out, Caesar made a sudden inroad into the country of the Nervii, thereby reducing that tribe to submission. In the early spring, according to his wont, he called a council of Gaul—he does not

say where, but we may assume that it was at his headquarters of Samarobriva—and, finding that the Senones, Carnutes, and Treveri did not attend, considered this to be equivalent to a declaration of war. He therefore broke up the council and ordered it to meet again at Paris, which was a convenient point for operating against the Senones (Sens). The rapidity of his movements induced both this tribe and their neighbours the Carnutes (Chartres) to sue for mercy through the Aedui and Remi. Caesar, anxious not to be detained, granted it for the time. Then he held the council and ordered cavalry from the states.

Caesar was now free to devote his attention entirely to the scheme of vengeance he meditated. There was no chance of Ambiorix meeting him in the field: the question was how to catch him. The country to the west of his was in Caesar's hands, but he might escape northwards into the territory of the Menapii, a land of woods and marshes, whose inhabitants had never sent ambassadors to Caesar, or eastwards to the Germans across the Rhine, with whom the fugitive chieftain had entered into friendly relations through the Treveri. Both these contingencies had to be guarded against. For operations in these directions Amiens was no longer suitable as a base. Caesar therefore transferred the baggage of the whole army to the camp of Labienus in or near the country of the Treveri (cp. v. 24, § 2; 53, § 1: vi. 5, § 6; 7, § 1), sending with it two legions. He himself with five lightly equipped legions marched against the Menapii, and, having entered their country in three divisions, made such havoc of it as to cause them to ask for terms, which were granted on the express condition that they would not harbour Ambiorix.

Meanwhile Labienus had been as energetic and successful as Caesar. The Treveri had been on the point of attacking his single legion with large forces both of horse and foot, when they learnt that it had been reinforced by two others. This news made them at first desirous of waiting for the Germans, whose aid they were expecting. But the wily lieutenant was able, as usual, by working upon their self-confidence, to draw them into a disastrous engagement, which was followed by the surrender of the state, so that when their allies arrived, there was nothing for them to do but to go home again. The kinsmen of Indutiomarus went with them, and the government was handed over to Cingetorix.

The indications of locality in connexion with these movements are so faint as to defy conjecture. It may be mentioned however that Napoleon III assumes the river mentioned in 7, § 5 to have been the Ourthe, a tributary of the Meuse.

Having barred the retreat of Ambiorix to the north, it was now Caesar's object to cut off his escape to the east. At the same time the aid sent by the Germans to the Treveri seemed to call for a counter demonstration. Accordingly he again constructed a bridge over the Rhine, at a point a little higher up than the former one, and crossed once more into German territory. The Ubii at once sent an embassy to clear themselves from all suspicion of antagonism to the Romans. It was the Suebi, they said, who had sent aid to the Treveri. But the Suebi had retired to the confines of a vast forest which separated them from the Cherusci, and thither Caesar had no mind to follow them. It has been remarked with what art the account of Gaul and Germany (chs. 11-28) has been introduced at this point to cover the complete absence of incident during Caesar's second stay across the Rhine. Part of it is a repetition of what had been said in the beginning of Book IV about the Suebi. How long this second stay lasted Caesar has not thought fit to tell us. On returning to Gaul he destroyed only that part of the bridge which touched the banks of the Ubii, leaving twelve cohorts to guard the remainder as a standing menace of the possibility of his return.

All Caesar's energies were now devoted to the direct pursuit of Ambiorix. Turning back from the Rhine through the forest of Arduenna (Ardennes), which then reached its banks, he sent his cavalry in advance under L. Minucius Basilus, whom he instructed to allow no fires in the camp lest they should attract the notice of the enemy. So much despatch and secrecy were employed that Ambiorix was taken unawares. His arms and accoutrements and his coach and horses were seized, but he himself escaped, thanks to the fidelity of his retainers, who held back the foe long enough to enable their lord to mount his horse and ride away into the woods. Ambiorix made no attempt at resistance, but proclaimed a *sauve qui peut*. His people fled in various directions, and his fellow-chief Catuvolcus took refuge in the grave.

Two of the Cisrhenane German tribes, the Segni and Condrusi, now sent to say that they had not taken part with their country-

men in aiding the Eburones, and to beg that their territories might therefore be spared. The request was granted on condition that they delivered up all Eburonian fugitives.

The work of revenge was now to begin. As his headquarters in the scheme of devastation he meditated Caesar chose Aduatuca, the very place where Sabinus and Cotta had pitched their ill-fated camp the year before. The omens, it might be thought, were against this selection, but Caesar had his reasons. Aduatuca was a stronghold, it was a central point in the territory of the Eburones, and the Roman works of the previous year could still be utilised for defence. All the baggage of the army was deposited here, and Quintus Cicero was left in charge of it with the fourteenth legion, one of those levied at the beginning of the year, and 200 cavalry. The nine remaining legions were divided equally between Caesar himself, Labienus, and Trebonius. Of these Labienus went north-west in the direction of the Menapii, Trebonius south-west in that of the Aduatuci, while Caesar himself went due west towards the Escaut or Schelde. The understanding was that they were all to return to Aduatuca within six days from the time of starting. Caesar's desire to injure the enemy was tempered by care for his own men, who might be cut off individually in the woods, if they strayed in search of booty. With a view therefore to husbanding the lives of the legionaries he sent out a general invitation to the surrounding tribes to come and take part in pillaging the Eburones. During this position of affairs an incident took place which forcibly illustrated the chances of war, and served to rob Quintus Cicero of some of the laurels which he had won by his previous energy.

It was already the sixth, or, as the Romans put it, the seventh, day since the departure of Caesar, and this was also the day on which a fresh supply of corn ought to be served out to the soldiers who remained on garrison duty. There were tempting corn-lands in the vicinity, separated from the camp only by a single hill. Cicero, who up to now had carefully kept his men within camp, at length yielded to their clamours, and allowed half his legion of raw recruits to go out to forage. They were accompanied by a large body of camp-followers and by some 300 veterans, who had been left in garrison as invalids, but had recovered within the last few days. Now it so happened that 2,000 horsemen of the Sugambri, the German tribe who had sheltered the Usipetes and

Tencteri, had accepted Caesar's invitation to plunder, and had already harried some cattle of the Eburones. But they were not particular as to the source whence their spoil came, and having been informed by a captive that Caesar's headquarters could be reached in three hours, and had been left poorly guarded, they had gleefully seized the opportunity and rode up to the decuman gate just at this most awkward moment. There was a wild panic in the camp, and it was with difficulty that the gates were held against them. Fortunately for the Romans the brave centurion, Publius Sextius Baculus, had been left invalided in the garrison. Though so ill that he had been without food for five days, he seized arms from the bystanders and took his place at the gate. He had soon to be carried off in a swoon, but his example was followed by the other centurions of the cohort on duty, and the men gained courage to take their places on the works and present an appearance of defence. Meantime the five cohorts, who had now done their foraging, caught the sound of shouting in the distance. Unused to war they looked to their officers for direction, but met with nothing but dismay and divided counsels, while the enemy, perceiving their small numbers, promptly attacked them. The veterans made a successful dash for the camp and were followed by the camp-followers and cavalry; but the recruits, who hesitated between defending themselves by a height and making for the camp, were so severely handled by the enemy that two cohorts were lost. The Germans now thought fit to retire, but they left such abject terror behind them that when Caesar's cavalry arrived the same night they were not believed when they declared that the army was safe. On Caesar's own return he abstained from reproach, complaining only of the cohorts having been allowed to leave the camp, which it was their duty to protect.

After another expedition in search of Ambiorix, and a still more searching devastation of his territories, Caesar led back his forces to Reims (Durocortorum Remorum), where he convened the council of Gaul, instituted an inquiry into the conspiracy among the Senones and Carnutes, and exacted vengeance from its author Acco by a cruel and degrading form of execution. After this he settled his legions in winter-quarters and himself set out for Cisalpine Gaul.

Caesar prepares to meet a rising in Gaul.

1 MULTIS de causis Caesar maiorem Galliae motum exspectans per Marcum Silanum, Gaium Antistium Reginum, Titum Sextium legatos delectum habere insti-
2 tuit; simul ab Gneo Pompeio proconsule petit, quoniam ipse ad urbem cum imperio rei publicae causa remaneret, quos ex Cisalpina Gallia consulis sacramento rogavisset,
3 ad signa convenire et ad se proficisci iuberet, magni interesse etiam in reliquum tempus ad opinionem Galliae existimans tantas videri Italiae facultates, ut, si quid esset in bello detrimenti acceptum, non modo id brevi tempore resarciri, sed etiam maioribus augeri copiis
4 posset. Quod cum Pompeius et reipublicae et amicitiae tribuisset, celeriter confecto per suos delectu tribus ante exactam hiemem et constitutis et adductis legionibus duplicatoque earum cohortium numero, quas cum Q. Titurio amiserat, et celeritate et copiis docuit, quid populi Romani disciplina atque opes possent.

2 Interfecto Indutiomaro, ut docuimus, ad eius propinquos a Treveris imperium defertur. Illi finitimos Germanos sollicitare et pecuniam polliceri non desistunt.
2 Cum a proximis impetrare non possent, ulteriores temptant. Inventis nonnullis civitatibus iureiurando inter se confirmant obsidibusque de pecunia cavent;

1. § 2. **consulis sacramento.** Pompeius had been consul for the second time in B.C. 55. He was assigned the Spains as his province, but he governed them by proxy, and himself remained at Rome after his consulship, having the excuse of being in charge of the corn-supply (D. C. xxxix. 39; Cic. ad Att. iv. 1, § 7). This may be what Caesar refers to in the words 'reipublicae causa.'

§ 3. **ad opinionem Galliae,** 'as regards the impression produced on Gaul.' See ii. 8, § 1.

augeri. This word does not seem to be very happily chosen. We must render it 'outweighed.'

§ 4. **amicitiae.** Cp. vii. 6, § 1 for the good relations still maintained, ostensibly at all events, with Pompey.

duplicatoque, &c. A legion and five cohorts (v. 24, § 4), or a legion and a half, had been lost under Sabinus and Cotta. Caesar now supplies their place with three fresh legions.

Ambiorigem sibi societate et foedere adiungunt. Quibus 3
rebus cognitis Caesar, cum undique bellum parari videret,
Nervios, Aduatucos [ac] Menapios adiunctis Cisrhenanis
omnibus Germanis esse in armis, Senones ad imperatum
non venire et cum Carnutibus finitimisque civitatibus
consilia communicare, a Treveris Germanos crebris legationibus
sollicitari, maturius sibi de bello cogitandum
putavit.

He makes a sudden raid upon the Nervii.

Itaque nondum hieme confecta proximis quattuor 3
coactis legionibus de improviso in fines Nerviorum contendit
et, priusquam illi aut convenire aut profugere 2
possent, magno pecoris atque hominum numero capto
atque ea praeda militibus concessa vastatisque agris in
deditionem venire atque obsides sibi dare coëgit. Eo 3
celeriter confecto negotio rursus in hiberna legiones
reduxit. Concilio Galliae primo vere, ut instituerat, 4
indicto, cum reliqui praeter Senones, Carnutes Treverosque
venissent, initium belli ac defectionis hoc esse arbitratus,
ut omnia postponere videretur, concilium Lutetiam
Parisiorum transfert. Confines erant hi Senonibus civi- 5
tatemque patrum memoria coniunxerant, sed ab hoc
consilio afuisse existimabantur. Hac re pro suggestu 6
pronuntiata eodem die cum legionibus in Senones proficiscitur
magnisque itineribus eo pervenit.

The council of Gaul transferred to Paris.

The Senones and Car-

Cognito eius adventu Acco, qui princeps eius consilii 4
fuerat, iubet in oppida multitudinem convenire. Conan-

3. § 4. **Lutetiam Parisiorum.** This is the first appearance of Paris in history. We may suppose that the council had originally been summoned to meet at Amiens (cp. v. 24, § 1), but was transferred to Paris, as being nearer to the tribes whom Caesar wished to coerce.

§ 6. **pro suggestu.** Practically this means 'from the platform.' The author of the Bellum Africanum uses the same phrase, 86, § 4 'praemia fortissimo cuique ac bene merenti pro suggestu tribuit,' while in 54, § 2 he has 'de suggestu' in a similar context. In 44, § 3 of the same we have 'ante suggestum eius constituerunt' used of prisoners taking their stand before a general.

tibus, priusquam id effici posset, adesse Romanos
2 nuntiatur. Necessario sententia desistunt legatosque
deprecandi causa ad Caesarem mittunt; adeunt per
3 Aeduos, quorum antiquitus erat in fide civitas. Libenter
Caesar petentibus Aeduis dat veniam excusationemque
accipit, quod aestivum tempus instantis belli, non quaes-
4 tionis esse arbitrabatur. Obsidibus imperatis centum hos
5 Aeduis custodiendos tradit. Eodem Carnutes legatos
obsidesque mittunt usi deprecatoribus Remis, quorum
6 erant in clientela: eadem ferunt responsa. Peragit con-
cilium Caesar equitesque imperat civitatibus.

nutes suppressed by this movement.

5 Hac parte Galliae pacata totus et mente et animo in
2 bellum Treverorum et Ambiorigis insistit. Cavarinum
cum equitatu Senonum secum proficisci iubet, ne quis
aut ex huius iracundia aut ex eo, quod meruerat, odio
3 civitatis motus exsistat. His rebus constitutis, quod pro
explorato habebat Ambiorigem proelio non esse con-
certaturum, reliqua eius consilia animo circumspiciebat.
4 Erant Menapii propinqui Eburonum finibus, perpetuis
paludibus silvisque muniti, qui uni ex Gallia de pace ad
Caesarem legatos numquam miserant. Cum his esse
hospitium Ambiorigi sciebat; item per Treveros venisse
5 Germanis in amicitiam cognoverat. Haec prius illi
detrahenda auxilia existimabat, quam ipsum bello
lacesseret, ne desperata salute aut se in Menapios abderet
6 aut cum Transrhenanis congredi cogeretur. Hoc inito
consilio totius exercitus impedimenta ad Labienum in
Treveros mittit duasque legiones ad eum proficisci iubet;
ipse cum legionibus expeditis quinque in Menapios pro-

Caesar plans the capture of Ambiorix.

Sending the baggage and two legions to Labienus, he himself

4. § 3. **quaestionis.** This was to come later. See 44, § 1.

5. § 5. **cum Transrhenanis,** 'to join with the people across the Rhine.' 'Congredi' is more often used of hostile than of friendly meeting.

cuts off the retreat of Ambiorix to the Menapii.

ficiscitur. Illi nulla coacta manu loci praesidio freti in 7
silvas paludesque confugiunt suaque eodem conferunt.
Caesar partitis copiis cum Gaio Fabio legato et Marco 6
Crasso quaestore celeriterque effectis pontibus adit tri-
pertito, aedificia vicosque incendit, magno pecoris atque
hominum numero potitur. Quibus rebus coacti Menapii 2
legatos ad eum pacis petendae causa mittunt. Ille 3
obsidibus acceptis hostium se habiturum numero con-
firmat, si aut Ambiorigem aut eius legatos finibus suis
recepissent. His confirmatis rebus Commium Atrebatem 4
cum equitatu custodis loco in Menapiis relinquit; ipse
in Treveros proficiscitur.

Meantime Labienus subdues the Treveri by drawing them into a premature engagement.

Dum haec a Caesare geruntur, Treveri magnis coactis 7
peditatus equitatusque copiis Labienum cum una legione,
quae in eorum finibus hiemaverat, adoriri parabant, iam- 2
que ab eo non longius bidui via aberant, cum duas
venisse legiones missu Caesaris cognoscunt. Positis 3
castris a milibus passuum XV auxilia Germanorum ex-
spectare constituunt. Labienus hostium cognito consilio, 4
sperans temeritate eorum fore aliquam dimicandi facul-
tatem, praesidio quinque cohortium impedimentis relicto
cum viginti quinque cohortibus magnoque equitatu
contra hostem proficiscitur et mille passuum intermisso
spatio castra communit. Erat inter Labienum atque 5
hostem difficili transitu flumen ripisque praeruptis. Hoc
neque ipse transire habebat in animo neque hostes transi-
turos existimabat. Augebatur auxiliorum cotidie spes. 6
Loquitur in concilio palam, quoniam Germani appro-
pinquare dicantur, sese suas exercitusque fortunas in
dubium non devocaturum et postero die prima luce
castra moturum. Celeriter haec ad hostes deferuntur, 7

7. § 2. duas venisse, &c. See 5, § 6.

ut ex magno Gallorum equitum numero nonnullos
8 Gallicis rebus favere natura cogebat. Labienus noctu tribunis militum primisque ordinibus convocatis, quid sui sit consilii, proponit et, quo facilius hostibus timoris det suspicionem, maiore strepitu et tumultu, quam populi Romani fert consuetudo, castra moveri iubet. His rebus
9 fugae similem profectionem effecit. Haec quoque per exploratores ante lucem in tanta propinquitate castrorum ad hostes deferuntur.

8 Vix agmen novissimum extra munitiones processerat. cum Galli cohortati inter se, 'ne speratam praedam ex manibus dimitterent; longum esse perterritis Romanis Germanorum auxilium exspectare, neque suam pati dignitatem, ut tantis copiis tam exiguam manum praesertim fugientem atque impeditam adoriri non audeant,' flumen transire et iniquo loco committere proelium non dubitant.
2 Quae fore suspicatus Labienus, ut omnes citra flumen eliceret, eadem usus simulatione itineris placide progredie-
3 batur. Tum praemissis paulum impedimentis atque in tumulo quodam collocatis, 'habetis,' inquit, 'milites, quam petistis, facultatem: hostem impedito atque iniquo loco
4 tenetis; praestate eandem nobis ducibus virtutem, quam saepenumero imperatori praestitistis, atque illum adesse
5 et haec coram cernere existimate.' Simul signa ad hostem converti aciemque dirigi iubet et paucis turmis praesidio ad impedimenta dimissis reliquos equites ad
6 latera disponit. Celeriter nostri clamore sublato pila in

§ 7. **natura cogebat.** Cp. iii. 10, § 3.

8. § 1. **cum Galli, &c.** 'Galli' is subject to 'non dubitant,' and all between it and 'flumen transire' is parenthetical. 'Scarcely had the rear of the column proceeded beyond the lines before the Gauls . . are ready to cross the river.'

§ 6. **pila.** The 'pilum' is described by Vegetius (i. 20, and ii. 15) as a missile weapon with a shaft of the length of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, headed by a thin triangular iron blade, nine inches or a foot long. When it once fairly lodged itself in the

hostes immittunt. Illi, ubi praeter spem quos fugere credebant infestis signis ad se ire viderunt, impetum modo ferre non potuerunt ac primo concursu in fugam coniecti proximas silvas petierunt. Quos Labienus equi- 7
tatu consectatus magno numero interfecto, compluribus captis paucis post diebus civitatem recepit. Nam Germani, qui auxilio veniebant, percepta Treverorum fuga
sese domum receperunt. Cum his propinqui Indutio- 8
mari, qui defectionis auctores fuerant, comitati eos ex
civitate excesserunt. Cingetorigi, quem ab initio per- 9
mansisse in officio demonstravimus, principatus atque imperium est traditum.

Second passage of the Rhine.

Caesar, postquam ex Menapiis in Treveros venit, 9
duabus de causis Rhenum transire constituit; quarum 2
una erat, quod auxilia contra se Treveris miserant, altera,
ne ad eos Ambiorix receptum haberet. His constitutis 3
rebus paulum supra eum locum, quo ante exercitum
traduxerat, facere pontem instituit. Nota atque instituta 4
ratione magno militum studio paucis diebus opus efficitur.
Firmo in Treveris ad pontem praesidio relicto, ne quis 5
ab his subito motus oreretur, reliquas copias equitatum-

The Ubii clear themselves of complicity with the Treveri.

que traducit. Ubii, qui ante obsides dederant atque in 6
deditionem venerant, purgandi sui causa ad eum legatos mittunt, qui doceant neque auxilia ex sua civitate in
Treveros missa, neque ab se fidem laesam; petunt atque 7
orant, ut sibi parcat, ne communi odio Germanorum

shield it could not be pulled out, and if skilfully aimed and strongly launched it could easily pierce through a coat of mail. Cp. Appian's description (iv. 1) of the Roman 'pilum,' or, as the Greeks called it, ὑσσός.

§ 8. **Cum his . . . comitati eos.** 'Comitati eos' might well be dispensed with after 'Cum his.' But 'Cum his' may have reference to time, 'comitati eos' to place.

9. § 7. **ut . . . ne.** Perhaps a case of asyndeton, both 'ut' and 'ne' depending on 'petunt atque orant.' Cp. Af. 33, § 4 'cohortatus, uti manu facta se suosque defenderent, ne suis inimicis adversariisque dicto audientes essent': Cic. Rosc. Am. § 7 'peto ut pecunia fortunisque

innocentes pro nocentibus poenas pendant; si amplius
5 obsidum vellet, dare pollicentur. Cognita Caesar causa repperit ab Suebis auxilia missa esse; Ubiorum satisfactionem accipit, aditus viasque in Suebos perquirit.

The Suebi retreat to their furthest borders.

10 Interim paucis post diebus fit ab Ubiis certior Suebos omnes in unum locum copias cogere atque iis nationibus, quae sub eorum sint imperio, denuntiare, ut auxilia pedi-
2 tatus equitatusque mittant. His cognitis rebus rem frumentariam providet, castris idoneum locum deligit; Ubiis imperat, ut pecora deducant suaque omnia ex agris in oppida conferant, sperans barbaros atque imperitos homines inopia cibariorum adductos ad ini-
3 quam pugnandi condicionem posse deduci; mandat, ut crebros exploratores in Suebos mittant quaeque apud
4 eos gerantur cognoscant. Illi imperata faciunt et paucis diebus intermissis referunt: 'Suebos omnes, posteaquam certiores nuntii de exercitu Romanorum venerint, cum omnibus suis sociorumque copiis, quas coëgissent, penitus
5 ad extremos fines se recepisse; silvam esse ibi infinita magnitudine, quae appellatur Bacenis; hanc longe introrsus pertinere et pro nativo muro obiectam Cheruscos ab Suebis Suebosque ab Cheruscis iniuriis incursionibusque prohibere; ad eius initium silvae Suebos adventum Romanorum exspectare constituisse.'

Description of Gaul and

11 Quoniam ad hunc locum perventum est, non alienum esse videtur de Galliae Germaniaeque moribus et, quo

nostris contentus sit, sanguinem et vitam ne petat.'

amplius obsidum. 'Amplius' here takes the place of 'plus,' and is constructed like it.

dare pollicentur. iv. 21, § 5.

10. § 5. **Bacenis.** This is the only place where this forest is mentioned.

Cheruscos. South of the Harz mountains between the Weser and the Elbe.

11. § 1. **Germaniaeque.** Livy's 104th book began with a sketch of Germany and its inhabitants in connexion with Caesar's campaign against Ariovistus. See the epitome, 'Prima pars libri situm Germaniae moresque continet.'

Germany. 11-28.
I. Gaul. 11-20.
Factions in Gaul.

differant hae nationes inter sese, proponere. In Gallia 2
non solum in omnibus civitatibus atque in omnibus pagis
[partibusque], sed paene etiam in singulis domibus
factiones sunt, earumque factionum principes sunt qui 3
summam auctoritatem eorum iudicio habere existiman-
tur, quorum ad arbitrium iudiciumque summa omnium
rerum consiliorumque redeat. Itaque eius rei causa 4
antiquitus institutum videtur, ne quis ex plebe contra
potentiorem auxilii egeret: suos enim quisque opprimi
et circumveniri non patitur, neque, aliter si faciat, ullam
inter suos habet auctoritatem. Haec eadem ratio est 5
in summa totius Galliae; namque omnes civitates in
partes divisae sunt duas.

Political position in Gaul (1) before Caesar's arrival,

Cum Caesar in Galliam venit, alterius factionis **12**
principes erant Aedui, alterius Sequani. Hi cum per 2
se minus valerent, quod summa auctoritas antiquitus erat
in Aeduis magnaeque eorum erant clientelae, Germanos
atque Ariovistum sibi adiunxerant eosque ad se magnis
iacturis pollicitationibusque perduxerant. Proeliis vero 3
compluribus factis secundis atque omni nobilitate Aeduo-
rum interfecta tantum potentia antecesserant, ut magnam 4
partem clientium ab Aeduis ad se traducerent obsides-
que ab iis principum filios acciperent et publice iurare
cogerent nihil se contra Sequanos consilii inituros, et
partem finitimi agri per vim occupatam possiderent
Galliaeque totius principatum obtinerent. Qua necessi- 5
tate adductus Divitiacus auxilii petendi causa Romam
ad senatum profectus imperfecta re redierat. Adventu 6
Caesaris facta commutatione rerum, obsidibus Aeduis
redditis, veteribus clientelis restitutis, novis per Cae-
sarem comparatis, quod hi, qui se ad eorum amicitiam
aggregaverant, meliore condicione atque aequiore imperio

(2) after it.

12. § 1. **factionis.** Cp. i. 31, § 3.

se uti videbant, reliquis rebus eorum gratia dignitateque
7 amplificata, Sequani principatum dimiserant. In eorum locum Remi successerant, quos quod adaequare apud Caesarem gratia intellegebatur, ii, qui propter veteres inimicitias nullo modo cum Aeduis coniungi poterant,
8 se Remis in clientelam dicabant. Hos illi diligenter tuebantur; ita et novam et repente collectam auctorita-
9 tem tenebant. Eo tum statu res erat, ut longe principes haberentur Aedui, secundum locum dignitatis Remi obtinerent.

Classes among the Gauls—(1) The commons.

13 In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo. Nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco, quae nihil audet per se,
2 nullo adhibetur consilio. Plerique, cum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut iniuria potentiorum
3 premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus. In hos eadem omnia sunt iura, quae dominis in servos. Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est druidum, alterum

(2) The Druids. Their religious and judicial functions.

4 equitum. Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur; ad eos magnus adulescentium numerus disciplinae causa con-
5 currit, magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore. Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque consti-

§ 6. **dignitateque.** It is somewhat rare to find the enclitic appended to a word ending in ē. We find it appended to ă in 'reliquaque,' vii. 81, § 2; 84, § 1.

principatum dimiserant, 'had let their supremacy slip through their fingers.' See ii. 21, § 6 'dimitteret.'

§ 7. **adaequare.** Understand Aeduos. Cp. i. 48, § 7: v. 8, § 4.

13. § 1. **nullo,** dative. See v. 27, § 5 'alterae.'

§ 2. **aere alieno.** The pressure of debt among the Allobroges was one of the reasons which made the Catilinarians hope for their cooperation. Sallust (Cat. 40) speaks of them as 'publice privatimque aere alieno oppressos.'

§ 4. **sacrificia.** Strabo, iv. 4, § 5 *ἔθυον δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ Δρυϊδῶν*: D. S. v. 31, § 4 *ἔθος δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστι μηδένα θυσίαν ποιεῖν ἄνευ φιλοσόφου.*

§ 5. **de omnibus controversiis,** &c. Strabo says of the Druids, *δικαιότατοι δὲ νομίζονται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πιστεύονται τάς τε ἰδιωτικὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὰς κοινάς.*

tuunt, et, si quod est admissum facinus, si caedes facta,
si de hereditate, de finibus controversia est, iidem
Power of excommunication.
decernunt, praemia poenasque constituunt; si qui aut 6
privatus aut populus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis
interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos est gravissima.
Quibus ita est interdictum, hi numero impiorum ac 7
sceleratorum habentur, his omnes decedunt, aditum
sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incom-
modi accipiant, neque his petentibus ius redditur neque
Their chief.
honos ullus communicatur. His autem omnibus druidi- 8
bus praeest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctori-
tatem. Hoc mortuo aut, si qui ex reliquis excellit 9
dignitate, succedit, aut, si sunt plures pares, suffragio
druidum, nonnumquam etiam armis de principatu
Their meeting-place.
contendunt. Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, 10
quae regio totius Galliae media habetur, considunt in
loco consecrato. Huc omnes undique, qui controversias
habent, conveniunt eorumque decretis iudiciisque parent.
Their origin from Britain.
Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam 11
translata esse existimatur, et nunc, qui diligentius eam 12
rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa
proficiscuntur.

Their privileges.
14 Druides a bello abesse consuerunt neque tributa una
cum reliquis pendunt, [militiae vacationem] omniumque
Their disciples.
rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati praemiis 2
et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt et a paren-
tibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum 3
versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque annos nonnulli vicenos
Their teaching.
in disciplina permanent. Neque fas esse existimant
ea litteris mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis
privatisque rationibus, Graecis litteris utantur. Id mihi 4

§ 6. si qui. i. 48, § 6.
14. § 3. vicenos. The distributive because each pupil spends twenty years.

duabus de causis instituisse videntur, quod neque in vulgum disciplinam efferri velint neque eos, qui discunt, litteris confisos minus memoriae studere; quod fere plerisque accidit, ut praesidio litterarum diligentiam in
5 perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant. Imprimis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios, atque hoc maxime ad
6 virtutem excitari putant metu mortis neglecto. Multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant et iuventuti tradunt.

15 Alterum genus est equitum. Hi, cum est usus atque aliquod bellum incidit (quod fere ante Caesaris adventum quotannis accidere solebat, uti aut ipsi iniurias inferrent (3) The Knights.

§ 4. **in vulgum.** This form occurs also in Sall. Jug. 69, § 2; 73, § 5: Verg. Aen. ii. 99: Livy, vi. 34, § 5; xxiv. 32, § 1, and other authors, but always in the acc. That it is masc. and not neut. is proved by a passage from Varro preserved by Nonius Marcellus (pp. 230–231 M.), 'quem si vulgus secutus esset.'

fere plerisque. A slight pleonasm. Cp. Cic. Lael. § 2 'qui tum fere multis erat in ore.'

§ 5. **non interire animas.** Strabo, iv. 4, § 4 *'Αφθάρτους δὲ λέγουσι καὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἄλλοι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν κόσμον. ἐπικρατήσειν δέ ποτε καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ*: see also the fine passage in Lucan (i. 450–62) upon the Druids and their doctrine of immortality. Appian (Schweighaüser, vol. i. p. 75) transfers to the Germans what Caesar says of the Gauls, *καὶ θανάτου καταφρονηταὶ δι' ἐλπίδα ἀναβιώσεως.* Mela (iii. § 19) says of the Druids 'unum ex his quae praecipiunt in vulgus effluxit, videlicet ut forent ad bella meliores, aeternas esse animas vitamque alteram ad manes.'

§ 6. **Multa praeterea, &c.** With this passage cp. Cic. Div. i. § 90, where Quintus Cicero is made to say to his brother 'eaque divinationum ratio ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est, si quidem et in Gallia Druidae sunt, e quibus Divitiacum Haeduum hospitem tuum laudatoremque cognovi, qui et naturae rationem, quam *φυσιολογίαν* Graeci appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur et partim auguriis, partim coniectura, quae essent futura dicebat.' Mela (iii. §§ 18, 19) speaks to the same effect—'habent tamen et facundiam suam magistrosque sapientiae druidas. hi terrae mundique magnitudinem et formam, motus caeli ac siderum, et quid dii velint scire profitentur. docent multa nobilissimos gentis clam et diu, vicenis annis, aut in specu aut in abditis saltibus.'

aut illatas propulsarent), omnes in bello versantur, atque 2
eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habet. Hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt.

Human sacrifices among the Gauls.

Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religioni- 16
bus, atque ob eam causam, qui sunt affecti gravioribus 2
morbis quique in proeliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant aut se immolaturos vovent,
administrisque ad ea sacrificia druidibus utuntur, quod, 3
pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur, publiceque eiusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia. Alii 4
immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent; quibus succensis circumventi flamma exanimantur homines.
Supplicia eorum, qui in furto aut in latrocinio aut aliqua 5
noxia sint comprehensi, gratiora dis immortalibus esse arbitrantur; sed, cum eius generis copia defecit, etiam ad innocentium supplicia descendunt.

Their deities.

Deum maxime Mercurium colunt: huius sunt plurima 17

15. § 2. **amplissimus ... plurimos.** For the superlative degree where we should employ the comparative, cp. 21, § 4 'diutissime . . . maximam': C. i. 2, § 8 'ut quisque acerbissime crudelissimeque dixit, ita quam maxime ab inimicis Caesaris collaudatur.'

ambactos, 'vassals.' 'Ambactus apud Ennium lingua Gallica servus appellatur.' Festus (Müller, p. 4). According to Grimm the word is of German origin, 'andbahts.'

Hanc unam, &c. Not as in Rome law and oratory.

16. § 3 **publiceque, &c.** Lucan, i. 444–46—

'et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus,
et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.'

See also Lactantius, i. 21 'Galli Esum atque Teutatem humano cruore placabant.'

§ 4. **Alii immani, &c.** Strabo, iv. 4, § 5 *καὶ κατασκευάσαντες κολοσσὸν χόρτον, καὶ ξύλον ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τοῦτον, βοσκήματα καὶ παντοῖα θηρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὡλοκαύτουν.*

§ 5. **noxia.** Only here in Caesar. 'noxa' is also read.

17. § 1. **Mercurium.** The Romans seem to have identified Wasso with Mercury. It is to this deity that the magnificent temple on the top of the Puy-de-Dôme, brought

simulacra; hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitran-
2 tur. Post hunc Apollinem et Martem et Iovem et Minervam. De his eandem fere, quam reliquae gentes, habent opinionem: Apollinem morbos depellere, Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia tradere, Iovem
3 imperium caelestium tenere, Martem bella regere. Huic, cum proelio dimicare constituerunt, ea, quae bello ceperint, plerumque devovent: qui superaverint, animalia capta immolant reliquasque res in unum locum conferunt.
4 Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos tumulos
5 locis consecratis conspicari licet; neque saepe accidit, ut neglecta quispiam religione aut capta apud se occultare aut posita tollere auderet, gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est.

18 Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant Their descent from Dis pater.
2 idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt; dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic
3 observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur. In reliquis vitae

to light less than twenty years ago, is supposed to have been dedicated. It was destroyed by Chrocus king of the Alemanni, who was himself afterwards captured and killed at Arles. See Gregory of Tours, i. 29, ed. Omont—'Veniens vero Arvernus, delybrium illud, quod gallica lingua Vasso Galatae vocant, incendit, diruit atque subvertit.' The Germans seem to have borrowed the worship of Wasso from the Gauls after the time of Caesar (see 21, § 2), as Tacitus (Germ. 9) says of them—'Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui, certis diebus, humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent.'

18. § 2. **noctium.** Tacitus (Germ. 11) notices the same thing in connexion with the Germans—'Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant.' Our words 'fortnight' and 'sennight' testify to the same practice.

noctem dies subsequatur. The Roman 'civil' day lasted like ours from midnight to midnight, so that half the night would precede the day (Censorinus, De Die Natali, 23; Aul. Gell. iii. 2), but the 'natural' day was from sunrise to sunset. In the eternal sequence of night and day the southern nations assigned the precedence to day and the northern to night.

Custom of keeping children out of sight.

institutis hoc fere ab reliquis differunt, quod suos liberos, nisi cum adoleverunt, ut munus militiae sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur filiumque puerili aetate in publico in conspectu patris assistere turpe ducunt.

Customs as regards marriage.

Viri, quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine 19
acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis aestimatione facta cum
dotibus communicant. Huius omnis pecuniae coniunctim 2
ratio habetur fructusque servantur; uter eorum vita
superarit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superio-
rum temporum pervenit. Viri in uxores, sicuti in 3
liberos, vitae necisque habent potestatem; et cum pater familiae illustriore loco natus decessit, eius propinqui conveniunt et, de morte si res in suspicionem venit, de uxoribus in servilem modum quaestionem habent et, si compertum est, igni atque omnibus tormentis excru-
Funerals. ciatas interficiunt. Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum 4
magnifica et sumptuosa; omniaque, quae vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia, ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, iustis funeribus confectis una cremabantur.

Precautions in the wiser states

Quae civitates commodius suam rem publicam ad- 20
ministrare existimantur, habent legibus sanctum, si quis

19. § 3. familiae. Perhaps the exceptional genitive 'familias' was displeasing to Caesar as a scientific grammarian; at all events, he never uses it. Cp. i. 50, § 4; vii. 26, § 3; 47, § 5; 48, § 3 'matres familiae': C. ii. 4, § 3 'matrum familiae'; 44, § 1 'patresque familiae.' We find it, however, in his imitators, Al. 58, § 4 'matrum familias'; H. 19, § 3 'materfamilias.' Cicero employs both forms. Cp. Rosc. Am. §§ 43, 120. We may notice also that Caesar always uses the gen. sing. after a pl.—'patres familiae,' not 'patres familiarum.' Varro (L. L. viii. § 73) mentions the use of the pl. as a peculiarity of Sisenna's; but by the time of Justinian it had become habitual. It is used by Sallust (Cat. 43, § 2) 'filii familiarum.'

§ 4. hanc memoriam. 'Hic' often refers to present times, as in the common phrase, 'his moribus.' Cp. Livy, i. 55, § 9 'ne horum quidem magnificentiae operum': Vell. Pat. ii. 33, § 4 'profusae huius . . . luxuriae'; 72, § 3 'avus huius Cn. Domitii.'

quid de re publica a finitimis rumore aut fama acceperit,
uti ad magistratum deferat neve cum quo alio com-
2 municet, quod saepe homines temerarios atque imperitos
falsis rumoribus terreri et ad facinus impelli et de sum-
3 mis rebus consilium capere cognitum est. Magistratus
quae visa sunt occultant, quaeque esse ex usu iudi-
caverunt, multitudini produnt. De re publica nisi per
concilium loqui non conceditur.

against being swayed by rumours.

II. Germany. 21–28.

21 Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt. Nam
neque druides habent, qui rebus divinis praesint, neque
2 sacrificiis student. Deorum numero eos solos ducunt,
quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus iuvantur, Solem
et Vulcanum et Lunam, reliquos ne fama quidem
3 acceperunt. Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis
rei militaris consistit; a parvulis labori ac duritiae
4 student. Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maxi-
mam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali
5 vires nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero
vicesimum feminae notitiam habuisse in turpissimis
habent rebus; cuius rei nulla est occultatio, quod et
promiscue in fluminibus perluuntur et pellibus aut parvis
rhenonum tegimentis utuntur magna corporis parte nuda.

Religion.

Life.

Lateness of physical development.

22 Agriculturae non student, maiorque pars eorum victus
2 in lacte, caseo, carne consistit. Neque quisquam agri

Custom with regard to land.

20. § 1. **uti . . . neve.** See i. 35, § 3 'neve.'

§ 2. **quod saepe, &c.** For this trait in the character of the Gauls, cp. iv. 5, §§ 2, 3.

21. § 2. **reliquos, &c.** See 17, § 1, and cp. Acts vi. 19, § 2.

§ 3. **in venationibus.** Cp. iv. 1, § 8; Tac. Germ. 15.

§ 4. **Qui diutissime, &c.** Tac. Germ. 20 'Sera iuvenum venus, eoque inexhausta pubertas'; Mela, iii. § 26 'nudi agunt antequam puberes sint, et longissima apud eos pueritia est.'

22. § 1. **caseo.** Tac. Germ. 23 'Cibi simplices; agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum.' Tacitus, it will be observed, does not mention cheese. Pliny (N. H. xi. § 239) says—'Mirum barbaras gentes quae lacte vivant ignorare aut spernere tot saeculis casei dotem, densantes id alioqui in acorem iucundum et pingue butyrum.' Strabo (iv. 5, § 2) says that some of the

modum certum aut fines habet proprios; sed magistratus
ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque
hominum, cum una coierunt, quantum et quo loco visum
est agri attribuunt atque anno post alio transire cogunt.
Eius rei multas afferunt causas: ne assidua consuetudine 3
capti studium belli gerendi agricultura commutent; ne
latos fines parare studeant, potentioresque humiliores
possessionibus expellant; ne accuratius ad frigora atque
aestus vitandos aedificent; ne qua oriatur pecuniae
cupiditas, qua ex re factiones dissensionesque nascuntur;
ut animi aequitate plebem contineant, cum suas quisque 4
opes cum potentissimis aequari videat.

Desolation on the borders.

Civitatibus maxima laus est quam latissime circum 23
se vastatis finibus solitudines habere. Hoc proprium 2
virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere, neque
quemquam prope audere consistere; simul hoc se fore 3
tutiores arbitrantur repentinae incursionis timore sublato.

War.

Cum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit aut infert, magis- 4
tratus, qui ei bello praesint, ut vitae necisque habeant

Government.

potestatem, deliguntur. In pace nullus est communis 5
magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum

Britons were so ignorant that, though they had plenty of milk, they did not make cheese. There are other causes, however, besides ignorance for the absence of a particular product. In Cyprus there are plenty of cows, but there is no milk to be had, except by calves. In support of Strabo's statement, Professor Rhys points out that *caws*, the Welsh word for cheese, is simply borrowed from the Latin.

§ 2. **Neque quisquam, &c.** iv. 1, § 7; Tac. Germ. 26 'Agri, pro numero cultorum, ab universis per vices occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur; facilitatem partiendi camporum spatia praestant. Arva per annos mutant, et superest ager.'

23. § 1. **Civitatibus, &c.**: iv. 1, § 3.

§ 4. **Cum bellum, &c.** For the phrase, cp. 15, § 1 'uti aut ipsi iniurias inferrent aut illatas propulsarent.'

magistratus . . . deliguntur. Tac. Germ. 7 says that the right to punish in war belonged only to the priests.

§ 5. **principes regionum.** Tac. Germ. 12 'Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque reddant. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt.'

6 inter suos ius dicunt controversiasque minuunt. Latro- Raiding.
cinia nullam habent infamiam, quae extra fines cuiusque
civitatis fiunt, atque ea iuventutis exercendae ac desidiae
7 minuendae causa fieri praedicant. Atque ubi quis ex
principibus in concilio dixit 'se ducem fore, qui sequi
velint, profiteantur,' consurgunt ii, qui et causam et
hominem probant suumque auxilium pollicentur atque ab
8 multitudine collaudantur; qui ex his secuti non sunt, in
desertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur, omniumque
9 his rerum postea fides derogatur. Hospitem violare fas Hospi-
non putant; qui quacumque de causa ad eos venerunt, tality.
ab iniuria prohibent, sanctos habent, hisque omnium
domus patent victusque communicatur.

24 Ac fuit antea tempus, cum Germanos Galli virtute Decline of
superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multi- the Gauls in courage.
tudinem agrique inopiam trans Rhenum colonias mit-
2 terent. Itaque ea, quae fertilissima Germaniae sunt,
loca circum Hercyniam silvam, quam Eratostheni et
quibusdam Graecis fama notam esse video, quam illi
Orcyniam appellant, Volcae Tectosages occupaverunt
3 atque ibi consederunt; quae gens ad hoc tempus his

24. § 1. **Ac fuit antea, &c.** Tac. Germ. 28 'Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse, summus auctorum divus Iulius tradit: eoque credibile est, etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos.'

§ 2. **Hercyniam silvam.** Described in the next chapter as reaching from Switzerland to Roumania. Mela (iii. § 29) is no doubt echoing Caesar, when he describes it as being of a sixty days' journey.

Eratostheni: B.C. 276–196. The third librarian of Alexandria, and a very learned writer. One of his works was entitled *Γεωγραφικά*. He may be considered to have founded the science of geography. Cicero was at one time urged by Atticus to compose a work on geography. He selected Eratosthenes to follow, but was deterred by the difficulty of the subject (Ad Att. ii. 4, § 3; 6, § 1).

Volcae Tectosages. In Gaul they were settled at the foot of the Pyrenees between the Garonne and the Mediterranean. It has been suggested that the Gauls in Germany were a part of the Celtic wave of immigration that had never reached Gaul. But as we know that the Tectosages got as far eastward as Galatia, it need not surprise us to find that some of them established themselves in Germany.

sedibus sese continet summamque habet iustitiae et
bellicae laudis opinionem. Nunc quoque in eadem 4
[inopia] egestate patientiaque Germani permanent, eodem
victu et cultu corporis utuntur; Gallis autem provinciarum 5
propinquitas et transmarinarum rerum notitia multa ad
copiam atque usus largitur; paulatim assuefacti superari 6
multisque victi proeliis ne se quidem ipsi cum illis virtute
comparant.

The Hercynian forest.

Huius Hercyniae silvae, quae supra demonstrata est, **25**
latitudo novem dierum iter expedito patet; non enim
aliter finiri potest, neque mensuras itinerum noverunt.
Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum fini- 2
bus rectaque fluminis Danubii regione pertinet ad fines
Dacorum et Anartium; hinc se flectit sinistrorsus diversis 3
ab flumine regionibus multarumque gentium fines propter
magnitudinem attingit; neque quisquam est huius Ger- 4
maniae, qui se aut adisse ad initium eius silvae dicat,
cum dierum iter LX processerit, aut, quo ex loco oriatur,
acceperit; multaque in ea genera ferarum nasci constat, 5
quae reliquis in locis visa non sint; ex quibus quae
maxime differant ab ceteris et memoriae prodenda
videantur, haec sunt.

The reindeer (?)

Est bos cervi figura, cuius a media fronte inter aures **26**
unum cornu exsistit excelsius magisque directum his,
quae nobis nota sunt, cornibus; ab eius summo sicut 2

25. § 1. **finiri**, 'have its limit determined.' Cp. 18, § 2.

§ 2. **rectaque . . . regione.** In vii. 46, § 1 'recta regione' is used absolutely in the sense of 'in a straight line.' Cp. Liv. xxi. 31, § 9. Here with the gen. it means 'in a straight line with,' i.e. 'parallel to,' the Danube.

Dacorum et Anartium. The Daci dwelt in Transylvania and Roumania on the north bank of the Danube and the Anartes on the Theiss in Hungary.

§ 4. **initium.** We would rather call the known extremity the beginning.

26. § 1. **bos**, 'a large animal.' An elephant was called 'luca bos.' See Varro, L. L. vii. § 39. It is supposed that Caesar is here describing the reindeer.

3 palmae ramique late diffunduntur. Eadem est feminae marisque natura, eadem forma magnitudoque cornuum.

27 Sunt item, quae appellantur alces. Harum est con- Elks.
similis capris figura et varietas pellium, sed magnitudine paulo antecedunt mutilaeque sunt cornibus et crura sine
2 nodis articulisque habent, neque quietis causa procumbunt neque, si quo afflictae casu conciderunt, erigere sese
3 aut sublevare possunt. His sunt arbores pro cubilibus: ad eas se applicant atque ita paulum modo reclinatae
4 quietem capiunt. Quarum ex vestigiis cum est animadversum a venatoribus, quo se recipere consuerint, omnes eo loco aut ab radicibus subruunt aut accidunt arbores, tantum ut summa species earum stantium relinquatur.
5 Huc cum se consuetudine reclinaverunt, infirmas arbores pondere affligunt atque una ipsae concidunt.

28 Tertium est genus eorum, qui uri appellantur. Uri.

27. § 1. **alces.** Pliny's account of the elk is much easier to accept than that of Caesar. He simply says (N. H. viii. § 39) 'praeterea alcen (fert septentrio) iuvenco similem, ni proceritas aurium et cervicis distinguat,' but immediately goes on to describe under the name of 'achlis' the same beast which Caesar has spoken of as 'alces,' together with the same mode of hunting it. Pliny adds a beautiful touch to its portrait, namely, that its upper lip is so long that it has to graze backwards for fear of getting it entangled. He assigns to it as its habitat the island of Scadinavia (cp. N. H. iv. § 96 'Scatinavia incompertae magnitudinis'). The ancients, it should be observed, imagined Sweden to be an island, not knowing that it was connected with Europe by land to the north.

mutilaeque sunt cornibus. 'Hornless' or 'short-horned.' In order to be 'mutilus cornibus,' in the strict sense, an animal must once have had horns. Varro, L. L. ix. § 33 'si quis viderit mutilum bovem aut luscum hominem claudicantemque equum.'

§ 2. **erigere sese aut sublevare.** Long translates 'set themselves straight or raise themselves,' but perhaps Caesar has here been guilty of a mere bit of tautology.

§ 4. **ab radicibus,** 'at the roots.'

tantum ut summa, &c., 'so that there is left only a superficial appearance of their standing.'

§ 5. **consuetudine,** 'according to their wont.' So in vii. 24, § 2. This adverbial ablative is of rare occurrence, and only found with particular words.

28. § 1. **uri.** Pliny (N. H. viii. § 38) mentions maned bisons ('iubati bisontes') as dwelling in Germany, as well as 'uri,' which, he says, are confounded by the vulgar with buffalos — 'excellentique et vi et velocitate uros, quibus imperitum

Hi sunt magnitudine paulo infra elephantos, specie et colore 2
et figura tauri. Magna vis eorum est et magna velocitas,
neque homini neque ferae, quam conspexerunt, parcunt.
Hos studiose foveis captos interficiunt. Hoc se labore 3
durant adulescentes atque hoc genere venationis exercent,
et qui plurimos ex his interfecerunt, relatis in publicum
cornibus, quae sint testimonio, magnam ferunt laudem.
Sed assuescere ad homines et mansuefieri ne parvuli 4
quidem excepti possunt. Amplitudo cornuum et figura 5
et species multum a nostrorum boum cornibus differt.
Haec studiose conquisita ab labris argento circumcludunt 6
atque in amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur.

Caesar returns to Gaul.

Caesar, postquam per Ubios exploratores comperit 29
Suebos sese in silvas recepisse, inopiam frumenti veritus,
quod, ut supra demonstravimus, minime omnes Germani
agriculturae student, constituit non progredi longius;

The bridge partially kept up.

sed, ne omnino metum reditus sui barbaris tolleret atque 2
ut eorum auxilia tardaret, reducto exercitu partem ultimam pontis, quae ripas Ubiorum contingebat, in longitudinem pedum ducentorum rescindit atque in extremo 3
ponte turrim tabulatorum quattuor constituit praesidiumque cohortium duodecim pontis tuendi causa ponit
magnisque eum locum munitionibus firmat. Ei loco

The hunt for Ambiorix and revenge on the Eburones. 29–43.

praesidioque Gaium Volcatium Tullum adulescentem
praefecit. Ipse, cum maturescere frumenta inciperent, 4
ad bellum Ambiorigis profectus per Arduennam silvam,
quae est totius Galliae maxima atque ab ripis Rheni
finibusque Treverorum ad Nervios pertinet milibusque

volgus bubalorum nomen imponit, cum id gignat Africa vituli potius cervique quadam similitudine.' Pliny's 'bubali' are evidently the buffalo-kine, which are so common in Egypt at the present day. Vegetius (iii. 5) speaks of the military horn as being 'ex uris agrestibus.'

§ 5. **a . . . cornibus.** A pardonable piece of brachylogy, since the full expression would be 'a nostrorum boum cornuum amplitudine et figura et specie.'

29. § 1. **supra.** 22, § 1.

The silva Arduenna. The cavalry sent in advance.

amplius quingentis in longitudinem patet, Lucium Minucium Basilum cum omni equitatu praemittit, si quid celeritate itineris atque opportunitate temporis proficere posset; monet, ut ignes in castris fieri prohibeat, ne qua eius adventus procul significatio fiat; sese confestim subsequi dicit.

Hair-breadth escape of Ambiorix.

30 Basilus, ut imperatum est, facit. Celeriter contraque omnium opinionem confecto itinere multos in agris inopinantes deprehendit; eorum indicio ad ipsum Ambiorigem contendit, quo in loco cum paucis equitibus
2 esse dicebatur. Multum cum in omnibus rebus tum in re militari potest fortuna. Nam sicut magno accidit casu, ut in ipsum incautum etiam atque imparatum incideret, priusque eius adventus ab omnibus videretur, quam fama ac nuntius afferretur, sic magnae fuit fortunae omni militari instrumento, quod circum se habebat, erepto, redis equisque comprehensis ipsum effugere
3 mortem. Sed hoc quoque factum est, quod aedificio circumdato silva, ut sunt fere domicilia Gallorum, qui vitandi aestus causa plerumque silvarum atque fluminum petunt propinquitates, comites familiaresque eius angusto in loco paulisper equitum nostrorum vim sustinuerunt.
4 His pugnantibus illum in equum quidam ex suis intulit; fugientem silvae texerunt. Sic et ad subeundum periculum et ad vitandum multum fortuna valuit.

Dissipation of his followers.

31 Ambiorix copias suas iudicione non conduxerit, quod proelio dimicandum non existimarit, an tempore exclusus et repentino equitum adventu prohibitus, cum reliquum
2 exercitum subsequi crederet, dubium est. Sed certe dimissis per agros nuntiis sibi quemque consulere iussit.

§ 4. posset . . . prohibeat. Both sequences are admissible after the historic present. Cp. i. 8, § 2.

30. § 1. quo in loco. As though 'ad eum locum' had preceded.

§ 2. fortuna. iv. 26, § 5.

Quorum pars in Arduennam silvam, pars in continentes
paludes profugit; qui proximi Oceano fuerunt, hi insulis 3
sese occultaverunt, quas aestus efficere consuerunt; multi 4
ex suis finibus egressi se suaque omnia alienissimis credi-

Suicide of Catuvolcus.

derunt. Catuvolcus, rex dimidiae partis Eburonum, qui 5
una cum Ambiorige consilium inierat, aetate iam confectus, cum laborem aut belli aut fugae ferre non posset, omnibus precibus detestatus Ambiorigem, qui eius consilii auctor fuisset, taxo, cuius magna in Gallia Germaniaque copia est, se exanimavit.

Embassy from the Segni and Condrusi.

Segni Condrusique, ex gente et numero Germanorum, 32
qui sunt inter Eburones Treverosque, legatos ad Caesarem miserunt oratum, ne se in hostium numero duceret neve omnium Germanorum, qui essent citra Rhenum, unam esse causam iudicaret: nihil se de bello cogitavisse,
nulla Ambiorigi auxilia misisse. Caesar explorata re 2
quaestione captivorum, 'si qui ad eos Eburones ex fuga convenissent, ad se ut reducerentur,' imperavit; 'si ita

Cicero left in charge of the camp.

fecissent, fines eorum se violaturum' negavit. Tum copiis 3
in tris partes distributis impedimenta omnium legionum
Aduatucam contulit. Id castelli nomen est. Hoc fere 4
est in mediis Eburonum finibus, ubi Titurius atque

31. § 5. **taxo.** The yew was credited with very evil properties by the ancients. Pliny (N. H. xvi. §§ 50, 51) tells us that its berries were especially poisonous in Spain. Cp. Flor. ii. 33, § 50. It was discovered, he adds, that travelling-cases for wines, which were made from it in Gaul, caused death. He quotes another author, Sextius, as saying that in Arcadia its poison was so potent that to sleep or take a meal under it was fatal. In this country children eat the berries and appear to be none the worse.

32. § 1. **Segni Condrusique.** The Condrusi were mentioned among the 'Germans' in ii. 4, § 10, but not the Segni.

§ 3. **Aduatuca.** There has been much dispute as to the precise locality of this fortress, which must not be confounded with the 'Aduatucorum oppidum' of ii. 29, § 2. The modern Tongres, on the east of the Meuse, was formerly 'Aduatuca Tungrorum,' and, according to Napoleon III, it alone satisfies the topographical conditions. Others, however, are in favour of placing 'Aduatuca' to the east of the Meuse, somewhere near Limburg.

5 Aurunculeius hiemandi causa consederant. Hunc cum
reliquis rebus locum probarat, tum quod superioris anni
munitiones integrae manebant, ut militum laborem sub-
levaret. Praesidio impedimentis legionem quartamde-
cimam reliquit, unam ex his tribus, quas proxime
6 conscriptas ex Italia traduxerat. Ei legioni castrisque
Quintum Tullium Ciceronem praeficit ducentosque
equites attribuit.

Triple expedition against the enemy.

33 Partito exercitu Titum Labienum cum legionibus
tribus ad Oceanum versus in eas partes, quae Menapios
2 attingunt, proficisci iubet; Gaium Trebonium cum pari
legionum numero ad eam regionem, quae ad Aduatucos
3 adiacet, depopulandam mittit; ipse cum reliquis tribus
ad flumen Scaldem, quod influit in Mosam, extremasque
Arduennae partes ire constituit, quo cum paucis equiti-
4 bus profectum Ambiorigem audiebat. Discedens post
diem septimum sese reversurum confirmat; quam ad
diem ei legioni, quae in praesidio relinquebatur, deberi
5 frumentum sciebat. Labienum Treboniumque hortatur,
si rei publicae commodo facere possint, ad eum diem
revertantur, ut rursus communicato consilio explora-
tisque hostium rationibus aliud initium belli capere
possent.

Caesar undertakes to return in six days.

Care required in the work.

34 Erat, ut supra demonstravimus, manus certa nulla,
non oppidum, non praesidium, quod se armis defenderet,
2 sed in omnes partes dispersa multitudo. Ubi cuique aut
valles abdita aut locus silvestris aut palus impedita spem
3 praesidii aut salutis aliquam offerebat, consederat. Haec

33. § 3. influit in Mosam. The Escaut or Schelde does not flow into the Meuse, though it may be said to join it at the mouth.

34. § 2. valles. In vii. 47, § 2 again Caesar employs this form of the nominative. He does not use 'vallis.' Vergil (Aen. xi. 522) has the same form—'est curvo anfractu valles.' In Af. 50, § 1 we find the nom. 'convallis.'

loca vicinitatibus erant nota, magnamque res diligentiam
requirebat non in summa exercitus tuenda (nullum enim
poterat universis a perterritis ac dispersis periculum
accidere), sed in singulis militibus conservandis; quae
tamen ex parte res ad salutem exercitus pertinebat.
Nam et praedae cupiditas multos longius evocabat, et 4
silvae incertis occultisque itineribus confertos adire pro-
hibebant. Si negotium confici stirpemque hominum 5
sceleratorum interfici vellet, dimittendae plures manus
diducendique erant milites; si continere ad signa mani- 6
pulos vellet, ut instituta ratio et consuetudo exercitus
Romani postulabat, locus ipse erat praesidio barbaris,
neque ex occulto insidiandi et dispersos circumveniendi
singulis deerat audacia. Ut in eiusmodi difficultatibus, 7
quantum diligentia provideri poterat, providebatur, ut
potius in nocendo aliquid praetermitteretur, etsi omnium
animi ad ulciscendum ardebant, quam cum aliquo
militum detrimento noceretur. Dimittit ad finitimas 8
civitates nuntios Caesar: omnes evocat spe praedae ad
diripiendos Eburones, ut potius in silvis Gallorum vita
quam legionarius miles periclitetur, simul ut magna
multitudine circumfusa pro tali facinore stirps ac nomen
civitatis tollatur. Magnus undique numerus celeriter 9
convenit.

The surrounding states invited to the plunder of the Eburones.

The Germans coming to the spoil make a sudden descent on the Roman camp,

Haec in omnibus Eburonum partibus gerebantur, dies- **35**
que appetebat septimus, quem ad diem Caesar ad
impedimenta legionemque reverti constituerat. Hic, 2
quantum in bello fortuna possit et quantos afferat casus,
cognosci potuit. Dissipatis ac perterritis hostibus, ut 3
demonstravimus, manus erat nulla, quae parvam modo
causam timoris afferret. Trans Rhenum ad Germanos 4

§ 3. **vicinitatibus.** Abstract for concrete, as in the case of our own word 'neighbourhoods.'

pervenit fama, diripi Eburones atque ultro omnes ad
5 praedam evocari. Cogunt equitum duo milia Sugambri,
qui sunt proximi Rheno, a quibus receptos ex fuga
6 Tencteros atque Usipetes supra docuimus. Transeunt
Rhenum navibus ratibusque triginta milibus passuum
infra eum locum, ubi pons erat perfectus praesidiumque
a Caesare relictum; primos Eburonum fines adeunt;
multos ex fuga dispersos excipiunt, magno pecoris
numero, cuius sunt cupidissimi barbari, potiuntur. Invi-
7 tati praeda longius procedunt. Non hos palus in bello
latrociniisque natos, non silvae morantur. Quibus in
locis sit Caesar, ex captivis quaerunt; profectum longius
reperiunt omnemque exercitum discessisse cognoscunt.
8 Atque unus ex captivis, 'quid vos,' inquit, 'hanc miseram
ac tenuem sectamini praedam, quibus licet iam esse
fortunatissimis? Tribus horis Aduatucam venire po-
testis: huc omnes suas fortunas exercitus Romanorum
9 contulit; praesidii tantum est, ut ne murus quidem cingi
possit, neque quisquam egredi extra munitiones audeat.'
10 Oblata spe Germani, quam nacti erant praedam, in
occulto relinquunt; ipsi Aduatucam contendunt usi
eodem duce, cuius haec indicio cognoverant.

36 Cicero, qui omnes superiores dies praeceptis Caesaris cum summa diligentia milites in castris continuisset ac ne calonem quidem quemquam extra munitionem egredi passus esset, septimo die diffidens de numero dierum Caesarem fidem servaturum, quod longius progressum audiebat, neque ulla de reditu eius fama afferebatur,

from which Cicero has just let his men out to forage.

35. § 5. **supra.** iv. 16, § 2.

§ 6. **triginta milibus passuum.** Here we have the abl. of distance contrary to Caesar's general rule. See ii. 16, § 1 'non amplius,' &c. Kraner attributes the abl. to the comparative force of 'infra,' comparing 28, § 1 'paulo infra elephantos.'

§ 9. **tantum,** 'just so much' and so = 'tantulum.' Cp. C. iii. 2, § 2.

simul eorum permotus vocibus, qui illius patientiam 2
paene obsessionem appellabant, siquidem ex castris egredi non liceret, nullum eiusmodi casum exspectans, quo novem oppositis legionibus maximoque equitatu dispersis ac paene deletis hostibus in milibus passuum tribus offendi posset, quinque cohortes frumentatum in proximas segetes mittit, quas inter et castra unus omnino collis intererat. Complures erant ex legionibus aegri 3
relicti; ex quibus qui hoc spatio dierum convaluerant, circiter CCC, sub vexillo una mittuntur; magna praeterea multitudo calonum, magna vis iumentorum, quae in castris subsederant, facta potestate sequitur.

Panic in the camp.

Hoc ipso tempore et casu Germani equites interveniunt 37
protinusque eodem illo, quo venerant, cursu ab decumana porta in castra irrumpere conantur, nec prius sunt visi 2
obiectis ab ea parte silvis, quam castris appropinquarent, usque eo ut, qui sub vallo tenderent mercatores, recipiendi sui facultatem non haberent. Inopinantes nostri 3
re nova perturbantur, ac vix primum impetum cohors in statione sustinet. Circumfunduntur ex reliquis hostes 4
partibus, si quem aditum reperire possent. Aegre portas 5
nostri tuentur, reliquos aditus locus ipse per se munitioque defendit. Totis trepidatur castris, atque alius ex 6
alio causam tumultus quaerit; neque quo signa ferantur neque quam in partem quisque conveniat, provident. Alius iam castra capta pronuntiat, alius deleto exercitu 7
atque imperatore victores barbaros venisse contendit: plerique novas sibi ex loco religiones fingunt Cottaeque 8
et Titurii calamitatem, qui in eodem occiderint castello, ante oculos ponunt. Tali timore omnibus perterritis 9

36. § 2. quo . . . offendi posset, 'whereby a reverse could be received.' quas inter. See vii. 33, § 2 'quos inter.'

§ 3. sub vexillo. See Introd. p. 217.

confirmatur opinio barbaris, ut ex captivo audierant,
nullum esse intus praesidium. Perrumpere nituntur
seque ipsi adhortantur, ne tantam fortunam ex manibus
dimittant.

Bravery of Baculus.

38 Erat aeger cum praesidio relictus Publius Sextius
Baculus, qui primum pilum ad Caesarem duxerat, cuius
mentionem superioribus proeliis fecimus, ac diem iam
2 quintum cibo caruerat. Hic diffisus suae atque omnium
saluti inermis ex tabernaculo prodit, videt imminere
hostes atque in summo esse rem discrimine, capit arma
3 a proximis atque in porta consistit. Consequuntur hunc
centuriones eius cohortis, quae in statione erat; paulisper
4 una proelium sustinent. Relinquit animus Sextium
gravibus acceptis vulneribus; aegre per manus tractus
5 servatur. Hoc spatio interposito reliqui sese confirmant
tantum, ut in munitionibus consistere audeant speciem-
que defensorum praebeant.

The foraging-party are attacked on their return.

39 Interim confecta frumentatione milites nostri clamorem
exaudiunt; praecurrunt equites; quanto res sit in peri-
2 culo cognoscunt. Hic vero nulla munitio est, quae
perterritos recipiat: modo conscripti atque usus militaris
imperiti ad tribunum militum centurionesque ora con-
3 vertunt; quid ab his praecipiatur, exspectant. Nemo
4 est tam fortis, quin rei novitate perturbetur. Barbari
signa procul conspicati oppugnatione desistunt; redisse
primo legiones credunt, quas longius discessisse ex cap-
tivis cognoverant; postea despecta paucitate ex omnibus
partibus impetum faciunt.

They get back into camp with loss.

40 Calones in proximum tumulum procurrunt. Hinc
celeriter deiecti se in signa manipulosque coniciunt; eo
2 magis timidos perterrent milites. Alii, 'cuneo facto ut

38. § 1. **ad Caesarem.** iii. 9, § 3 'ad omnes nationes.' **mentionem.** ii. 25, § 1: iii. 5, § 2.

40. § 2. **cuneo facto.** The ad-

celeriter perrumpant,' censent, 'quoniam tam propinqua
sint castra, et si pars aliqua circumventa ceciderit, at
reliquos servari posse confidunt'; alii, 'ut in iugo con- 3
sistant atque eundem omnes ferant casum.' Hoc veteres 4
non probant milites, quos sub vexillo una profectos
docuimus. Itaque inter se cohortati duce Gaio Trebonio,
equite Romano, qui eis erat praepositus, per medios
hostes perrumpunt incolumesque ad unum omnes in
castra perveniunt. Hos subsecuti calones equitesque 5
eodem impetu militum virtute servantur. At ii, qui in 6
iugo constiterant, nullo etiam nunc usu rei militaris per-
cepto neque in eo, quod probaverant, consilio permanere,
ut se loco superiore defenderent, neque eam, quam pro-
desse aliis vim celeritatemque viderant, imitari potuerunt,
sed se in castra recipere conati iniquum in locum demi-
serunt. Centuriones, quorum nonnulli ex inferioribus 7
ordinibus reliquarum legionum virtutis causa in superiores
erant ordines huius legionis traducti, ne ante partam rei
militaris laudem amitterent, fortissime pugnantes con-
ciderunt. Militum pars horum virtute submotis hostibus 8
praeter spem incolumis in castra pervenit, pars a barbaris
circumventa periit.

The Germans retire with their booty,

Germani desperata expugnatione castrorum, quod 41
nostros iam constitisse in munitionibus videbant, cum
ea praeda, quam in silvis deposuerant, trans Rhenum

vantage of the wedge-like formation was that it enabled the darts of several soldiers to be concentrated on a single point in the enemy's line. It was called by the soldiers a swine's head ('caput porcinum.' See Veget. iii. 19). A certain number of supernumeraries were kept ready for the formation of a 'cuneus,' when desired, without disturbance to the general order. The proper mode of tactics by which to meet the attack of a 'cuneus' was by forming a 'forfex' to inclose it. Under the Empire 'cuneus' came to be used for some division of the army. See Lact. Div. Inst. i. 3 'Quodsi in uno exercitu tot fuerint imperatores, quot legiones, quot cohortes, quot cunei, quot alae: primum nec instrui poterit acies.'

2 sese receperunt. Ac tantus fuit etiam post discessum hostium terror, ut ea nocte, cum Gaius Volusenus missus cum equitatu ad castra venisset, fidem non faceret adesse
3 cum incolumi Caesarem exercitu. Sic omnino animos timor praeoccupaverat, ut paene alienata mente 'deletis omnibus copiis equitatum se ex fuga recepisse' dicerent, 'neque incolumi exercitu Germanos castra oppugnaturos
4 fuisse' contenderent. Quem timorem Caesaris adventus sustulit.

Leaving the Romans utterly demoralised.

42 Reversus ille eventus belli non ignorans unum, quod cohortes ex statione et praesidio essent emissae, questus '(ne minimo quidem casu locum relinqui debuisse) multum fortunam in repentino hostium adventu potuisse iudicavit,
2 multo etiam amplius, quod paene ab ipso vallo portisque
3 castrorum barbaros avertisset.' Quarum omnium rerum maxime admirandum videbatur, quod Germani, qui eo consilio Rhenum transierant, ut Ambiorigis fines depopularentur, ad castra Romanorum delati optatissimum Ambiorigi beneficium obtulerunt.

Caesar's reflexions on his return.

43 Caesar rursus ad vexandos hostes profectus magno coacto numero ex finitimis civitatibus in omnes partes
2 dimittit. Omnes vici atque omnia aedificia, quae quisque
3 conspexerat, incendebantur; praeda ex omnibus locis agebatur; frumenta non solum tanta multitudine iumentorum atque hominum consumebantur, sed etiam anni

Renewed devastation of the Eburones,

42. § 1. **casu.** Cp. Af. 52 'prospectu offecisset.' This contracted form of the dative was common in early Latin, but fell out of use later. Lucilius has

'Quod sumptum atque epulas victu praeponis honesto,'

and in another place 'anu noceo.' Vergil employs it several times (Geor. iv. 158 'victu,' 198 'concubitu'; Aen. vi. 465 'aspectu'). Caesar himself in his Anticato wrote 'unius arrogantiae superbiae dominatuque.' In his pleading against Dolabella he had the words 'et honori erant et ornatu'; while in his work on grammar ('libri analogici') he laid it down as a general rule that the 'i' in such cases should be dispensed with. See Aul. Gell. iv. 16.

tempore atque imbribus procubuerant, ut, si qui etiam in
praesentia se occultassent, tamen his deducto exercitu
and vain pursuit of Ambiorix.
rerum omnium inopia pereundum videretur. Ac saepe 4
in eum locum ventum est tanto in omnes partes diviso
equitatu, ut modo visum ab se Ambiorigem in fuga
circumspicerent captivi nec plane etiam abisse ex con-
spectu contenderent, ut spe consequendi illata atque 5
infinito labore suscepto, qui se summam ab Caesare
gratiam inituros putarent, paene naturam studio vincerent,
semperque paulum ad summam felicitatem defuisse vide-
retur, atque ille latebris aut saltibus se eriperet et noctu 6
occultatus alias regiones partesque peteret non maiore
equitum praesidio quam quattuor, quibus solis vitam
suam committere audebat.

Council at Durocortorum.
Tali modo vastatis regionibus exercitum Caesar 44
duarum cohortium damno Durocortorum Remorum
reducit, concilioque in eum locum Galliae indicto de
coniuratione Senonum et Carnutum quaestionem habere
Punishment of Acco.
instituit et de Accone, qui princeps eius consilii fuerat, 2
graviore sententia pronuntiata more maiorum supplicium
sumpsit. Nonnulli iudicium veriti profugerunt. Quibus 3
Winter-quarters.
cum aqua atque igni interdixisset, duas legiones ad fines
Treverorum, duas in Lingonibus, sex reliquas in Seno-
num finibus Agedinci in hibernis collocavit frumentoque
Caesar goes to Italy.
exercitui proviso, ut instituerat, in Italiam ad conventus
agendos profectus est.

44. § 1. **Durocortorum.** Now Reims in the department of Marne.

§ 2. **more maiorum.** This good old-fashioned Roman mode of punishment is described by Suetonius (Nero 49) 'nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcae, corpus virgis ad necem caedi.' It seems to have been applied by Caesar to Gutruatus as well as to Acco. See viii. 38, § 5.

§ 3. **Quibus . . . interdixisset.** For the constr. cp. i. 46, § 4.

Agedinci. 'Agedincum' is now Sens in the department of Yonne.

C. IULII CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

LIBER SEPTIMUS

B.C. 52

SUMMARY.

THE seventh book is a tragedy, with the revolt of Gaul for its subject and for its hero Vercingetorix.

In January, B.C. 52, took place the murder of Clodius, and Rome was plunged in anarchy. The news quickly spread to Gaul, where it fanned into a flame the slumbering embers of discontent. Rome's paralysis seemed Gaul's opportunity. All that was wanted was to find some people to lead the way. The Carnutes undertook to do this, and having exacted a solemn pledge of support from their countrymen by the Gallic custom of mingling their standards, they proceeded on a stated day to murder all the Roman citizens whom they could find in their market-town of Genabum (Orléans). The news spread like wild-fire over the country, insomuch that the deed done in Orléans at sunrise was reported before nine o'clock that night in Auvergne, at a distance of 160 Roman miles, and this, Caesar tells us, was effected by shouting the news through the fields! Here it roused to action Vercingetorix, a young nobleman, whose father had been the leading man in Gaul. Though opposed at first by his uncle Gobannitio, and even expelled from his native town of Gergovia, Vercingetorix sprang suddenly into power, and was soon proclaimed king by his countrymen—a title through the desire for which his father's life had been forfeited—and com-

mander-in-chief by a powerful confederacy of states, the members of which he kept in awe by the severity of his punishments. Having collected an army he sent part of it under Lucterius against the Ruteni on the borders of the Province, and with part marched against the Bituriges (Bourges). The latter, being unsupported by the Aedui, whose clients they were, at once joined Vercingetorix. Lucterius on his side was being equally successful. He had won over the Ruteni, the Nitiobriges, and the Gabali, all closely bordering on the Province, and was meditating an incursion into the Province itself in the direction of its chief town of Narbo. In this design however he was frustrated by the appearance of Caesar on the scene. The Roman general had brought with him some new levies from Cisalpine Gaul. After having checked Lucterius he ordered these and part of the troops already in the Province to meet in the country of the Helvii (Vivarais), which is separated from that of the Arverni by the mountain-range of the Cevennes, which then lay six feet deep in snow. This barrier Caesar burst and descended like a cataract upon the fields of the Arverni, bringing desolation in his train. Vercingetorix was hastily recalled from Bourges by the entreaties of his countrymen, which was just the result upon which Caesar had calculated. This made it a little safer for the Roman commander to accomplish his main object, which was that of rejoining his army. Under pretence of raising more forces he left the troops he had with him to continue their work of devastation under the command of Brutus, promising to do his best not to be away more than three days. Then, keeping his counsel to himself, he made a rapid journey to Vienne on the Rhône. Picking up there a body of cavalry that he had sent in advance, he rode through the territory of the Aedui, without stopping night or day, into that of the Lingones (Langres), where two of his legions were wintering (vi. 44). From there he sent despatches to the rest, which were quartered near Sens and Trèves, and had his army concentrated at the former place (Sens=Agedincum) before the Arverni knew that he had joined it. Caesar does not tell us what became of the small force that he had left behind him in Auvergne. It got back safe, for we hear of it again later on (57, § 1).

On receiving the news that Caesar had joined his army Vercingetorix returned to the country of the Bituriges, and from there

proceeded to lay siege to Gorgobina, the town of those Boii who had been settled on Aeduan territory (i. 28, § 5). This movement on the part of Vercingetorix put Caesar in a great difficulty. On the one hand he could not with credit desert the dependants of the Aedui, on the other the season was still too early to make it easy to obtain supplies. The loss of prestige appeared the greater of the two evils: so Caesar sent word to the Boii that he was coming to their relief, and set out from Sens with eight legions. Next day he arrived at Vellaunodunum, a town of the Senones, which he stopped to take. Two days more brought him to Genabum on the Loire, which belonged to the Carnutes. This town he sacked and burnt. Then he crossed the Loire and laid siege to a town of the Bituriges called Noviodunum, which lay in his line of march. This was in the act of surrender when the cavalry of Vercingetorix, who had now raised the siege of Gorgobina, came to its relief: but these were routed by some German horse in Caesar's service, of whom we now hear for the first time, and the surrender was completed. After these successes Caesar marched upon Avaricum, the chief town of the Bituriges, feeling sure that, if he could recover that, he would reduce the tribe into his power.

There has been much dispute as to the topography of this march of Caesar's. Agedincum, it is not questioned, is Sens. Vellaunodunum is placed by the Commission, whom Napoleon III instructed to draw up a map of Gaul, at Château-Landon, on the south border of the department of Seine-et-Marne, but by the Emperor himself at Triguères. Genabum is identified by the same Commission with Orléans, by the Emperor with Gien, which is further up the Loire. Noviodunum is put by the Commission at Neuvy-sur-Baranjon, by Göler at Nouan le Fuzélier, by Napoleon at Sancerre. Gorgobina, for which Gergovia used to be read, is placed by the Commission at Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier, by Göler at Guerche-sur-l'Aubois, by Napoleon at Saint-Parize le Châtel. M. Desjardins believes that the Genabum of vii. 11, 14 is not the same as the Genabum of vii. 3 and viii. 5. The latter place he identifies with Orléans, and maintains that it should be spelt with a C, because it is so spelt in an inscription found on the spot and by Ptolemy (ii. 8, § 13), though not by Strabo (iv. 2, § 3). The former, he is willing with the Emperor to place at Gien. This compromise has little to recommend it. Even if Orléans were out

of Caesar's line, a point which depends on the hypothetical position of Gorgobina, there was very good reason for a détour in order to reach it, and the signal vengeance which Caesar took upon it seems to mark it as the place where Roman citizens were murdered.

The continuous success of the Roman arms convinced Vercingetorix that the Gauls must change their tactics. He had influence enough with his countrymen to persuade them to play a waiting game, despite their natural impatience, and to burn their homesteads, villages, and even towns, so as to deprive the enemy of the means of subsistence. Avaricum itself, upon which Caesar was now marching, ought in pursuance of this plan to have been committed to the flames; but Vercingetorix at length yielded to the entreaties of the Bituriges that they might not be compelled to destroy with their own hands a city which was the fairest almost in the whole of Gaul, and whose natural position made it so easy of defence. In this he committed an error of policy, for the subsequent capture of this stronghold just saved the Romans from being starved out of the country. Vercingetorix encamped at a distance of sixteen miles from it, and with his abundant cavalry made foraging a work of difficulty and danger to the Romans. There were only two tribes in Gaul from whom Caesar could expect help in the way of supplies. These were the Boii and the Aedui, of whom the former were too poor to do much, and the latter too half-hearted. The legionaries were forced for several days to subsist solely on meat, which presented itself as an extreme privation to these Italian soldiers accustomed to farinaceous food. Nevertheless, they held on with a dogged persistence, and rejected Caesar's offer to abandon the siege.

When the towers had already approached the wall, Vercingetorix moved his camp nearer to Avaricum, and left it himself with the cavalry, in order to lie in ambush where he expected the Romans to go out to forage next day. Caesar was informed of this movement, and starting at midnight presented himself in the morning before the camp deserted by its general. He found the position however too strong to justify an attack, as the enemy were protected by a marsh, and returned the same day to continue the siege. The fickle Gauls accused their commander of treachery, but Vercingetorix had no difficulty in disposing of the arguments

that were used against him, and impressed his countrymen by the display of some captured slaves, whom he passed off as Roman soldiers compelled by famine to leave the camp. These captives were made to say that Caesar had determined to draw off his army in three days, if his operations were not successful in the interval. The result was that the Gauls threw 10,000 men, picked out from all their forces, into the beleaguered city, to assist the inhabitants in the defence of this all-important post.

After this the siege was pressed with great vigour by the Romans and resisted by the Gauls with a skill and gallantry that elicited Caesar's admiration. The embankment was on one occasion set fire to by the defenders at night and a determined sally made; but the efforts of the Gauls proved in the end unavailing. They would have left the city, a course to which they were encouraged by Vercingetorix, had they not been stopped by the women, whose shouts revealed their intention to the Romans. At last the walls were mounted by the besiegers during a storm, and the inhabitants put to indiscriminate slaughter. Out of 40,000 scarcely 800 escaped to the camp of Vercingetorix. But the credit of the Gallic leader was enhanced rather than impaired by this disaster, as it was clearly traceable to the neglect of his counsels. He even prevailed upon the Gauls to undergo the labour of fortifying their camp; and his forces were soon repaired by fresh levies and new alliances, in particular that of the Nitiobriges, a tribe occupying the district on the right bank of the Garonne, where Agen now stands.

After recruiting his army for a few days on the ample supplies which he found at Avaricum, Caesar was meditating a regular campaign, for which the season had now come, when his attention was distracted by an embassy from the Aedui, who begged him to settle a dispute between two claimants for the chief magistracy, which threatened to plunge the state in civil war. In order to do this the Proconsul went to Decetia (Decize) on the southern border of the Aeduan territory, as the laws of the Aedui did not allow their chief magistrate to leave the country. Caesar found that Convictolitavis had been duly elected by the priests, and compelled his opponent Cotus to resign. When this business had been despatched, Caesar sent Labienus with four legions against the Senones and Parisii, and himself marched with six against the

Arverni, advancing up stream along the right bank of the Allier (Elaver). His destination was Gergovia, on the left bank, a Gallic town of which the remains are still to be seen on the flat top of a hill, six kilomètres south of Clermont-Ferrand. Vercingetorix had had all the bridges broken down and kept marching along the opposite bank, to prevent the Roman general from constructing one for himself. Caesar however managed to evade the vigilance of his antagonist by hiding two of his legions in a wood, while he sent on the other four, so swelled out by captives as to resemble the whole number, in order to draw the enemy after them. One of the old bridges, of which the piles were still standing, was soon repaired; the rest of the army rejoined the commander—by a night march, as Dio Cassius (xl. 35, § 4) tells us—and the whole force was transported to the left bank. When Vercingetorix found that he had been outwitted, he hastened by forced marches to Gergovia and established his camp on the heights near the town. Caesar followed more leisurely and reached the place five days after his passage of the Allier. The last day's march was a short one, as there was time on the same day for a cavalry skirmish and for Caesar to reconnoitre the town. The position appeared too formidable for assault; an investment was all that was feasible. One step towards this end was taken when Caesar, by a night attack, dislodged the garrison from a hill at the foot of the mountain (which hill all authorities are agreed in regarding as La Roche Blanche), and established two legions there in a smaller camp, which he connected with the original one by two trenches 12 feet wide, so as to secure a passage between the two. This movement had the effect of shutting off the enemy from the Auzon, the only stream on the south side of Gergovia, and at the same time limiting their freedom of foraging.

While Caesar was thus occupied at Gergovia, the Aedui were being drawn into the national movement. Convictolitavis had been bribed by the Arvernians and had concerted a plot with some young noblemen, chief among whom were Litaviccus and his brothers. It was arranged that Litaviccus should have the command of 10,000 foot-soldiers who had been demanded by Caesar from the Aedui (34, § 1), and that his brothers should hurry in advance to Caesar. When this force was within thirty miles of Gergovia, Litaviccus informed the men that all the Aeduan nobility,

including Eporedorix, Viridomarus, and his own brothers, had been put to death by Caesar on a charge of communicating with the Arvernians. This assertion was at once believed, and some Roman citizens who were with the force were tortured to death, the army having made up its mind to join Vercingetorix. Meantime however Eporedorix, who was alive and well, had informed Caesar of the design, and the energetic Proconsul was down upon them with four legions and all his cavalry before they had advanced five miles further. Litaviccus fled with his personal followers to Gergovia, while the Aedui threw down their arms and begged for mercy. After allowing his soldiers three hours' rest at night, Caesar began his march back. He was met about half-way by messengers from Fabius, who had been left in command, to tell him that the camp had been attacked in force during his absence. This news increased the alacrity of the men, and these indomitable campaigners arrived in camp before sunrise, having accomplished fifty Roman miles in little more than twenty-four hours (39, § 3; 41, § 5).

Though Caesar had at once sent messengers to the Aedui to tell them how he had spared their men, yet the lie spread by Litaviccus had already done its work. The property of Roman citizens had been plundered and themselves enslaved or even killed. A military tribune, M. Aristius, had been brought out under a safe-conduct from Cabillonum (Châlon-sur-Saône) along with the Roman merchants in the town, and then attacked on the way. The party defended themselves with vigour and were under siege night and day, when a sudden change was caused in the demeanour of the Aedui by the news that their men were in Caesar's power. The state now took every means to exculpate itself, but too many persons were implicated to allow of the public repentance being sincere. Caesar was well aware that his ancient allies were leaving him, and his one anxiety now was to get away from Gergovia and effect a junction with Labienus. Some appearance of success against the enemy before he went would make his retreat look less like a flight. An opportunity for this seemed now to present itself.

On paying a visit to the smaller camp Caesar was surprised to observe that a hill which was occupied by the enemy, though it had been black with men the day before, was almost bare now.

Inquiry revealed the fact that the range to which this hill belonged (the Hauteurs de Risolles) was connected with the plateau on which the town stood by a woody and narrow ridge (the Col des Goules). If it fell into the hands of the enemy, the investment of the Gauls would be pretty nearly complete, and, having become aware of this, they were now busily engaged in securing it against attack. Caesar played upon their fears by a feint of attacking this point, while his real object was to capture the camps of the enemy. With this view he transferred his men as secretly as possible from the larger to the smaller camp, and held them in readiness on the level ground beneath it, which was 1200 paces in a straight line from the walls of Gergovia, under which were the camps of the defenders. After impressing upon his officers the necessity of keeping the men well in hand, Caesar gave the signal to start, at the same time despatching the Aedui by another ascent on the right. The soldiers started with alacrity, cleared a wall six feet high, which had been drawn along the hillside half-way up, carried three of the camps in a moment, and just missed capturing Teutomatus, king of the Nitiobriges, who had been taking a siesta in his tent.

This appearance of victory was exactly what Caesar wanted to give a certain éclat to his departure. He sounded a recall, which was obeyed by the 10th legion, which was under his personal command. But the rest of the legions were by this time beyond control. They made a rush for the town; a centurion and three privates actually mounted the walls; the women began to entreat for mercy, and some even to surrender themselves to the soldiers: but their natural defenders had by this time been summoned by the shouting, and the Romans were repulsed with great loss, their panic being increased by the appearance on the scene of the Aedui, whom they mistook for a fresh body of enemies. All that Caesar could do was in some measure to protect their retreat. 700 men, of whom 46 were centurions, were lost that day.

Such is Caesar's account of the battle of Gergovia, which was the great triumph of Vercingetorix, and which to this day is regarded as a national glory by the descendants of the Gauls. There seems nothing intrinsically improbable in Caesar's having desired to take the camps, while he did not deem it advisable to assault the city; but even his warmest supporter, Napoleon III,

believes him to be disguising the truth in this instance. There is a story in Plutarch (J. C. 26) that the Arverni had a sword hanging in one of their temples, which they declared to be a trophy won from Caesar. Caesar, he adds, only smiled when he saw it there, and refused to have it taken down. Servius commenting on the passage in Vergil (Aen. xi. 743), where Tarchon wrenches Venulus fully armed from his horse, says that the incident is taken from history, for that the thing happened to Caesar when he was fighting in Gaul. But one of the enemy recognising him as he was being carried away by his antagonist, shouted out, 'Caesar, Caesar,' which in Gallic means 'Let him go,' and he was let go. This story is given to us on the authority of Caesar himself in his 'Diary' (*Ephemeris*), where he is dwelling on his own good fortune! Even if there is any truth in the narrative, there is no particular reason for assigning it to this occasion, beyond the fact that Caesar was undoubtedly now at the lowest ebb of his fortunes.

The Roman general now carried out his intention of leaving Gergovia and directed his march towards the country of the Aedui. The enemy did not pursue, and he crossed the Allier by repairing some of the broken bridges. Here he was informed by Viridomarus and Eporedorix that Litaviccus had set out with all the cavalry (of the Arvernians it would appear) to gain over the state to the side of the rebels. It was necessary for them, they said, to go in advance with a view to counteracting his designs. Caesar charged them to remind their countrymen of his services and let them go. We may surmise that they took with them the 10,000 infantry. The last link with the Aedui was now snapped. There was a town in their territory called Noviodunum, which is generally identified with Nevers. Here Caesar had left the hostages from Gaul, as well as corn, money, horses, and stores of war generally. The Aedui slew the guards of this dépôt and possessed themselves of the spoil. Their next step was to endeavour to prevent his passage of the Loire, which was swollen by snows. But Caesar was too quick for them and crossed the river by a ford where the water ran breast high. On the right bank he obtained abundant supplies of corn and cattle, and, having replenished his army with these, he directed his march towards Sens.

Meanwhile Labienus, without having suffered a repulse, like the

commander-in-chief, had also got into a position which he found it extremely desirable to get out of. He had left the new levies which Caesar had brought with him from Cisalpine Gaul (6, § 5) at Agedincum (Sens), to guard the baggage, and had advanced with his four legions upon Paris, which was then confined to the island in the Seine, on which the Cathedral of Notre Dame now stands. He probably followed the left bank of the Yonne and Seine. On his way he found himself confronted by an old and experienced general, Camulogenus the Aulercan, who had been entrusted with the command of a large army, and who, by availing himself of the natural barrier of a marsh, made the further progress of Labienus in this direction impossible. The marsh in question is supposed by Napoleon III to have been formed by the Essonne, near where it flows into the Seine at Corbeil. At all events it was above Paris and below Melun. For Labienus made a midnight march back to Melun, seized some fifty vessels, surprised the town, which like Paris was on an island of the Seine, repaired a bridge which the enemy had broken down, transported his army across, and resumed his march to Paris on the opposite bank. When the enemy were apprised of this manœuvre, they burnt Paris and cut the bridges.

Just at this time Labienus heard of Caesar's ill fortune with additions due to Gallic imagination. The Bellovaci too began to threaten himself. His one desire therefore now was to get back to his base at Agedincum. But he had put himself on the wrong bank of the Seine for his present purpose, being exposed to an attack from the Bellovaci, and being shut off by that river itself (before its junction with the Yonne), from the point at which he was aiming. It was true that Camulogenus and his army were on the left bank, but something must be risked, and Labienus determined to fight them. But how cross the river in face of the enemy? This was accomplished by an elaborate ruse, whereby Labienus, while making a feint of crossing above Paris towards Melun, really conveyed his army across at a point four miles below his camp. Camulogenus and his army were cut to pieces after a stubborn resistance, Labienus picked up his baggage and reserves at Agedincum and joined Caesar with all his forces at some point which has not been mentioned.

On the defection of the Aedui the war assumed larger proportions. They had Caesar's hostages from Gaul in their power and

used them to coerce waverers. Their own sense of their services was so great that they claimed the supreme command as against Ariovistus. But in a council of all Gaul held at Bibracte the national hero was confirmed in his position by a unanimous vote of the people. He pursued his old tactics of avoiding a general engagement and trying to starve the Romans out of the country, but at the same time he supplied them with an additional motive for leaving by organizing attacks upon the Province. These were resisted partly by the provincials themselves and partly by Lucius Caesar with twenty-two cohorts, who was acting as lieutenant to his cousin. The Proconsul himself, blocked by the Gauls from communication with the Province and Italy, sought aid from beyond the Rhine, and reinforced himself with that mixed cavalry and infantry of the Germans, which he regarded as so effective. Acting on the principle of assigning the best instruments to the best performers, Caesar substituted the horses of his own officers for the poorer animals that these allies had brought with them. The success which awaited him may be traced in great measure to this piece of wisdom, since on subsequent critical occasions it was the Germans who decided the fate of the day.

One of the most remarkable things in the story of the Gallic war is the surprising turn of fortune that now followed. Caesar was in full retreat to the Province, being somewhere on the border between Champagne and Franche Comté (66, § 2), when Vercingetorix encamped within ten miles of him. So confident were the Gauls in the superiority of their cavalry that the knights bound themselves by a solemn vow not to return to their homes till they had ridden twice through the ranks of the enemy. Nevertheless, the Gallic cavalry were utterly defeated, chiefly by the aid of the Germans, and Vercingetorix, despairing of holding the field, shut himself up in the hill-fortress of Alesia.

If we had any certain clue to the locality of this last battle, we should have some ground to go on from the text of the Commentaries in determining the site of Alesia. As it is, we only know that on the day after (*altero die*, 68, § 2) a battle which took place in the territory of the Lingones Caesar pitched his camp at Alesia. Napoleon III makes out the battle to have taken place on the Vingeanne, near Longeau; but this is pure conjecture and is out of keeping with his own far better grounded view that Alesia is

Alise-Sainte-Reine. The scene assigned by the Emperor to the battle is 65 kilomètres from Alise, so that he is obliged in the teeth of all Latinists to take *altero die* as meaning not 'the next day,' but 'the second day after.' If therefore there were none but textual evidence, it might be difficult to decide between the conflicting claims for the honour of identity with Alesia put forward by the supporters of Alise-Sainte-Reine in Burgundy and of Alaize-les-Salins in Franche Comté. But the controversy may now be considered to have been settled by the spade in favour of the former place. When the very *stimuli* (73, § 9), which Caesar fixed in the ground to incommode the tread of unwary antagonists, have been dug up on the spot and are to be seen in the Museum at Saint-Germain (Salle XIII, Vitrine 26, H), what is there left for the most captious critic to object, except indeed that in the course of two millenniums someone besides Caesar may have employed like instruments for the same or a different purpose? Caesar describes his double lines at Alesia, whereby he at once hemmed in the besieged army and protected himself from an attack from without, with a minuteness in which he seldom indulges except when he gets on his favourite topic of engineering. We may notice in passing that these double lines were not a novelty in Roman warfare, but had been employed at the siege of Capua in B.C. 212, during the war with Hannibal (Appian, viii. 37).

At an early stage of the operations a cavalry engagement took place in the Plaine des Laumes, which was again decided against the Gauls by the strength and valour of the Germans. After this, the investment not being yet complete, Vercingetorix sent away his cavalry by night to their respective states with instructions to rouse the whole country to his deliverance within the thirty days during which he expected his provisions to last. His countrymen responded to his call, not indeed by the universal levy for which he had asked, which they thought would be unmanageable, but by ample contingents from the several states. But their coming was delayed beyond the time expected, and the 80,000 men shut up in Alesia were reduced to such extremities that they turned out the Mandubii, to whom the town belonged, leaving them to perish between the city and the lines, while in a council of war a chief Critognatus recommended that the fighting men should feed on

the bodies of those who were unable to bear arms. At last, however, the longed-for relief arrived, consisting, if we may credit Caesar's statement, of 8,000 horse and about 250,000 foot. This vast host was commanded by Commius, king of the Atrebates, once Caesar's most faithful servant, by Viridomarus and Eporedorix the Aeduans, and by Vercassivellaunus, a cousin of Vercingetorix. On they came in their pride, thinking to sweep everything before them, especially as Caesar would be attacked from the other side by Vercingetorix. But the Romans stood firm, every soldier knowing and keeping his place, and, after a battle which lasted from midday to sundown, the relieving force was defeated and chased to its camp. Once more the Germans had the final honours of the field. After a day's interval the Gauls essayed another attack by night, but the works were too strong for them, and they made no impression on them.

At last the Gauls discovered a weak spot in the fortifications. There was a hill to the north of the town (Mont Réa), where, owing to the exigencies of the case, the Roman camp, contrary to the art of war, had been pitched on ground that sloped towards it. Six thousand picked men, under command of Vercassivellaunus, were sent round by night from the Gallic camp, which is supposed to have been at Mussy-la-Fosse, so as to be in readiness to attack this point next day. Noon was the time agreed upon, and at the same moment a general attack was made upon the Roman lines both from within and from without. The fight was a furious one, as both sides felt that the supreme hour had come, the one hoping for liberty, the other for an end of their labours. There were two points where the Romans suffered most severely, one was in the circumvallation, and was that attacked by Vercassivellaunus, the other was in the countervallation, where it ran over the heights, possibly on the slopes of Mont Flavigny. Here a desperate effort was made by the besieged to break through. Caesar sent Labienus with six cohorts to the relief of the two legions who were with difficulty guarding the first point, and repelled the assailants at the second by first sending Brutus, then C. Fabius, and lastly going himself with fresh succours. No sooner were the enemy driven back here than a message came from Labienus that he was about to make a sally, a course that he had been authorised by Caesar to take in case of need. Caesar hurried

up to take part in the fray. His purple cloak told friends and foes alike of his presence. The Romans dispensed with their javelins and took to the deadly thrust of their swords. Suddenly some Roman cavalry appeared in the rear of the enemy, while fresh cohorts were seen advancing to the attack. Then the Gauls fled, and the rout was soon turned into a carnage. It was only the weariness of the Romans that left survivors to return to their homes.

Next day Vercingetorix called a council and offered his countrymen the choice of putting him to death to appease the conqueror or delivering him alive into his hands. They chose the latter course; and the Gallic chief was reserved for Caesar's triumph and put to death afterwards (D. C. xl. 41, § 3: Plut. J. C. 27). And so that patriot heart was stilled, that had throbbed only with generous impulses. Vercingetorix was great with the true greatness which rises above self and is capable of unfaltering devotion to an impersonal end.

The Great Revolt. 1–90.

During Caesar's absence the Gauls plot rebellion.

QUIETA Gallia Caesar, ut constituerat, in Italiam ad 1
conventus agendos proficiscitur. Ibi cognoscit de Clodii caede, *de* senatusque consulto certior factus, ut omnes iuniores Italiae coniurarent, delectum tota provincia habere instituit. Eae res in Galliam Transalpinam 2
celeriter perferuntur. Addunt ipsi et affingunt rumoribus Galli, quod res poscere videbatur, retineri urbano motu Caesarem neque in tantis dissensionibus ad exercitum venire posse. Hac impulsi occasione, qui iam ante 3
se populi Romani imperio subiectos dolerent, liberius atque audacius de bello consilia inire incipiunt. Indictis 4
inter se principes Galliae conciliis silvestribus ac remotis locis queruntur de Acconis morte; posse hunc casum ad

1. § 1. **de Clodii caede.** Vell. Pat. ii. 47, § 4 'Quo tempore P. Clodius a Milone, candidato consulatus, exemplo inutili, facto salutari reipublicae, circa Bovillas, contracta ex occursu rixa, iugulatus est.'

coniurarent = 'iurandi causa convenirent' in C. iii. 102, § 2.

delectum. Flor. i. 45, § 22 'aberat tunc Caesar Ravennae dilectum agens.'

5 ipsos recidere demonstrant; miserantur communem Gal-
liae fortunam; omnibus pollicitationibus ac praemiis
deposcunt, qui belli initium faciant et sui capitis periculo
6 Galliam in libertatem vindicent. Imprimis rationem
esse habendam dicunt, priusquam eorum clandestina
consilia efferantur, ut Caesar ab exercitu intercludatur.
7 Id esse facile, quod neque legiones audeant absente
imperatore ex hibernis egredi, neque imperator sine
8 praesidio ad legiones pervenire possit. Postremo in
acie praestare interfici, quam non veterem belli glo-
riam libertatemque, quam a maioribus acceperint, recu-
perare.

The Carnutes undertake to begin.

2 His rebus agitatis profitentur Carnutes se nullum
periculum communis salutis causa recusare, principesque
2 ex omnibus bellum facturos pollicentur et, quoniam in
praesentia obsidibus cavere inter se non possint, ne res
efferatur, ut iureiurando ac fide sanciatur, petunt, collatis
militaribus signis, quo more eorum gravissima caerimonia
continetur, ne facto initio belli ab reliquis deserantur.
3 Tum collaudatis Carnutibus dato iureiurando ab omni-
bus, qui aderant, tempore eius rei constituto ab concilio
disceditur.

They murder Roman citizens at Genabum.

3 Ubi ea dies venit, Carnutes Gutruato et Conconneto-
dumno ducibus, desperatis hominibus, Genabum signo
dato concurrunt civesque Romanos, qui negotiandi causa
ibi constiterant, in his Gaium Fufium Citam, honestum
equitem Romanum, qui rei frumentariae iussu Caesaris
2 praeerat, interficiunt bonaque eorum diripiunt. Celeriter

3. § 1. **Genabum.** Described afterwards by Strabo as the trading-town of the Carnutes, situated on the Loire, about half-way along its navigable course. It is the modern Orléans ('civitas Aurelianorum').

honestum equitem Romanum. The dignity of the senatorial order was usually conveyed by the epithet 'amplus,' that of the equestrian by 'splendidus,' or, as here, 'honestus.'

Telephonic communication in Gaul.

ad omnes Galliae civitates fama perfertur. Nam ubicumque maior atque illustrior incidit res, clamore per agros regionesque significant; hunc alii deinceps excipiunt et proximis tradunt, ut tum accidit. Nam quae 3
Genabi oriente sole gesta essent, ante primam confectam vigiliam in finibus Arvernorum audita sunt, quod spatium est milium passuum circiter centum LX.

Vercingetorix springs into power.

Simili ratione ibi Vercingetorix, Celtilli filius, Arvernus, 4
summae potentiae adulescens, cuius pater principatum Galliae totius obtinuerat et ob eam causam, quod regnum appetebat, ab civitate erat interfectus, convocatis suis clientibus facile incendit. Cognito eius consilio ad arma concurritur. Prohibetur a Gobannitione, patruo suo, 2
reliquisque principibus, qui hanc temptandam fortunam non existimabant; expellitur ex oppido Gergovia; non 3
destitit tamen atque in agris habet delectum egentium ac perditorum. Hac coacta manu, quoscumque adit ex 4
civitate, ad suam sententiam perducit; hortatur, ut communis libertatis causa arma capiant, magnisque coactis copiis adversarios suos, a quibus paulo ante erat eiectus, expellit ex civitate. Rex ab suis appellatur. Dimittit 5
quoquo versus legationes; obtestatur, ut in fide maneant.

§ 2. **clamore per agros.** The vagueness of this statement has left it open to interpreters to infer (1) that the news was carried by runners, (2) that it was shouted from towers. Moebius quotes Diodorus Siculus, xix. 17 to show that the latter method was employed in Persia.

§ 3. **gesta essent.** The subjunctive imparts some such force as this —'For though these things were done at Genabum at sunrise.'

ante primam confectam vigiliam. Cp. 60, § 1 'prima confecta vigilia.'

4. § 1. **Vercingetorix.** 'Nomine etiam quasi ad terrorem composito,' Flor. i. 45, § 21. 'Cingeto-rix' seems to mean Warrior-king, that is probably king of warriors. 'Ver-' is the equivalent of ὑπέρ and 'super,' Rhys. Cp. 'Vercassivellaunus' by the side of 'Cassivellaunus.'

§ 5. **quoquo versus.** Cp. 14, § 5: iii. 23, § 2 'quoquo versum': C. i. 25, § 6; 36, § 2: ii. 8, § 2: Af. 24, § 3. In all these cases Nipperdey writes 'quoque' on the ground that 'quisquis' ought to be relative. But it is easy to see how 'whatever' might slip into 'every.' Take for instance the last of the

6 Celeriter sibi Senones, Parisios, Pictones, Cadurcos,
Turonos, Aulercos, Lemovices, Andos reliquosque omnes,
qui Oceanum attingunt, adiungit: omnium consensu ad
7 eum defertur imperium. Qua oblata potestate omnibus
his civitatibus obsides imperat, certum numerum militum
8 ad se celeriter adduci iubet; armorum quantum quaeque
civitas domi quodque ante tempus efficiat, constituit;
9 imprimis equitatui studet. Summae diligentiae summam
imperii severitatem addit; magnitudine supplicii dubi-
10 tantes cogit. Nam maiore commisso delicto igni atque
omnibus tormentis necat, leviore de causa auribus
desectis aut singulis effossis oculis domum remittit, ut
sint reliquis documento et magnitudine poenae per-
terreant alios.

Severity of his rule.

5 His suppliciis celeriter coacto exercitu Lucterium
Cadurcum, summae hominem audaciae, cum parte
copiarum in Rutenos mittit; ipse in Bituriges pro-
2 ficiscitur. Eius adventu Bituriges ad Aeduos, quorum
erant in fide, legatos mittunt subsidium rogatum, quo
3 facilius hostium copias sustinere possint. Aedui de con-
silio legatorum, quos Caesar ad exercitum reliquerat,
copias equitatus peditatusque subsidio Biturigibus mit-
4 tunt. Qui cum ad flumen Ligerim venissent, quod
Bituriges ab Aeduis dividit, paucos dies ibi morati neque
flumen transire ausi domum revertuntur legatisque nostris
5 renuntiant, se Biturigum perfidiam veritos revertisse, qui-
bus id consilii fuisse cognoverint, ut, si flumen transis-
sent, una ex parte ipsi, altera Arverni se circumsisterent.

Vercingetorix sends Lucterius against the Ruteni, and himself attacks the Bituriges, who, failing to obtain help from the Ædui, join him.

above passages—'neque amplius milia passuum VI terrae Africae quoquo versus tenebant,' 'they did not hold more than six miles of African soil in whatever direction (you like to measure it).'

§ 6. **Cadurcos.** Cahors, the chief town of the department of Lot.

Lemovices. Limoges, in the department of the Haute Vienne.

5. § 4. **Ligerim.** In 11, § 9 and 56, § 4 'Ligerem.'

Id eane de causa, quam legatis pronuntiarunt, an perfidia 6
adducti fecerint, quod nihil nobis constat, non videtur
pro certo esse proponendum. Bituriges eorum discessu 7
statim cum Arvernis iunguntur.

Caesar comes into the Province.

How is he to join the army?

His rebus in Italiam Caesari nuntiatis cum iam ille **6**
urbanas res virtute Gnei Pompei commodiorem in
statum pervenisse intellegeret, in Transalpinam Galliam
profectus est. Eo cum venisset, magna difficultate 2
afficiebatur, qua ratione ad exercitum pervenire posset.
Nam si legiones in provinciam arcesseret, se absente in 3
itinere proelio dimicaturas intellegebat; si ipse ad exer- 4
citum contenderet, ne iis quidem eo tempore, qui quieti
viderentur, suam salutem recte committi videbat.

Lucterius repelled from the Province through the energy of Caesar.

Interim Lucterius Cadurcus in Rutenos missus eam **7**
civitatem Arvernis conciliat. Progressus in Nitiobriges 2
et Gabalos ab utrisque obsides accipit et magna coacta
manu in provinciam Narbonem versus eruptionem facere
contendit. Qua re nuntiata Caesar omnibus consiliis 3
antevertendum existimavit, ut Narbonem proficisceretur.
Eo cum venisset, timentes confirmat, praesidia in Rutenis 4
provincialibus, Volcis Arecomicis, Tolosatibus circumque
Narbonem, quae loca hostibus erant finitima, constituit.
partem copiarum ex provincia supplementumque, quod 5
ex Italia adduxerat, in Helvios, qui fines Arvernorum
contingunt, convenire iubet.

His rebus comparatis represso iam Lucterio et remoto, **8**
quod intrare intra praesidia periculosum putabat, in
Helvios proficiscitur. Etsi mons Cevenna, qui Arvernos 2

7. § 2. **Nitiobriges.** About Agen in the department of Lot-et-Garonne.

Gabalos. In the department of Lozère.

Narbonem versus. Cp. 61, § 5 'Metiosedum versus'; Af. 7, § 3 'Uticam versus.'

§ 4. **Volcis Arecomicis.** The capital of the Volcae Arecomici was Nemausus, now Nîmes in the department of Gard.

Helvii. In the department of Ardèche.

ab Helviis discludit, durissimo tempore anni altissima
nive iter impediebat, tamen discussa nive sex in altitu-
dinem pedum atque ita viis patefactis summo militum
3 sudore ad fines Arvernorum pervenit. Quibus oppressis
inopinantibus, quod se Cevenna ut muro munitos exis-
timabant, ac ne singulari quidem umquam homini eo
tempore anni semitae patuerant, equitibus imperat, ut
quam latissime possint vagentur et quam maximum
4 hostibus terrorem inferant. Celeriter haec fama ac
nuntiis ad Vercingetorigem perferuntur; quem perterriti
omnes Arverni circumsistunt atque obsecrant, ut suis
fortunis consulat, neu se ab hostibus diripi patiatur,
praesertim cum videat omne ad se bellum translatum.
5 Quorum ille precibus permotus castra ex Biturigibus
movet in Arvernos versus.

Passage of the Cevennes.

Devastation of the Arverni.

Vercingetorix comes back to protect them.

9 At Caesar biduum in his locis moratus, quod haec de
Vercingetorige usu ventura opinione praeceperat, per
causam supplementi equitatusque cogendi ab exercitu
2 discedit, Brutum adulescentem his copiis praeficit; hunc
monet, ut 'in omnes partes equites quam latissime per-
vagentur: daturum se operam, ne longius triduo ab
3 castris absit.' His constitutis rebus, suis inopinantibus,
4 quam maximis potest itineribus Viennam pervenit. Ibi
nanctus recentem equitatum, quem multis ante diebus
eo praemiserat, neque diurno neque nocturno itinere
intermisso per fines Aeduorum in Lingones contendit,
ubi duae legiones hiemabant, ut, si quid etiam de sua
salute ab Aeduis iniretur consilii, celeritate praecurreret.
5 Eo cum pervenisset, ad reliquas legiones mittit priusque
omnes in unum locum cogit, quam de eius adventu

Rapid movement by which Caesar concentrates his forces.

§ 5. **in Arvernos versus.** In vi. 33, § 1 we had 'ad Oceanum versus.'

9. § 3. **Viennam.** Vienne on the Rhone below Lyon. It was the capital of the Allobroges (Str. iv. 1, § 11).

Vercingetorix attacks Gorgobina.

Arvernis nuntiari posset. Hac re cognita Vercingetorix 6
rursus in Bituriges exercitum reducit atque inde profectus Gorgobinam, Boiorum oppidum, quos ibi Helvetico proelio victos Caesar collocaverat Aeduisque attribuerat, oppugnare instituit.

Caesar determines to relieve it.

Magnam haec res Caesari difficultatem ad consilium **10**
capiendum afferebat, si reliquam partem hiemis uno loco legiones contineret, ne stipendiariis Aeduorum expugnatis cuncta Gallia deficeret, quod nullum amicis in eo praesidium videretur positum esse; si maturius ex hibernis educeret, ne ab re frumentaria duris sub-
vectionibus laboraret. Praestare visum est tamen omnes 2
difficultates perpeti, quam tanta contumelia accepta
omnium suorum voluntates alienare. Itaque cohortatus 3
Aeduos de supportando commeatu praemittit ad Boios, qui de suo adventu doceant hortenturque, ut in fide maneant atque hostium impetum magno animo sus-
tineant. Duabus Agedinci legionibus atque impedi- 4
mentis totius exercitus relictis ad Boios proficiscitur.

Surrender of Vellaunodunum.

Altero die cum ad oppidum Senonum Vellaunodunum **11**
venisset, ne quem post se hostem relinqueret, quo

10. § 1. **ab re frumentaria,** 'in the way of corn-supplies.' 'Ab' indicates the source from which Caesar might look for trouble.

11. § 1. **Altero die,** 'on the second day' after starting, according to the inclusive reckoning of the Romans, which regards the day of starting as the first. Napoleon III labours hard to prove that 'altero die' means what we should understand by the second day and is not a synonym for 'postero die.' 'All authors, without exception,' he declares, are wrong upon this point. It would be a pity to spoil his universal statement by differing from the crowd: but we may avail ourselves of the industry which is shown in the note:—'In the Commentaries we find sixty-three times the expression "postero die," thirty-six times "proximo die," ten times "insequenti die," eleven times "postridie eius diei," or "pridie eius diei." The expression "altero die" is used only twice in the eight books De Bello Gallico, viz. lib. vii. cc. 11 and 68, and three times in De Bello Civili, lib. iii. cc. 19, 26, and 30' (Jules César, vol. ii. p. 300).

Vellaunodunum. The site is uncertain. The name appears to mean 'Princetown.'

expeditiore re frumentaria uteretur, oppugnare instituit
2 idque biduo circumvallavit; tertio die missis ex oppido
legatis de deditione arma conferri, iumenta produci,
3 sescentos obsides dari iubet. Ea qui conficeret, C. Tre-
bonium legatum relinquit. Ipse [ut quam primum iter
4 faceret] Genabum Carnutum proficiscitur; qui tum
primum allato nuntio de oppugnatione Vellaunoduni,
cum longius eam rem ductum iri existimarent, prae-
sidium Genabi tuendi causa, quod eo mitterent, com-
5 parabant. Huc biduo pervenit. Castris ante oppidum
positis, diei tempore exclusus in posterum oppugna-
tionem differt quaeque ad eam rem usui sint militibus
6 imperat et, quod oppidum Genabum pons fluminis
Ligeris continebat, veritus, ne noctu ex oppido pro-
7 fugerent, duas legiones in armis excubare iubet. Gena-
benses paulo ante mediam noctem silentio ex oppido
8 egressi flumen transire coeperunt. Qua re per explora-
tores nuntiata Caesar legiones, quas expeditas esse ius-
serat, portis incensis intromittit atque oppido potitur
perpaucis ex hostium numero desideratis, quin cuncti
caperentur, quod pontis atque itinerum angustiae multi-
9 tudinis fugam intercluserant. Oppidum diripit atque
incendit, praedam militibus donat, exercitum Ligerem
traducit atque in Biturigum fines pervenit.

Capture of Genabum.

12 Vercingetorix, ubi de Caesaris adventu cognovit,
oppugnatione destitit atque obviam Caesari proficiscitur.
2 Ille oppidum Biturigum positum in via Noviodunum
3 oppugnare instituerat. Quo ex oppido cum legati ad
eum venissent oratum, ut sibi ignosceret suaeque vitae
consuleret, ut celeritate reliquas res conficeret, qua

Noviodunum is in the act of surrender when the cavalry of Vercingetorix arrive;

§ 6. **continebat**, 'adjoined.' So in i. 38, § 5.

12. § 2. **Noviodunum.** The locality is doubtful. Napoleon III makes it Sancerre on the left bank of the Loire in Cher.

§ 3. **celeritate.** 'celeritate' here stands for 'ea celeritate.'

pleraque erat consecutus, arma conferri, equos produci,
obsides dari iubet. Parte iam obsidum tradita, cum 4
reliqua administrarentur, centurionibus et paucis militi-
bus intromissis, qui arma iumentaque conquirerent, equi-
tatus hostium procul visus est, qui agmen Vercingetorigis
antecesserat. Quem simul atque oppidani conspexerunt 5
atque in spem auxilii venerunt, clamore sublato arma
capere, portas claudere, murum complere coeperunt.
Centuriones in oppido, cum ex significatione Gallorum 6
novi aliquid ab iis iniri consilii intellexissent, gladiis
destrictis portas occupaverunt suosque omnes incolumes
receperunt.

but they are routed and the surrender is completed.

Caesar ex castris equitatum educi iubet, proelium 13
equestre committit; laborantibus iam suis Germanos
equites circiter CCCC submittit, quos ab initio habere
secum instituerat. Eorum impetum Galli sustinere non 2
potuerunt atque in fugam coniecti multis amissis se ad
agmen receperunt. Quibus profligatis rursus oppidani
perterriti comprehensos eos, quorum opera plebem con-
citatam existimabant, ad Caesarem perduxerunt seseque

Caesar marches on Avaricum.

ei dediderunt. Quibus rebus confectis Caesar ad oppi- 3
dum Avaricum, quod erat maximum munitissimumque
in finibus Biturigum atque agri fertilissima regione, pro-
fectus est, quod eo oppido recepto civitatem Biturigum
se in potestatem redacturum confidebat.

13. § 2. **profligatis.** 'Profligare' here means merely 'to rout,' and is not employed in the finer sense of giving all but the final blow, in which it is sometimes met with, e.g. in Livy xxi. 40, § 11; Cic. Prov. Cons. § 35.

§ 3. **Avaricum.** Now Bourges (= 'Bituriges'), a town of between forty and fifty thousand inhabitants, and the capital of the department of Cher. It still answers to Caesar's description as being surrounded on almost all sides by a network of water, formed by the rivers Auron and Yèvre, but the marshes of which Caesar speaks (15, § 6) have given place to a great extent to smiling gardens and teeming orchards. The town is now dominated by its majestic cathedral, which can be seen for miles and miles along the road before anything else comes in view.

agri. Partitive genitive, 'of their country.'

14 Vercingetorix tot continuis incommodis Vellaunoduni, Vercingetorix alters his tactics.
Genabi, Novioduni acceptis suos ad concilium convocat.
2 Docet 'longe alia ratione esse bellum gerendum, atque
antea gestum sit. Omnibus modis huic rei studendum,
3 ut pabulatione et commeatu Romani prohibeantur. Id
esse facile, quod equitatu ipsi abundent et quod anni
4 tempore subleventur. Pabulum secari non posse; neces-
sario dispersos hostes ex aedificiis petere; hos omnes
5 cotidie ab equitibus deleri posse. Praeterea salutis
causa rei familiaris commoda neglegenda; vicos atque
aedificia incendi oportere hoc spatio obvia quoquo versus,
6 quo pabulandi causa adire posse videantur. Harum
ipsis rerum copiam suppetere, quod, quorum in finibus
7 bellum geratur, eorum opibus subleventur; Romanos
aut inopiam non laturos aut magno periculo longius ab
8 castris processuros; neque interesse ipsosne interficiant,
impedimentisne exuant, quibus amissis bellum geri non
9 possit. Praeterea oppida incendi oportere, quae non
munitione et loci natura ab omni sint periculo tuta, neu
suis sint ad detractandam militiam receptacula neu
Romanis proposita ad copiam commeatus praedamque
10 tollendam. Haec si gravia aut acerba videantur, multo
illa gravius aestimare, liberos, coniuges in servitutem
abstrahi, ipsos interfici; quae sit necesse accidere victis.'

15 Omnium consensu hac sententia probata uno die The Bituriges fire their towns.
amplius XX urbes Biturigum incenduntur. Hoc idem
fit in reliquis civitatibus; in omnibus partibus incendia
2 conspiciuntur. Quae etsi magno cum dolore omnes
ferebant, tamen hoc sibi solacii proponebant, quod se

14. § 5. **obvia.** This is Hoffmann's conjecture for the reading of the MSS. 'a Boia.'

§ 8. **ipsosne . . . impedimentisne.** This form of the double dependent question is only used here by Caesar.

§ 10. **aestimare.** The subject 'se' is omitted, as in 20, § 7 and often. See i. 31, § 13.

But Avaricum is spared.

prope explorata victoria celeriter amissa reciperaturos
confidebant. Deliberatur de Avarico in communi con- 3
cilio, incendi placeret an defendi. Procumbunt omnibus 4
Gallis ad pedes Bituriges, 'ne pulcherrimam prope totius Galliae urbem, quae praesidio et ornamento sit civitati,
suis manibus succendere cogerentur: facile se loci 5
natura defensuros' dicunt, 'quod prope ex omnibus partibus flumine et palude circumdata unum habeat et
perangustum aditum.' Datur petentibus venia dissua- 6
dente primo Vercingetorige, post concedente et precibus ipsorum et misericordia vulgi. Defensores oppido idonei deliguntur.

Vercingetorix harasses Caesar's march.

Vercingetorix minoribus Caesarem itineribus subse- **16**
quitur et locum castris deligit paludibus silvisque munitum ab Avarico longe milia passuum XVI. Ibi per 2
certos exploratores in singula diei tempora, quae ad Avaricum agerentur, cognoscebat et, quid fieri vellet,
imperabat. Omnes nostras pabulationes frumentatio- 3
nesque observabat dispersosque, cum longius necessario procederent, adoriebatur magnoque incommodo afficiebat, etsi, quantum ratione provideri poterat, ab nostris occurrebatur, ut incertis temporibus diversisque itineribus iretur.

Caesar lays siege to Avaricum.

Castris ad eam partem oppidi positis Caesar, quae **17**
intermissa a flumine et a paludibus aditum, ut supra diximus, angustum habebat, aggerem apparare, vineas

15. § 4. **omnibus Gallis ad pedes.** Cp. i. 31, § 2 'Caesari ad pedes.'

17. § 1. **Castris.** The camp which is so conspicuously marked on Napoleon's plan of Avaricum (plate 20) is a pure effort of imagination, as I was assured by the secretary of the local society of antiquaries. Some vestiges of a camp, supposed however to be of later date, were actually discovered in a different locality, partly about 1868, partly in 1884.

a flumine. See iii. 26, § 2 'ab labore.' In 70, § 1 we have 'intermissam collibus.'

agere, turres duas constituere coepit; nam circumvallare
2 loci natura prohibebat. De re frumentaria Boios atque Aeduos adhortari non destitit; quorum alteri, quod nullo studio agebant, non multum adiuvabant, alteri non magnis facultatibus, quod civitas erat exigua et infirma,
3 celeriter, quod habuerunt, consumpserunt. Summa difficultate rei frumentariae affecto exercitu tenuitate Boiorum, indiligentia Aeduorum, incendiis aedificiorum, usque eo ut complures dies frumento milites caruerint et pecore ex longinquioribus vicis adacto extremam famem sustentarent, nulla tamen vox est ab iis audita populi Romani maiestate et superioribus victoriis indigna.
4 Quin etiam Caesar cum in opere singulas legiones appellaret et, si acerbius inopiam ferrent, se dimissurum oppugnationem diceret, universi ab eo, ne id faceret,
5 petebant: 'sic se complures annos illo imperante meruisse, ut nullam ignominiam acciperent, nusquam
6 infecta re discederent; hoc se ignominiae laturos loco,
7 si inceptam oppugnationem reliquissent; praestare omnes perferre acerbitates, quam non civibus Romanis, qui

Failure of supplies.

Privation cheerfully endured by the soldiers.

§ 3. **caruerint . . . sustentarent.** The perfect lays stress upon the matter of fact, the imperfect upon the logical consequence of the failure in the corn supply. Cp. ii. 4, § 3 'prohibuerint . . . sumerent.'

extremam famem. The armies both of Greece and Rome were fed on grain, and considered it a hardship to be reduced to meat. Cp. C. i. 48, § 6 'pecora, quod secundum poterat esse inopiae subsidium'; iii. 47, §§ 6, 7; Xen. Anab. i. 5, § 6 *τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ὁ σῖτος ἐπέλιπε . . . Κρέα οὖν ἐσθίοντες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο.* Caesar thought it worthy of note in the Germans that the greater part of their diet consisted of animal food.

§ 7. **quam non . . . parentarent.** The subjunctive here is sometimes explained by the omission of 'ut,' and sometimes regarded as a bit of bad grammar, since the infinitive seems to be required, as in 1, § 8 and 10, § 2. But Caesar does not stand alone in using the subjunctive in such cases. Cp. Cic. T. D. ii. § 52 'Zeno proponatur Eleates, qui perpessus est omnia potius, quam conscios delendae tyrannidis indicaret': Liv. ii. 15, § 2 'Non . . . ideo potius delectos patrum ad eum missos, quam legatis eius Romae daretur responsum'; Tac. Ann. i. 35, § 5 'moriturum potius quam fidem exueret'; Agr. 25 'excedendum potius quam pellerentur.'

Genabi perfidia Gallorum interissent, parentarent.' Haec 8
eadem centurionibus tribunisque militum mandabant, ut
per eos ad Caesarem deferrentur.

Movement of Vercingetorix.

Cum iam muro turres appropinquassent, ex captivis **18**
Caesar cognovit Vercingetorigem consumpto pabulo
castra movisse propius Avaricum atque ipsum cum equitatu expeditisque, qui inter equites proeliari consuessent,
insidiarum causa eo profectum, quo nostros postero die

Threatened attack by Caesar on the camp of the Gauls.

pabulatum venturos arbitraretur. Quibus rebus cognitis 2
media nocte silentio profectus ad hostium castra mane
pervenit. Illi celeriter per exploratores adventu Caesaris 3
cognito carros impedimentaque sua in artiores silvas
abdiderunt, copias omnes in loco edito atque aperto instruxerunt. Qua re nuntiata Caesar celeriter sarcinas 4
conferri, arma expediri iussit.

Collis erat leniter ab infimo acclivis. Hunc ex omni- **19**
bus fere partibus palus difficilis atque impedita cingebat
non latior pedibus quinquaginta. Hoc se colle inter- 2
ruptis pontibus Galli fiducia loci continebant generatimque distributi in civitates omnia vada eius paludis ac
saltus obtinebant sic animo parati, ut, si eam paludem
Romani perrumpere conarentur, haesitantes premerent
ex loco superiore, ut, qui propinquitatem loci videret,
paratos prope aequo Marte ad dimicandum existimaret, 3
qui iniquitatem condicionis perspiceret, inani simulatione
sese ostentare cognosceret. Indignantes milites Caesar, 4
quod conspectum suum hostes perferre possent tantulo
spatio interiecto, et signum proelii exposcentes edocet,
'quanto detrimento et quot virorum fortium morte
necesse sit constare victoriam; quos cum sic animo 5

18. § 2. **hostium castra**, i.e. the new camp nearer to Avaricum, from which Vercingetorix had set out with the cavalry.

19. § 2. **generatimque**. i. 51, § 2 'generatim.'

paratos videat, ut nullum pro sua laude periculum recusent, summae se iniquitatis condemnari debere, nisi
6 eorum vitam sua salute habeat cariorem.' Sic milites consolatus eodem die reducit in castra reliquaque, quae ad oppugnationem pertinebant oppidi, administrare instituit.

Vercingetorix defends himself against a charge of treason.

20 Vercingetorix, cum ad suos redisset, proditionis insimulatus, 'quod castra propius Romanos movisset, quod cum omni equitatu discessisset, quod sine imperio tantas copias reliquisset, quod eius discessu Romani tanta
2 opportunitate et celeritate venissent—non haec omnia fortuito aut sine consilio accidere potuisse; regnum illum Galliae malle Caesaris concessu quam ipsorum
3 habere beneficio'—: tali modo accusatus ad haec respondit: 'quod castra movisset, factum inopia pabuli etiam ipsis hortantibus; quod propius Romanos accessisset, persuasum loci opportunitate, qui se ipse sine mu-
4 nitione defenderet; equitum vero operam neque in loco palustri desiderari debuisse et illic fuisse utilem, quo
5 sint profecti. Summam imperii se consulto nulli discedentem tradidisse, ne is multitudinis studio ad dimicandum impelleretur; cui rei propter animi mollitiem studere omnes videret, quod diutius laborem ferre non
6 possent. Romani si casu intervenerint, fortunae, si alicuius indicio vocati, huic habendam gratiam, quod et paucitatem eorum ex loco superiore cognoscere et virtutem despicere potuerint, qui dimicare non ausi turpiter
7 se in castra receperint. Imperium se ab Caesare per proditionem nullum desiderare, quod habere victoria posset, quae iam esset sibi atque omnibus Gallis

20. § 1. **quod castra, &c.** For the fourfold repetition of 'quod' cp. i. 19, § 1.

§ 3. **tali modo accusatus.** This takes up 'proditionis insimulatus.'

inopia pabuli. 18, § 1.

explorata; quin etiam ipsis remittere, si sibi magis
honorem tribuere, quam ab se salutem accipere vide-
antur.' 'Haec ut intellegatis,' inquit, 'a me sincere 8
pronuntiari, audite Romanos milites.' Producit servos, 9
quos in pabulatione paucis ante diebus exceperat et
fame vinculisque excruciaverat. Hi iam ante edocti, quae 10
interrogati pronuntiarent, 'milites se esse legionarios'
dicunt; 'fame et inopia adductos clam ex castris exisse,
si quid frumenti aut pecoris in agris reperire possent; 11
simili omnem exercitum inopia premi, nec iam vires
sufficere cuiusquam nec ferre operis laborem posse;
itaque statuisse imperatorem, si nihil in oppugnatione
oppidi profecissent, triduo exercitum deducere.' 'Haec,' 12
inquit, 'a me,' Vercingetorix, 'beneficia habetis, quem
proditionis insimulatis; cuius opera sine vestro sanguine
tantum exercitum victorem fame consumptum videtis;
quem turpiter se ex fuga recipientem ne qua civitas suis
finibus recipiat, a me provisum est.'

His credit established.

Conclamat omnis multitudo et suo more armis con- **21**
crepat, quod facere in eo consuerunt, cuius orationem
approbant: summum esse Vercingetorigem ducem, nec
de eius fide dubitandum, nec maiore ratione bellum
administrari posse. Statuunt, ut X milia hominum 2
delecta ex omnibus copiis in oppidum mittantur, nec 3
solis Biturigibus communem salutem committendam
censent, quod paene eo, si id oppidum retinuissent, sum-
mam victoriae constare intellegebant.

Avaricum freshly garrisoned.

Engineering skill displayed

Singulari militum nostrorum virtuti consilia cuiusque **22**
modi Gallorum occurrebant, ut est summae genus soller-

21. § 1. **suo more, &c.** The Germans had the same custom. Tac. Germ. 11 'Si displicuit sententia, fremitu adspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt. Honoratissimum assensus genus est armis laudare.'

22. § 1. **cuiusque modi.** Not a common word. It occurs in Af. 19, § 5 'cuiusquemodi generis.'

tiae atque ad omnia imitanda et efficienda, quae ab on both
2 quoque traduntur, aptissimum. Nam et laqueis falces sides.
avertebant, quas cum destinaverant, tormentis introrsus reducebant, et aggerem cuniculis subtrahebant, eo scientius, quod apud eos magnae sunt ferrariae atque omne
3 genus cuniculorum notum atque usitatum est. Totum autem murum ex omni parte turribus contabulaverant
4 atque has coriis intexerant. Tum crebris diurnis nocturnisque eruptionibus aut aggeri ignem inferebant aut milites occupatos in opere adoriebantur et nostrarum turrium altitudinem, quantum has cotidianus agger expresserat, commissis suarum turrium malis adaequabant,
5 et apertos cuniculos praeusta et praeacuta materia et pice fervefacta et maximi ponderis saxis morabantur moenibusque appropinquare prohibebant.

23 Muri autem omnes Gallici hac fere forma sunt. Gallic
Trabes directae perpetuae in longitudinem paribus walls.
intervallis, distantes inter se binos pedes, in solo collo-
2 cantur. Hae revinciuntur introrsus et multo aggere vestiuntur; ea autem, quae diximus, intervalla grandibus
3 in fronte saxis effarciuntur. His collocatis et coagmentatis alius insuper ordo additur, ut idem illud intervallum servetur, neque inter se contingant trabes,

§ 2. **cuniculis.** iii. 21, § 3.

ferrariae. Cp. 'aerariae' in iii. 21, § 3. Perhaps 'secturae' or 'fodinae' is the substantive which has to be supplied with both. The form 'ferrareae' was used by Cato as quoted by Aulus Gellius, ii. 22, § 29.

§ 4. **commissis . . . malis.** 'malis' is from 'malus,' the word which means a mast. Here it means the upright beam which formed the corner of the tower. Translate 'and by adding fresh lengths of scaffolding.'

§ 5. **apertos cuniculos.** 'apertos' has the force of a verb, not of an adjective. 'They opened our mines and,' &c. Mining and countermining are familiar operations in Roman military history. Cp. Liv. xxiii. 18, § 9 'transversis cuniculis hostium cuniculos excipere,' and xxxviii. 7 '. . . pluribus locis aure admota, sonitum fodientium captabant. Quem ubi acceperunt, aperiunt rectam in cuniculum viam.'

sed paribus intermissae spatiis singulae singulis saxis
interiectis arte contineantur. Sic deinceps omne opus 4
contexitur, dum iusta muri altitudo expleatur. Hoc 5
cum in speciem varietatemque opus deforme non est alternis trabibus ac saxis, quae rectis lineis suos ordines servant, tum ad utilitatem et defensionem urbium summam habet opportunitatem, quod et ab incendio lapis et ab ariete materia defendit, quae perpetuis trabibus pedes quadragenos plerumque introrsus revincta neque perrumpi neque distrahi potest.

The besieged set fire to the Roman works and make a determined sally.

His tot rebus impedita oppugnatione milites, cum 24
toto tempore frigore et assiduis imbribus tardarentur, tamen continenti labore omnia haec superaverunt et diebus XXV aggerem [latum] pedes CCCXXX *longum*,
altum pedes LXXX exstruxerunt. Cum is murum 2
hostium paene contingeret, et Caesar ad opus consuetudine excubaret militesque hortaretur, ne quod omnino tempus ab opere intermitteretur, paulo ante tertiam vigiliam est animadversum fumare aggerem,
quem cuniculo hostes succenderant, eodemque tempore 3
toto muro clamore sublato duabus portis ab utroque
latere turrium eruptio fiebat. Alii faces atque aridam 4
materiem de muro in aggerem eminus iaciebant, picem reliquasque res, quibus ignis excitari potest, fundebant, ut, quo primum curreretur aut cui rei ferretur auxilium,
vix ratio iniri posset. Tamen, quod instituto Caesaris 5
semper duae legiones pro castris excubabant pluresque partitis temporibus erant in opere, celeriter factum est,

24. § 1. [latum] . . . *longum*. The omission of 'latum' and insertion of 'longum' is made in defiance of the MSS. on grounds of internal probability.

§ 4. **materiem.** Everywhere else except in this passage Caesar employs the form according to the 1st declension. But in Af. 20, § 3 we have 'materiem,' and in H. 41, § 4 'materies.'

ut alii eruptionibus resisterent, alii turres reducerent aggeremque interscinderent, omnis vero ex castris multitudo ad restinguendum concurreret.

5 Cum in omnibus locis consumpta iam reliqua parte noctis pugnaretur, semperque hostibus spes victoriae redintegraretur, eo magis, quod deustos pluteos turrium videbant nec facile adire apertos ad auxiliandum animadvertebant, semperque ipsi recentes defessis succederent omnemque Galliae salutem in illo vestigio temporis positam arbitrarentur, accidit inspectantibus nobis, quod dignum memoria visum praetereundum non existimavi-
2 mus. Quidam ante portam oppidi Gallus per manus sevi ac picis traditas glebas in ignem e regione turris proiciebat; scorpione ab latere dextro traiectus exani-
3 matusque concidit. Hunc ex proximis unus iacentem transgressus eodem illo munere fungebatur; eadem ratione ictu scorpionis exanimato alteri successit tertius
4 et tertio quartus, nec prius ille est a propugnatoribus vacuus relictus locus, quam restincto aggere atque omni ex parte submotis hostibus finis est pugnandi factus.

Gallantry of the Gauls.

6 Omnia experti Galli, quod res nulla successerat, postero die consilium ceperunt ex oppido profugere
2 hortante et iubente Vercingetorige. Id silentio noctis conati non magna iactura suorum sese effecturos spera-

An attempt to escape stopped by the women.

25. § 1. **illo vestigio temporis**, 'on that moment.' Cp. C. ii. 26, § 2 'et vestigio temporis (=in a moment) primum agmen erat in conspectu.' See iv. 5, § 3 'in vestigio.'

§ 2. **sevi**, 'grease.' Cp. viii. 42, § 1 'oppidani cupas sevo, pice, scandulis complent.'

e regione turris, 'straight at the tower.'

scorpione. The scorpion was a machine like a cross-bow on wheels. There were two kinds, the larger and the smaller. Liv. xxvi. 47, § 6; 49, § 3 'scorpiones maiores minoresque.'

§ 3. **alteri . . . tertius . . . quartus**. The usual mode of reckoning.

26. § 1. **consilium ceperunt . . . profugere**. 'consilium ceperunt' together are equivalent to 'statuerunt,' and are constructed like it: otherwise we might have expected 'profugiendi.' Cp. 71, § 1 'consilium capit . . . dimittere.'

bant, propterea quod neque longe ab oppido castra Vercingetorigis aberant, et palus, quae perpetua intercedebat, Romanos ad insequendum tardabat. Iamque 3
hoc facere noctu apparabant, cum matresfamiliae repente in publicum procurrerunt flentesque proiectae ad pedes suorum omnibus precibus petierunt, 'ne se et communes liberos hostibus ad supplicium dederent, quos ad capiendam fugam naturae et virium infirmitas impediret.' Ubi 4
eos in sententia perstare viderunt, quod plerumque in summo periculo timor misericordiam non recipit, conclamare et significare de fuga Romanis coeperunt. Quo 5
timore perterriti Galli, ne ab equitatu Romanorum viae praeoccuparentur, consilio destiterunt.

Caesar surprises the city during a storm.

Postero die Caesar promota turri directisque operibus, 27
quae facere instituerat, magno coorto imbre non inutilem hanc ad capiendum consilium tempestatem arbitratus est, quod paulo incautius custodias in muro dispositas videbat, suosque languidius in opere versari iussit et, quid fieri vellet, ostendit. Legionibusque intra vineas 2
in occulto expeditis cohortatus, ut aliquando pro tantis laboribus fructum victoriae perciperent, iis, qui primi murum ascendissent, praemia proposuit militibusque signum dedit. Illi subito ex omnibus partibus evola- 3
verunt murumque celeriter compleverunt.

Hostes re nova perterriti muro turribusque deiecti in 28
foro ac locis patentioribus cuneatim constiterunt, hoc animo, ut, si qua ex parte obviam [contra] veniretur, acie instructa depugnarent. Ubi neminem in aequum 2
locum sese demittere, sed toto undique muro circumfundi viderunt, veriti, ne omnino spes fugae tolleretur, abiectis

27. § 1. **suosque . . . iussit.** The 'que' couples 'iussit' to 'arbitratus est.'

§ 2. **intra vineas.** This is not the reading of the MSS., some of which have 'extra vineas,' and others 'extra castra vineas.'

armis ultimas oppidi partes continenti impetu peti-
3 verunt, parsque ibi, cum angusto exitu portarum se ipsi
premerent, a militibus, pars iam egressa portis ab equiti-
bus est interfecta. Nec fuit quisquam, qui praedae stu-
4 deret. Sic et Genabi caede et labore operis incitati non Massacre
aetate confectis, non mulieribus, non infantibus peper- of the inhabitants.
5 cerunt. Denique ex omni numero, qui fuit circiter
milium XL, vix DCCC, qui primo clamore audito se ex About 800
oppido eiecerant, incolumes ad Vercingetorigem per- escape to Vercinge-
6 venerunt. Quos ille multa iam nocte silentio ex fuga torix.
excepit veritus, ne qua in castris ex eorum concursu et
misericordia vulgi seditio oreretur, procul in via dispo-
sitis familiaribus suis principibusque civitatum ut dis-
parandos deducendosque ad suos curarent, quae cuique
civitati pars castrorum ab initio obvenerat.

29 Postero die concilio convocato consolatus cohortatus- Vercinge-
que est, 'ne se admodum animo demitterent, ne per- torix consoles his
2 turbarentur incommodo. Non virtute neque in acie country-
vicisse Romanos, sed artificio quodam et scientia op- men.
3 pugnationis, cuius rei fuerint ipsi imperiti. Errare, si
qui in bello omnes secundos rerum proventus exspectent.
4 Sibi numquam placuisse Avaricum defendi, cuius rei
testes ipsos haberet; sed factum imprudentia Biturigum
et nimia obsequentia reliquorum, uti hoc incommodum
5 acciperetur. Id tamen se celeriter maioribus commodis
6 sanaturum. Nam quae ab reliquis Gallis civitates dis-
sentirent, has sua diligentia adiuncturum atque unum

28. § 6. **ut disparandos, &c.,** 'that they might get them separated and brought off to their own people, in that part of the camp which had originally been assigned to each state.' 'Ad suos' = 'ad eam partem castrorum.' 'Disparare' occurs only here in Caesar.

29. § 3. **rerum proventus.** Cp. 80, § 2 'pugnae proventum'; C. ii. 38, § 2 'superioris temporis proventus.'

§ 6. **unum consilium, &c.** These words are quoted in a free translation by Napoleon III in the inscription on the statue of Vercin-

consilium totius Galliae effecturum, cuius consensui ne
orbis quidem terrarum possit obsistere; idque se prope
iam effectum habere. Interea aequum esse ab iis com- 7
munis salutis causa impetrari, ut castra munire institue-
rent, quo facilius repentinos hostium impetus sustinerent.'

Effect of his speech.

Fuit haec oratio non ingrata Gallis, et maxime, quod **30**
ipse animo non defecerat tanto accepto incommodo neque
se in occultum abdiderat et conspectum multitudinis
fugerat; plusque animo providere et praesentire exis- 2
timabatur, quod re integra primo incendendum Avari-
cum, post deserendum censuerat. Itaque ut reliquorum 3
imperatorum res adversae auctoritatem minuunt, sic
huius ex contrario dignitas incommodo accepto in dies
augebatur. Simul in spem veniebant eius affirmatione 4
de reliquis adiungendis civitatibus; primumque eo tem-
pore Galli castra munire instituerunt et sic sunt animo
confirmati homines insueti laboris, ut omnia, quae im-
perarentur, sibi patienda existimarent.

Vercingetorix exerts himself to retrieve the position.

Nec minus, quam est pollicitus, Vercingetorix animo **31**
laborabat, ut reliquas civitates adiungeret, atque eas
donis pollicitationibusque alliciebat. Huic rei idoneos 2
homines deligebat, quorum quisque aut oratione subdola
aut amicitia facillime capere posset. Qui Avarico ex- 3
pugnato refugerant, armandos vestiendosque curat; simul, 4
ut deminutae copiae redintegrarentur, imperat certum
numerum militum civitatibus, quem et quam ante diem
in castra adduci velit, sagittariosque omnes, quorum erat
permagnus numerus in Gallia, conquiri et ad se mitti
iubet. His rebus celeriter id, quod Avarici deperierat,
expletur. Interim Teutomatus, Olloviconis filius, rex 5

getorix erected by him at Ste Reine d'Alise. See 69, § 2 'in colle summo.'

31. § 2. capere, sc. 'reliquas civitates.'

Nitiobrogum, cuius pater ab senatu nostro amicus erat appellatus, cum magno equitum suorum numero et quos ex Aquitania conduxerat ad eum pervenit.

Caesar recruits his forces and prepares for the summer campaign.

32 Caesar Avarici complures dies commoratus summamque ibi copiam frumenti et reliqui commeatus nanctus
2 exercitum ex labore atque inopia refecit. Iam prope hieme confecta cum ipso anni tempore ad gerendum bellum vocaretur et ad hostem proficisci constituisset, sive eum ex paludibus silvisque elicere sive obsidione premere posset, legati ad eum principes Aeduorum veniunt oratum, ut 'maxime necessario tempore civitati
3 subveniat: summo esse in periculo rem, quod, cum singuli magistratus antiquitus creari atque regiam potestatem annum obtinere consuessent, duo magistratum gerant et se uterque eorum legibus creatum esse dicat.
4 Horum esse alterum Convictolitavem, florentem et illustrem adulescentem, alterum Cotum, antiquissima familia natum atque ipsum hominem summae potentiae et magnae cognationis, cuius frater Valetiacus proximo
5 anno eundem magistratum gesserit. Civitatem esse omnem in armis; divisum senatum, divisum populum, suas cuiusque eorum clientelas. Quod si diutius alatur controversia, fore, uti pars cum parte civitatis confligat. Id ne accidat, positum in eius diligentia atque auctoritate.'

Dispute among the Ædui referred to Caesar.

He repairs to Decetia to settle it.

33 Caesar, etsi a bello atque hoste discedere detrimentosum esse existimabat, tamen non ignorans, quanta ex dissensionibus incommoda oriri consuessent, ne tanta et tam coniuncta populo Romano civitas, quam ipse semper aluisset omnibusque rebus ornasset, ad vim atque arma descenderet, atque ea pars, quae minus confideret, auxilia

§ 5. **amicus.** i. 3, § 4 'amicus.'
33. § 1. **detrimentosum.** Only here.
descenderet, 'have recourse to.' Cp. v. 29, § 5.

a Vercingetorige arcesseret, huic rei praevertendum exis-
timavit et, quod legibus Aeduorum iis, qui summum 2
magistratum obtinerent, excedere ex finibus non liceret,
ne quid de iure aut de legibus eorum deminuisse videre-
tur, ipse in Aeduos proficisci statuit senatumque omnem
et quos inter controversia esset ad se Decetiam evocavit.
Cum prope omnis civitas eo convenisset, docereturque 3
paucis clam convocatis alio loco, alio tempore atque
oportuerit fratrem a fratre renuntiatum, cum leges duo
ex una familia vivo utroque non solum magistratus
creari vetarent, sed etiam in senatu esse prohiberent,
Cotum imperium deponere coëgit, Convictolitavem, qui 4
per sacerdotes more civitatis intermissis magistratibus
esset creatus, potestatem obtinere iussit.

The Ædui exhorted to send their forces.

Hoc decreto interposito cohortatus Aeduos, ut con- **34**
troversiarum ac dissensionis obliviscerentur atque omni-

huic rei praevertendum, 'he ought to attend to this matter first.'

§ 2. **quos inter.** When the preposition in Latin follows the relative we may account for its position by the old formal manner of speaking to which Caesar himself is so much addicted. Here the full expression would be 'et eos homines, quos inter homines,' &c., in which we see that the preposition occupies its natural place. It is on this principle that the forms 'quo de' and 'qua de,' which are of such frequent occurrence in Cicero's De Inventione and in the treatise Ad Herennium, are to be explained. In one passage of the De Inventione (i. § 29) we find the full expression—'si locus opportunus ad eam rem, qua de re narrabitur.' Postposition is most common in the case of 'de,' but it is seldom that we get it with a plural relative, as in De Inv. ii. § 141 'earum rerum, quibus de scriptum est.' Caesar has already placed 'inter' after the relative in vi. 36, § 2. 'Contra' is used thus several times by Cicero, e.g. De Inv. ii. § 114 'quos contra dicas': Verr. ii. 1, § 24 'quem contra dicerem,' v. § 153 'quem contra arma tulerunt': Mur. § 9 'illum ipsum, quem contra veneris.' 'Ad' is treated in the same way by Cincius (Aul. Gell. xvi. 4, § 2) 'sive quem ad uter eorum iusserit,' and by Cicero (N. D. ii. § 10) 'quos ad soleret.' We find 'quibus sine' in De Inv. ii. § 40, and 'quem ultra' in Tusc. Disp. iv. § 38. If these instances were all, we might deny postposition as a real fact of language in Latin: but we are debarred from doing so by Cicero's gratuitous 'hunc post' in T. D. ii. § 15, and by the 'hoc ante' of Velleius, ii. 91, § 2.

Decetiam. Now Decize on the Loire in the department of Nièvre.

§ 4. **intermissis magistratibus**, 'after the proper interval of office.'

bus omissis rebus huic bello servirent eaque, quae meruissent, praemia ab se devicta Gallia exspectarent equitatumque omnem et peditum milia decem sibi celeriter mitterent, quae in praesidiis rei frumentariae causa disponeret, exercitum in duas partes divisit:
2 quattuor legiones in Senones Parisiosque Labieno ducendas dedit, sex ipse in Arvernos ad oppidum Gergoviam secundum flumen Elaver duxit; equitatus partem
3 illi attribuit, partem sibi reliquit. Qua re cognita Vercingetorix omnibus interruptis eius fluminis pontibus ab altera fluminis parte iter facere coepit.

Labienus sent against the Senones and Parisii.

Caesar starts for Gergovia, followed by Vercingetorix on the opposite bank of the Elaver.

35 Cum uterque utrimque exisset exercitus, in conspectu fereque e regione castris castra ponebant. Dispositis exploratoribus, necubi effecto ponte Romani copias traducerent, erat in magnis Caesari difficultatibus res, ne maiorem aestatis partem flumine impediretur, quod non fere ante autumnum Elaver vado transiri solet.
2 Itaque, ne id accideret, silvestri loco castris positis e regione unius eorum pontium, quos Vercingetorix rescindendos curaverat, postero die cum duabus legionibus in
3 occulto restitit; reliquas copias cum omnibus impedimentis, ut consueverat, misit *immixtis* capt*iv*is quartis

Device by which Caesar crossed the river.

34. § 2. **secundum flumen.** Quite different from 'secundo flumine' (58, § 5). In coming from Decetia Caesar was marching up stream.

Elaver. Neuter, contrary to the rule for rivers. Cp. 53, § 4. The Elaver is now the Allier.

35. § 1. **e regione.** This phrase made its appearance for the first time in 25, § 2, but it seems to haunt Caesar during the rest of this book. Cp. § 2; 36, § 5; 58, § 6; 61, § 5. It occurs also in viii. 41, § 2: C. i. 25, § 6: Af. 51, § 2: H. 16, § 2 'portam, quae e regione et in conspectu Pompei castrorum fuerat.' The meaning always is 'in a straight line with': but this meaning is liable to vary with the context. Here and in § 2 the straight line is evidently meant to be drawn perpendicular to the river. It is only in this passage that we find the phrase with a dative, and here we cannot say quite confidently that it is so constructed.

Caesari. This is Hoffmann's emendation for 'Caesaris.'

§ 3. **immixtis captivis, &c.** The usual reading here is 'captis quibusdam cohortibus,' while some

quibusque cohortibus, uti numerus legionum constare
videretur. His quam longissime possent egredi iussis, 4
cum iam ex diei tempore coniecturam ceperat in castra
perventum, iisdem sublicis, quarum pars inferior integra
remanebat, pontem reficere coepit. Celeriter effecto 5
opere legionibusque traductis et loco castris idoneo
delecto reliquas copias revocavit. Vercingetorix re 6
cognita, ne contra suam voluntatem dimicare cogeretur,
magnis itineribus antecessit.

Vercingetorix encamps on the heights of Gergovia.

Caesar ex eo loco quintis castris Gergoviam pervenit 36
equestrique eo die proelio levi facto perspecto urbis situ,
quae posita in altissimo monte omnes aditus difficiles
habebat, de expugnatione desperavit, de obsessione non
prius agendum constituit, quam rem frumentariam expe-
disset. At Vercingetorix castris prope oppidum [in 2
monte] positis mediocribus circum se intervallis separa-
tim singularum civitatum copias collocaverat atque
omnibus eius iugi collibus occupatis, qua despici poterat,
horribilem speciem praebebat principesque earum civi- 3
tatum, quos sibi ad consilium capiendum delegerat,
prima luce cotidie ad se convenire iubebat, seu quid
communicandum, seu quid administrandum videretur,
neque ullum fere diem intermittebat, quin equestri proe- 4
lio, interiectis sagittariis, quid in quoque esset animi ac
virtutis suorum periclitaretur. Erat e regione oppidi 5
collis sub ipsis radicibus montis, egregie munitus atque
ex omni parte circumcisus; quem si tenerent nostri, et
aquae magna parte et pabulatione libera prohibituri
hostes videbantur. Sed is locus praesidio ab his non 6
minus firmo tenebatur. Tamen silentio noctis Caesar 7

Caesar seizes a post of vantage and establishes there a smaller camp.

of the inferior MSS. have 'captis quartis quibusque cohortibus.' Hoffmann's emendation suffers under the disadvantage that at this period of the language the singular was commonly employed with 'quisque.'

36. § 1. Gergoviam. See Note C.

ex castris egressus, priusquam subsidio ex oppido veniri posset, deiecto praesidio potitus loco duas ibi legiones collocavit fossamque duplicem duodenum pedum a maioribus castris ad minora perduxit, ut tuto ab repentino hostium incursu etiam singuli commeare possent.

Plot to detach the Ædu from the Romans.

37 Dum haec ad Gergoviam geruntur, Convictolitavis
Aeduus, cui magistratum adiudicatum a Caesare demon-
stravimus, sollicitatus ab Arvernis pecunia cum quibus-
dam adulescentibus colloquitur; quorum erat princeps
Litaviccus atque eius fratres, amplissima familia nati
2 adulescentes. Cum his praemium communicat hortatur-
3 que, ut 'se liberos et imperio natos meminerint. Unam
esse Aeduorum civitatem, quae certissimam Galliae
victoriam detineat; eius auctoritate reliquas contineri:
qua traducta locum consistendi Romanis in Gallia non
4 fore. Esse nonnullo se Caesaris beneficio affectum, sic
tamen, ut iustissimam apud eum causam obtinuerit; sed
5 plus communi libertati tribuere. Cur enim potius Aedui
de suo iure et de legibus ad Caesarem disceptatorem,
6 quam Romani ad Aeduos veniant?' Celeriter adules-
centibus et oratione magistratus et praemio deductis,
cum se vel principes eius consilii fore profiterentur, ratio
perficiendi quaerebatur, quod civitatem temere ad susci-
7 piendum bellum adduci posse non confidebant. Placuit,
ut Litaviccus decem illis milibus, quae Caesari ad bellum
mitterentur, praeficeretur atque ea ducenda curaret,

§ 7. **fossamque duplicem duodenum pedum.** This seems to mean two trenches each twelve feet in width. Napoleon III (vol. ii. p. 330) understands by it 'two little ditches each six feet broad.' He speaks as though these ditches had been discovered: but in the place indicated on his plan there is nothing to be seen but a muddy country lane. Twelve feet was the normal width of a 'legitima fossa,' and its perpendicular depth was nine feet. See Veget. i. 24.

37. § 7. **decem illis milibus.** 34, § 1.

fratresque eius ad Caesarem praecurrerent. Reliqua qua ratione agi placeat, constituunt.

Trick played by Litaviccus on the army.

Litaviccus accepto exercitu, cum milia passuum cir- 38
citer XXX ab Gergovia abesset, convocatis subito mili-
tibus lacrimans, 'quo proficiscimur,' inquit, 'milites? 2
Omnis noster equitatus, omnis nobilitas interiit; prin-
cipes civitatis, Eporedorix et Viridomarus, insimulati
proditionis ab Romanis indicta causa interfecti sunt.
Haec ab ipsis cognoscite, qui ex ipsa caede fugerunt; 3
nam ego fratribus atque omnibus meis propinquis inter-
fectis dolore prohibeor, quae gesta sunt pronuntiare.'
Producuntur ii, quos ille edocuerat quae dici vellet, 4
atque eadem, quae Litaviccus pronuntiaverat, multi-
tudini exponunt: 'equites et multos Aeduorum inter- 5
fectos, quod collocuti cum Arvernis dicerentur; ipsos se
inter multitudinem militum occultasse atque ex media
caede fugisse.' Conclamant Aedui et Litaviccum obse- 6
crant, ut sibi consulat. 'Quasi vero,' inquit ille, 'consilii 7
sit res, ac non necesse sit nobis Gergoviam contendere
et cum Arvernis nosmet coniungere. An dubitamus, 8
quin nefario facinore admisso Romani iam ad nos inter-
ficiendos concurrant? Proinde, si quid in nobis animi
est, persequamur eorum mortem, qui indignissime inter-
ierunt, atque hos latrones interficiamus.' Ostendit cives 9
Romanos, qui eius praesidii fiducia una erant; magnum
numerum frumenti commeatusque diripit, ipsos crudeliter
excruciatos interficit. Nuntios tota civitate Aeduorum 10
dimittit, eodem mendacio de caede equitum et principum

38. § 2. **Viridomarus.** The same name as that of the chieftain slain by M. Claudius Marcellus, when he won the 'spolia opima' in B.C. 222. Propertius, v. 10, 39–41—

'Claudius a Rheno traiectos arcuit hostes,
Belgica cum vasti parma relata ducis
Virdumari.'

permovet; hortatur, ut simili ratione, atque ipse fecerit, suas iniurias persequantur.

Eporedorix and Viridomarus.

39 Eporedorix Aeduus, summo loco natus adulescens et
summae domi potentiae, et una Viridomarus, pari aetate
et gratia, sed genere dispari, quem Caesar ab Divitiaco
sibi traditum ex humili loco ad summam dignitatem
perduxerat, in equitum numero convenerant nominatim
2 ab eo evocati. His erat inter se de principatu contentio,
et in illa magistratuum controversia alter pro Convictoli-
3 tavi, alter pro Coto summis opibus pugnaverant. Ex
his Eporedorix cognito Litavicci consilio media fere
nocte rem ad Caesarem defert; orat, 'ne patiatur civi-
tatem pravis adulescentium consiliis ab amicitia populi
Romani deficere; quod futurum provideat, si se tot
hominum milia cum hostibus coniunxerint, quorum
salutem neque propinqui neglegere, neque civitas levi
momento aestimare posset.'

Eporedorix reveals the plot to Caesar.

Caesar recalls the Æduan army to their allegiance.

40 Magna affectus sollicitudine hoc nuntio Caesar, quod
semper Aeduorum civitati praecipue indulserat, nulla
interposita dubitatione legiones expeditas quattuor equi-
2 tatumque omnem ex castris educit, nec fuit spatium tali
tempore ad contrahenda castra, quod res posita in
3 celeritate videbatur; Gaium Fabium legatum cum le-
gionibus duabus castris praesidio relinquit. Fratres Lita-
vicci cum comprehendi iussisset, paulo ante repperit ad
4 hostes fugisse. Adhortatus milites, ne necessario tempore
itineris labore permoveantur, cupidissimis omnibus pro-
gressus milia passuum XXV agmen Aeduorum conspica-
tus immisso equitatu iter eorum moratur atque impedit
5 interdicitque omnibus, ne quemquam interficiant. Epore-
dorigem et Viridomarum, quos illi interfectos existima-

39. § 1. **traditum**, 'introduced.' Cp. Hor. Sat. i. 9, 47. **nominatim . . . evocati.** iii. 20, § 2.

bant, inter equites versari suosque appellare iubet. His 6
cognitis et Litavicci fraude perspecta Aedui manus tendere [deditionem significare] et proiectis armis mortem deprecari incipiunt. Litaviccus cum suis clientibus, 7
quibus more Gallorum nefas est etiam in extrema fortuna deserere patronos, Gergoviam profugit.

Attack on the camp during Caesar's absence.

Caesar nuntiis ad civitatem Aeduorum missis, qui suo **41**
beneficio conservatos docerent, quos iure belli interficere potuisset, tribusque horis [noctis] exercitui ad quietem datis castra ad Gergoviam movit. Medio fere itinere 2
equites a Fabio missi, quanto res in periculo fuerit, exponunt. 'Summis copiis castra oppugnata' demonstrant, 'cum crebro integri defessis succederent nostrosque assiduo labore defatigarent, quibus propter magnitudinem castrorum perpetuo esset iisdem in vallo permanendum. Multitudine sagittarum atque omnis generis telorum 3
multos vulneratos; ad haec sustinenda magno usui fuisse tormenta. Fabium discessu eorum duabus relictis 4
portis obstruere ceteras pluteosque vallo addere et se in posterum diem similemque casum apparare.' His rebus 5
cognitis Caesar summo studio militum ante ortum solis in castra pervenit.

Outbreak among the Ædui against the Romans,

Dum haec ad Gergoviam geruntur, Aedui primis **42**
nuntiis ab Litavicco acceptis nullum sibi ad cognoscendum spatium relinquunt. Impellit alios avaritia, alios 2
iracundia et temeritas, quae maxime illi hominum generi est innata, ut levem auditionem habeant pro re comperta. Bona civium Romanorum diripiunt, caedes fa- 3
ciunt, in servitutem abstrahunt. Adiuvat rem proclinatam 4
Convictolitavis plebemque ad furorem impellit, ut facinore admisso ad sanitatem reverti pudeat. Marcum Aristium, 5

40. § 7. more Gallorum. Cp. iii. 22, § 2.

42. § 2. auditionem. Cp. iv. 5, § 3.

tribunum militum, iter ad legionem facientem fide data
ex oppido Cabillono educunt; idem facere cogunt eos,
6 qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant. Hos continuo in
itinere adorti omnibus impedimentis exuunt; repugnantes
diem noctemque obsident; multis utrimque interfectis
maiorem multitudinem armatorum concitant.

43 Interim nuntio allato, omnes eorum milites in potes-
tate Caesaris teneri, concurrunt ad Aristium, nihil pub-
2 lico factum consilio demonstrant; quaestionem de bonis
direptis decernunt, Litavicci fratrumque bona publicant,
3 legatos ad Caesarem sui purgandi gratia mittunt. Haec
faciunt recuperandorum suorum causa; sed contaminati
facinore et capti compendio ex direptis bonis, quod ea
res ad multos pertinebat, timore poenae exterriti consilia
clam de bello inire incipiunt civitatesque reliquas lega-
4 tionibus sollicitant. Quae tametsi Caesar intellegebat,
tamen quam mitissime potest legatos appellat: nihil se
propter inscientiam levitatemque vulgi gravius de civi-
tate iudicare neque de sua in Aeduos benevolentia
5 deminuere. Ipse maiorem Galliae motum exspectans,
ne ab omnibus civitatibus circumsisteretur, consilia
inibat, quemadmodum ab Gergovia discederet ac rursus
omnem exercitum contraheret, ne profectio nata ab
timore defectionis similis fugae videretur.

repressed on their learning that their army is in Caesar's power.

Caesar meditates retiring from Gergovia,

44 Haec cogitanti accidere visa est facultas bene rei
gerendae. Nam cum in minora castra operis perspici-
endi causa venisset, animadvertit collem, qui ab hostibus
tenebatur, nudatum hominibus, qui superioribus diebus
2 vix prae multitudine cerni poterat. Admiratus quaerit

when an opportunity for action presents itself.

§ 5. **Cabillono.** Châlon-sur-Saône in the Saône-et-Loire. Strabo speaks of it as the capital of the Aedui (iv. 3, § 2). Mela (iii. § 20), writing a little later, transfers this supremacy to Augustodunum (Autun).

idem facere. Loosely put for 'ex oppido Cabillono exire.'

ex perfugis causam, quorum magnus ad eum cotidie
numerus confluebat. Constabat inter omnes, quod iam 3
ipse Caesar per exploratores cognoverat, dorsum esse
eius iugi silvestre et angustum, sed hinc prope aequum,
qua esset aditus ad alteram partem oppidi; vehementer 4
huic illos loco timere nec iam aliter sentire uno colle ab
Romanis occupato, si alterum amisissent, quin paene
circumvallati atque omni exitu et pabulatione interclusi
viderentur: ad hunc muniendum omnes a Vercingetorige 5
evocatos.

Under feint of attacking a weak point,

Hac re cognita Caesar mittit complures equitum 45
turmas; eis de media nocte imperat ut paulo tumultuo-
sius omnibus locis vagarentur. Prima luce magnum 2
numerum impedimentorum ex castris mulorumque pro-
duci deque his stramenta detrahi mulionesque cum cassi-
dibus equitum specie ac simulatione collibus circumvehi
iubet. His paucos addit equites, qui latius ostentationis 3
causa vagarentur. Longo circuitu easdem omnes iubet
petere regiones. Haec procul ex oppido videbantur, ut 4
erat a Gergovia despectus in castra, neque tanto spatio,
certi quid esset, explorari poterat. Legionem unam 5
eodem iugo mittit et paulum progressam inferiore con-
stituit loco silvisque occultat. Augetur Gallis suspicio, 6

44. § 3. **dorsum esse,** &c. The MSS. here have 'dorsum esse eius iugi prope aequum, sed hunc silvestrem,' &c. The masculine form 'dorsus' is used by Plautus, Mil. ii. 4, 44—

'Timeo quid rerum gesserim: ita dorsus totus prurit.'

§ 4. **nec iam aliter sentire . . . quin . . . viderentur.** An instance of the redundant use of 'videor,' to which Cicero is so much addicted.

45. § 1. **eis de media nocte.** Another reading here is 'complures equitum turmas eo de media nocte; iis imperat,' &c.

§ 2. **mulorumque,** &c. Livy speaks of this device as being employed by the dictator C. Sulpicius against the Gauls in B.C. 358. vii. 14, §§ 6–8 'Sollerti animo rem novam excogitat, qua deinde multi nostri atque externi imperatores, nostra quoque quidam aetate, usi sunt. Mulis strata detrahi iubet, binisque tantum centunculis relictis, agasones partim captivis, partim aegrorum armis ornatos imponit. His fere mille effectis centum admiscet equites.'

atque omnes illo ad munitionem copiae traducuntur.
7 Vacua castra hostium Caesar conspicatus tectis insigni-
bus suorum occultatisque signis militaribus raros milites,
ne ex oppido animadverterentur, ex maioribus castris in
8 minora traducit legatisque, quos singulis legionibus prae-
fecerat, quid fieri velit, ostendit; imprimis monet, ut
contineant milites, ne studio pugnandi aut spe praedae
longius progrediantur; quid iniquitas loci habeat incom-
9 modi, proponit; hoc una celeritate posse mutari; occa-
10 sionis esse rem, non proelii. His rebus expositis signum
dat et ab dextra parte alio ascensu eodem tempore
Aeduos mittit.

He makes a dash for the enemy's camps, and captures three of them.

46 Oppidi murus a planicie atque initio ascensus recta
regione, si nullus amfractus intercederet, MCC passus
2 aberat: quidquid huc circuitus ad molliendum clivum
3 accesserat, id spatium itineris augebat. A medio fere
colle in longitudinem, ut natura montis ferebat, ex grandi-
bus saxis sex pedum murum, qui nostrorum impetum
tardaret, praeduxerant Galli atque inferiore omni spatio
vacuo relicto superiorem partem collis usque ad murum
4 oppidi densissimis castris compleverant. Milites dato
signo celeriter ad munitionem perveniunt eamque trans-
5 gressi trinis castris potiuntur; ac tanta fuit in castris
capiendis celeritas, ut Teutomatus, rex Nitiobrogum,
subito in tabernaculo oppressus, ut meridie conquieverat,
superiore corporis parte nudata, vulnerato equo vix se ex
manibus praedantium militum eriperet.

47 Consecutus id, quod animo proposuerat, Caesar re-

Then he sounds the

§ 9. **mutari**, 'compensated.'

47. § 1. **consecutus id, &c.** Even Napoleon III deserts Caesar here, declaring that his object must have been to take Gergovia by a sudden assault. Moberly has an ingenious device to save the credit of his author, explaining these words to mean 'finding himself in possession of the opportunity he desired,' and suggesting that Caesar meant to re-form his troops and lead them on to a regular assault.

recall, but the soldiers are not to be restrained.

ceptui cani iussit legionique decimae, quacum erat, con-
tionatum signa constituit. Ac reliquarum legionum 2
milites non exaudito sono tubae, quod satis magna valles
intercedebat, tamen ab tribunis militum legatisque, ut
erat a Caesare praeceptum, retinebantur. Sed elati spe 3
celeris victoriae et hostium fuga et superiorum temporum
secundis proeliis nihil adeo arduum sibi esse existima-
verunt, quod non virtute consequi possent, neque finem
prius sequendi fecerunt, quam muro oppidi portisque

Tumult in the city.

appropinquarunt. Tum vero ex omnibus urbis partibus 4
orto clamore qui longius aberant, repentino tumultu per-
territi, cum hostem intra portas esse existimarent, sese

The women implore mercy.

ex oppido eiecerunt. Matresfamiliae de muro vestem 5
argentumque iactabant et pectore nudo prominentes
passis manibus obtestabantur Romanos, ut sibi parcerent
neu, sicut Avarici fecissent, ne a mulieribus quidem
atque infantibus abstinerent; nonnullae de muris per 6

A few Romans mount the walls.

manus demissae sese militibus tradebant. Lucius Fabius, 7
centurio legionis VIII., quem inter suos eo die dixisse
constabat excitari se Avaricensibus praemiis neque com-
missurum, ut prius quisquam murum ascenderet, tres
suos nactus manipulares atque ab iis sublevatus murum
ascendit; hos ipse rursus singulos exceptans in murum
extulit.

The Gauls come to the rescue,

Interim ii, qui ad alteram partem oppidi, ut supra 48
demonstravimus, munitionis causa convenerant, primo

receptui cani. Al. 47, § 1 'At Vatinius re bene gesta receptui cecinit.'

contionatum. The MSS. have 'contionatus.' Hoffmann's emendation gives us the supine after 'signa constituit,' which is certainly not a verb of motion. 'Halted the standards of the tenth legion with which he was, to give an address.' For this loose use of the supine we might cp. Verg. Aen. ix. 241—

'si fortuna permittitis uti quaesitum Aenean.'

§ 2. **valles.** See vi. 34, § 2 'vallis.'

§ 5. **Avarici.** 28, § 4.

48. § 1. **supra.** 44, § 5; 45, § 6.

and the fight goes against the Romans.

exaudito clamore, inde etiam crebris nuntiis incitati,
oppidum a Romanis teneri, praemissis equitibus magno
2 concursu eo contenderunt. Eorum ut quisque primus
venerat, sub muro consistebat suorumque pugnantium
3 numerum augebat. Quorum cum magna multitudo con-
venisset, matresfamiliae, quae paulo ante Romanis de
muro manus tendebant, suos obtestari et more Gallico
passum capillum ostentare liberosque in conspectum pro-
4 ferre coeperunt. Erat Romanis nec loco nec numero
aequa contentio; simul et cursu et spatio pugnae defati-
gati non facile recentes atque integros sustinebant.

Caesar posts reserves.

49 Caesar, cum iniquo loco pugnari hostiumque augeri
copias videret, praemetuens suis ad Titum Sextium
legatum, quem minoribus castris praesidio reliquerat,
misit, ut cohortes ex castris celeriter educeret et sub
2 infimo colle ab dextro latere hostium constitueret, ut, si
nostros loco depulsos vidisset, quo minus libere hostes
3 insequerentur, terreret. Ipse paulum ex eo loco cum
legione progressus, ubi constiterat, eventum pugnae
exspectabat.

Panic caused by the appearance of the Ædui.

50 Cum acerrime comminus pugnaretur, hostes loco et
numero, nostri virtute confiderent, subito sunt Aedui
visi ab latere nostris aperto, quos Caesar ab dextra parte
2 alio ascensu manus distinendae causa miserat. Hi
similitudine armorum vehementer nostros perterruerunt,
ac tametsi dextris umeris exsertis animadvertebantur,
quod insigne pacatum esse consuerat, tamen id ipsum sui
fallendi causa milites ab hostibus factum existimabant.

The Romans hurled

3 Eodem tempore Lucius Fabius centurio quique una
murum ascenderant circumventi atque interfecti muro

inde = 'deinde.'

§ 3. **more Gallico.** Cp. what is said of the Germans in i. 51, § 3.

50. § 1. **ab dextra parte.** 45, § 10.

down from the walls. Self-sacrifice of M. Petronius.

praecipitabantur. Marcus Petronius, eiusdem legionis 4
centurio, cum portas excidere conatus esset, a multi-
tudine oppressus ac sibi desperans multis iam vulneribus
acceptis manipularibus suis, qui illum secuti erant, ‘quo-
niam,’ inquit, ‘me una vobiscum servare non possum,
vestrae quidem certe vitae prospiciam, quos cupiditate
gloriae adductus in periculum deduxi. Vos data facultate
vobis consulite.’ Simul in medios hostes irrupit duo- 5
busque interfectis reliquos a porta paulum submovit.
Conantibus auxiliari suis, ‘frustra,’ inquit, ‘meae vitae 6
subvenire conamini, quem iam sanguis viresque deficiunt.
Proinde abite, dum est facultas, vosque ad legionem
recipite.’ Ita pugnans post paulum concidit ac suis
saluti fuit.

Disastrous conclusion of the enterprise.

Nostri, cum undique premerentur, XLVI centurionibus 51
amissis deiecti sunt loco. Sed intolerantius Gallos inse-
quentes legio decima tardavit, quae pro subsidio paulo
aequiore loco constiterat. Hanc rursus XIII. legionis 2
cohortes exceperunt, quae ex castris minoribus eductae
cum Tito Sextio legato ceperant locum superiorem.
Legiones, ubi primum planiciem attigerunt, infestis 3
contra hostes signis constiterunt. Vercingetorix ab 4
radicibus collis suos intra munitiones reduxit. Eo die
milites sunt paulo minus septingenti desiderati.

Caesar reproves and consoles his men.

Postero die Caesar contione advocata temeritatem 52
cupiditatemque militum reprehendit, ‘quod sibi ipsi
iudicavissent, quo procedendum aut quid agendum
videretur, neque signo recipiendi dato constitissent neque
ab tribunis militum legatisque retineri potuissent.’ Ex- 2
posuit, ‘quid iniquitas loci posset, quid ipse ad Avaricum
sensisset, cum sine duce et sine equitatu deprehensis

§ 6. post paulum. Only here in Caesar.

52. § 2. quid ipse ... sensisset. Ch. 19.

hostibus exploratam victoriam dimisisset, ne parvum
modo detrimentum in contentione propter iniquitatem
3 loci accideret. Quanto opere eorum animi magnitudinem
admiraretur, quos non castrorum munitiones, non alti-
tudo montis, non murus oppidi tardare potuisset, tanto
opere licentiam arrogantiamqne reprehendere, quod plus
se quam imperatorem de victoria atque exitu rerum
4 sentire existimarent; nec minus se ab milite modestiam
et continentiam quam virtutem atque animi magnitu-
dinem desiderare.'

53 Hac habita contione ct ad extremam orationem con-
firmatis militibus, 'ne ob hanc causam animo permo-
verentur neu, quod iniquitas loci attulisset, id virtuti
hostium tribuerent,' eadem de profectione cogitans, quae
ante senserat, legiones ex castris eduxit aciemque idoneo
2 loco constituit. Cum Vercingetorix nihilo magis in
aequum locum descenderet, levi facto equestri proelio
3 atque secundo in castra exercitum reduxit. Cum hoc
idem postero die fecisset, satis ad Gallicam ostentationem
minuendam militumque animos confirmandos factum
4 existimans in Aeduos movit castra. Ne tum quidem
insecutis hostibus tertio die ad flumen Elaver pontes
reficit eoque exercitum traducit.

After offering battle he retires into the country of the Ædui.

54 Ibi a Viridomaro atque Eporedorige Aeduis appel-
latus discit cum omni equitatu Litaviccum ad sollici-
tandos Aeduos profectum; opus esse ipsos antecedere
2 ad confirmandam civitatem. Etsi multis iam rebus per-
fidiam Aeduorum perspectam habebat atque horum dis-
cessu admaturari defectionem civitatis existimabat, tamen
eos retinendos non constituit, ne aut inferre iniuriam vide-
3 retur aut dare timoris aliquam suspicionem. Discedenti-

Viridomarus and Eporedorix desert Caesar.

53. § 1. eadem . . . quae ante. 43, § 5.
§ 4. eoque, sc. in Aeduos.

bus his breviter sua in Aeduos merita exposuit, 'quos et 4
quam humiles accepisset, compulsos in oppida, multatos
agris, omnibus ereptis copiis, imposito stipendio, obsidi-
bus summa cum contumelia extortis, et quam in fortunam
quamque in amplitudinem deduxisset, ut non solum in
pristinum statum redissent, sed omnium temporum digni-
tatem et gratiam antecessisse viderentur.' His datis
mandatis eos ab se dimisit.

The Ædui openly join the enemy.

Noviodunum erat oppidum Aeduorum ad ripas Ligeris 55
opportuno loco positum. Huc Caesar omnes obsides 2
Galliae, frumentum, pecuniam publicam, suorum atque
exercitus impedimentorum magnam partem contulerat;
huc magnum numerum equorum huius belli causa in 3
Italia atque Hispania coëmtum miserat. Eo cum Epore- 4
dorix Viridomarusque venissent et de statu civitatis
cognovissent, Litaviccum Bibracti ab Aeduis receptum,
quod est oppidum apud eos maximae auctoritatis, Con-
victolitavim magistratum magnamque partem senatus
ad eum convenisse, legatos ad Vercingetorigem de pace
et amicitia concilianda publice missos, non praetermit-
tendum tantum commodum existimaverunt. Itaque 5
interfectis Novioduni custodibus quique eo negotiandi
causa convenerant, pecuniam atque equos inter se par-
titi sunt; obsides civitatum Bibracte ad magistratum 6
deducendos curaverunt; oppidum, quod a se teneri non 7
posse iudicabant, ne cui esset usui Romanis, incende-
runt; frumenti quod subito potuerunt navibus avexerunt, 8
reliquum flumine atque incendio corruperunt. Ipsi ex 9
finitimis regionibus copias cogere, praesidia custodiasque
ad ripas Ligeris disponere equitatumque omnibus locis
iniciendi timoris causa ostentare coeperunt, si ab re fru-

55. § 1. **Noviodunum.** Nevers in the department of Nièvre.

mentaria Romanos excludere aut adductos inopia in provinciam expellere possent. Quam ad spem multum eos adiuvabat, quod Liger ex nivibus creverat, ut omnino vado non posse transiri videretur.

Caesar hastily crosses the Liger.

56 Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar maturandum sibi censuit,
si esset in perficiendis pontibus periclitandum, ut prius,
2 quam essent maiores eo coactae copiae, dimicaret. Nam
ut commutato consilio iter in provinciam converteret, ut
ne metu quidem necessario faciundum existimabat, cum
infamia atque indignitas rei et oppositus mons Cevenna
viarumque difficultas impediebat, tum maxime, quod
abiuncto Labieno atque iis legionibus, quas una miserat,
3 vehementer timebat. Itaque admodum magnis diurnis
nocturnisque itineribus confectis contra omnium opinio-
4 nem ad Ligerem venit vadoque per equites invento pro
rei necessitate opportuno, ut brachia modo atque umeri
ad sustinenda arma liberi ab aqua esse possent, dis-
posito equitatu, qui vim fluminis refringeret, atque hosti-
5 bus primo aspectu perturbatis incolumem exercitum
traduxit frumentumque in agris et pecoris copiam
nactus repleto his rebus exercitu iter in Senones facere
instituit.

Labienus threatens Lutetia.

57 Dum haec apud Caesarem geruntur, Labienus eo supplemento, quod nuper ex Italia venerat, relicto Age-

56. § 2. **ut ne metu quidem, &c.** The reading in the text is that of nearly all the MSS. 'For as to his changing his plans and directing his march into the Province, a course which he did not think ought necessarily to be taken even in fear, he was prevented from that,' &c. The construction 'ut . . . converteret . . . impediebat' finds a parallel in Cic. Rosc. Am. § 151 'Di prohibeant . . . ut.'

abiuncto Labieno, dative.

§ 4. **qui . . . refringeret.** Caesar records his employment of the same manœuvre in Spain (C. i. 64, §§ 4–6), and Vegetius (iii. 7) lays it down as a standing rule of the art of war that when troops are crossing a river of any depth a line of cavalry should be stationed above to break the force of the current, and another below to intercept any soldiers who may have been carried off their legs by the stream.

dinci, ut esset impedimentis praesidio, cum quattuor legionibus Lutetiam proficiscitur. Id est oppidum Parisiorum, quod positum est in insula fluminis Sequanae.
Cuius adventu ab hostibus cognito magnae ex finitimis 2
civitatibus copiae convenerunt. Summa imperii traditur 3
Camulogeno Aulerco, qui prope confectus aetate tamen propter singularem scientiam rei militaris ad eum est
honorem evocatus. Is cum animadvertisset perpetuam 4
esse paludem, quae influeret in Sequanam atque illum omnem locum magnopere impediret, hic consedit nostrosque transitu prohibere instituit.

Tactics of Camulogenus.

Labienus primo vineas agere, cratibus atque aggere 58
paludem explere atque iter munire conabatur. Postquam 2
id difficilius confieri animadvertit, silentio e castris tertia vigilia egressus eodem, quo venerat, itinere Metiosedum
pervenit. Id est oppidum Senonum in insula Sequanae 3
positum, ut paulo ante de Lutetia diximus. Deprensis 4
navibus circiter quinquaginta celeriterque coniunctis atque eo militibus iniectis et rei novitate perterritis oppidanis, quorum magna pars erat ad bellum evocata, sine con-
tentione oppido potitur. Refecto ponte, quem superio- 5
ribus diebus hostes resciderant, exercitum traducit et
secundo flumine ad Lutetiam iter facere coepit. Hostes 6
re cognita ab iis, qui Metiosedo fugerant, Lutetiam incendi pontesque eius oppidi rescindi iubent; ipsi praesaepti palude ad ripas Sequanae e regione Lutetiae contra Labieni castra considunt.

How met by Labienus.

Lutetia burnt.

58. § 1. **confieri.** A rare form for the passive of 'conficio.' Cp. Verg. Aen. iv. 116: Servius Sulpicius in Cic. ad Fam. iv. 5, § 1.

§ 2. **Metiosedum.** Here and in the other passages where this name occurs (§ 6; 60, § 1; 61, § 5) there is another reading 'Melodunum.' In any case it is agreed that 'Melun' is the place meant.

§ 3. **paulo ante.** 57, § 1.

§ 6. **praesaepti.** Hoffmann's conjecture in place of the 'prospecta,' 'perspecta,' or 'profecti a' of the MSS.

9 Iam Caesar a Gergovia discessisse audiebatur, iam de
Aeduorum defectione et secundo Galliae motu rumores
afferebantur, Gallique in colloquiis interclusum itinere et
Ligeri Caesarem inopia frumenti coactum in provinciam
2 contendisse confirmabant. Bellovaci autem defectione
Aeduorum cognita, qui ante erant per se infideles, manus
3 cogere atque aperte bellum parare coeperunt. Tum
Labienus tanta rerum commutatione longe aliud sibi
capiendum consilium, atque antea senserat, intellegebat
neque iam, ut aliquid acquireret proelioque hostes laces-
seret, sed ut incolumem exercitum Agedincum reduceret,
4 cogitabat. Namque altera ex parte Bellovaci, quae
civitas in Gallia maximam habet opinionem virtutis, in-
stabant, alteram Camulogenus parato atque instructo
exercitu tenebat; tum legiones a praesidio atque im-
pedimentis interclusas maximum flumen distinebat.
5 Tantis subito difficultatibus obiectis ab animi virtute
auxilium petendum videbat.

Labienus finds himself in difficulties.

0 Sub vesperum consilio convocato cohortatus, ut ea,
quae imperasset, diligenter industrieque administrarent,
naves, quas Metiosedo deduxerat, singulas equitibus
Romanis attribuit et prima confecta vigilia quattuor
milia passuum secundo flumine silentio progredi ibique se
2 exspectare iubet. Quinque cohortes, quas minime fir-
mas ad dimicandum esse existimabat, castris praesidio
3 relinquit; quinque eiusdem legionis reliquas de me-
dia nocte cum omnibus impedimentis adverso flumine
4 magno tumultu proficisci imperat. Conquirit etiam lin-
tres; has magno sonitu remorum incitatas in eandem
partem mittit. Ipse post paulo silentio egressus cum

His manœuvres.

59. § 1. **interclusum itinere et Ligeri.** Cp. 55, § 9. The words 'et Ligeri' define the precise direction of Caesar's supposed march.

60. § 3. **proficisci imperat.** v. 7, § 6 'retrahique imperat.'

tribus legionibus eum locum petit, quo naves appelli
iusserat.

Eo cum esset ventum, exploratores hostium, ut omni 61
fluminis parte erant dispositi, inopinantes, quod magna
subito erat coorta tempestas, ab nostris opprimuntur;
exercitus equitatusque equitibus Romanis administranti- 2
bus, quos ei negotio praefecerat, celeriter transmittitur.
Uno fere tempore sub lucem hostibus nuntiatur, in 3
castris Romanorum praeter consuetudinem tumultuari,
et magnum ire agmen adverso flumine sonitumque re-
morum in eadem parte exaudiri et paulo infra milites
navibus transportari. Quibus rebus auditis, quod existi- 4
mabant tribus locis transire legiones atque omnes per-
turbatos defectione Aeduorum fugam parare, suas quoque
copias in tres partes distribuerunt. Nam praesidio e 5
regione castrorum relicto et parva manu Metiosedum
versus missa, quae tantum progrediatur, quantum naves
processissent, reliquas copias contra Labienum duxerunt.

He defeats the enemy and rejoins Caesar.

Prima luce et nostri omnes erant transportati, et 62
hostium acies cernebatur. Labienus milites cohortatus, 2
ut 'suae pristinae virtutis et secundissimorum proeliorum
retinerent memoriam atque ipsum Caesarem, cuius ductu
saepenumero hostes superassent, praesentem adesse
existimarent,' dat signum proelii. Primo concursu ab 3
dextro cornu, ubi septima legio constiterat, hostes pel-
luntur atque in fugam coniciuntur; ab sinistro, quem 4
locum duodecima legio tenebat, cum primi ordines hos-
tium transfixi telis concidissent, tamen acerrime reliqui
resistebant, nec dabat suspicionem fugae quisquam. Ipse 5
dux hostium Camulogenus suis aderat atque eos cohor-

61. § 5. **progrediatur . . . processissent.** Kraner here has 'progrederetur.' For the mixed sequence cp. i. 8, § 2 'conarentur . . . possit.'

6 tabatur. Incerto nunc etiam exitu victoriae, cum septi-
mae legionis tribunis esset nuntiatum, quae in sinistro
cornu gererentur, post tergum hostium legionem osten-
7 derunt signaque intulerunt. Ne eo quidem tempore
quisquam loco cessit, sed circumventi omnes interfectique
8 sunt. Eandem fortunam tulit Camulogenus. At ii, qui
praesidio contra castra Labieni erant relicti, cum proe-
lium commissum audissent, subsidio suis ierunt collem-
que ceperunt, neque nostrorum militum victorum im-
9 petum sustinere potuerunt. Sic cum suis fugientibus
permixti, quos non silvae montesque texerunt, ab equi-
10 tatu sunt interfecti. Hoc negotio confecto Labienus
revertitur Agedincum, ubi impedimenta totius exercitus
relicta erant; inde cum omnibus copiis ad Caesarem
pervenit.

The war assumes larger proportions.

63 Defectione Aeduorum cognita bellum augetur. Lega-
2 tiones in omnes partes circummittuntur: quantum gratia,
auctoritate, pecunia valent, ad sollicitandas civitates
3 nituntur; nacti obsides, quos Caesar apud eos deposuerat,
4 horum supplicio dubitantes territant. Petunt a Ver-
cingetorige Aedui, ut ad se veniat rationesque belli
5 gerendi communicet. Re impetrata contendunt, ut ipsis
summa imperii tradatur, et re in controversiam deducta
6 totius Galliae concilium Bibracte indicitur. Eodem
conveniunt undique frequentes. Multitudinis suffragiis
res permittitur: ad unum omnes Vercingetorigem pro-
7 bant imperatorem. Ab hoc concilio Remi, Lingones,
Treveri afuerunt: illi, quod amicitiam Romanorum se-

The Ædui claim the command.

Vercingetorix is confirmed in it by a general council.

Tribes absent from the council.

62. § 8. neque, 'but . . . not.' We have here the same idiom that has been noticed in the case of 'ac' &c., only concealed by a negative. See iii. 19, § 3 'ac statim.'

63. § 5. Bibracte. This may be acc., but we have 'Bibracte' as locative in 90, § 9. In vii. 55, § 4 the locative is 'Bibracti.' In i. 23, § 1 we have 'Bibracte' as abl. Strabo (iv. 3, § 2) speaks of Bibracte as the stronghold of the Aedui, while Cabillonum was their capital. See Note D.

quebantur; Treveri, quod aberant longius et ab Germanis premebantur, quae fuit causa, quare toto abessent bello

Vexation of the Ædui.

et neutris auxilia mitterent. Magno dolore Aedui ferunt 8
se deiectos principatu, queruntur fortunae commutationem et Caesaris indulgentiam in se requirunt, neque tamen suscepto bello suum consilium ab reliquis separare audent. Inviti summae spei adulescentes Epore- 9
dorix et Viridomarus Vercingetorigi parent.

Measures taken by Vercingetorix.

Ipse imperat reliquis civitatibus obsides dedendique 64
constituit diem; ad hunc omnes equites, quindecim milia numero, celeriter convenire iubet. 'Peditatu, quem antea 2
habuerat, se fore contentum' dicit, 'neque fortunam temptaturum aut in acie dimicaturum, sed, quoniam abundet equitatu, perfacile esse factu frumentationibus pabulationibusque Romanos prohibere; aequo modo animo 3
sua ipsi frumenta corrumpant aedificiaque incendant, qua rei familiaris iactura perpetuum imperium liber- 4
tatemque se consequi videant.' His constitutis rebus 5
Aeduis Segusiavisque, qui sunt finitimi provinciae, decem milia peditum imperat; huc addit equites octingentos. His praeficit fratrem Eporedorigis bellumque inferri Allobrogibus iubet. Altera ex parte Gabalos proxi- 6
mosque pagos Arvernorum in Helvios, item Rutenos Cadurcosque ad fines Volcarum Arecomicorum depopulandos mittit. Nihilo minus clandestinis nuntiis lega- 7
tionibusque Allobrogas sollicitat, quorum mentes nondum ab superiore bello resedisse sperabat. Horum principibus 8
pecunias, civitati autem imperium totius provinciae pollicetur.

Defence of the Province.

Ad hos omnes casus provisa erant praesidia cohortium 65
duarum et viginti, quae ex ipsa provincia ab Lucio

65. § 1. **Lucio Caesare.** It is assumed that this man was the same who was consul in B.C. 64 along with Caius Figulus (Sall. Cat. 17,

2 Caesare legato ad omnes partes opponebantur. Helvii
sua sponte cum finitimis proelio congressi pelluntur et
Gaio Valerio Donnotauro, Caburi filio, principe civitatis,
compluribusque aliis interfectis intra oppida ac muros
3 compelluntur. Allobroges crebris ad Rhodanum dis-
positis praesidiis magna cum cura et diligentia suos fines
4 tuentur. Caesar, quod hostes equitatu superiores esse
intellegebat et interclusis omnibus itineribus nulla re ex
provincia atque Italia sublevari poterat, trans Rhenum
in Germaniam mittit ad eas civitates, quas superioribus
annis pacaverat, equitesque ab his arcessit et levis arma-
5 turae pedites, qui inter eos proeliari consuerant. Eorum
adventu, quod minus idoneis equis utebantur, a tribunis
militum reliquisque [sed et] equitibus Romanis atque
evocatis equos sumit Germanisque distribuit.

Mixed infantry and cavalry brought from Germany.

66 Interea, dum haec geruntur, hostium copiae ex
Arvernis equitesque, qui toti Galliae erant imperati,
2 conveniunt. Magno horum coacto numero, cum Caesar
in Sequanos per extremos Lingonum fines iter faceret,
quo facilius subsidium provinciae ferri posset, circiter
3 milia passuum decem ab Romanis trinis castris Ver-
cingetorix consedit convocatisque ad concilium praefectis
equitum venisse tempus victoriae demonstrat. 'Fugere
4 in provinciam Romanos Galliaque excedere. Id sibi ad
praesentem obtinendam libertatem satis esse; ad reliqui
temporis pacem atque otium parum profici; maioribus
enim coactis copiis reversuros neque finem bellandi fac-
5 turos. Proinde agmine impeditos adorirentur. Si pedites
suis auxilium ferant atque in eo morentur, iter facere
non posse; si, id quod magis futurum confidat, relictis

The two armies draw near one another.

Charge of Vercingetorix to his cavalry officers.

§ 1). He was some relation to the dictator. His son figures in the Civil War (i. 8, § 2) on the side of Pompeius.

§ 2. **Gaio Valerio Donnotauro.** Brother to Gaius Valerius Procillus (i. 19, § 3, &c.).

impedimentis suae saluti consulant, et usu rerum necessariarum et dignitate spoliatum iri. Nam de equitibus 6
hostium, quin nemo eorum progredi modo extra agmen audeat, et ipsos quidem non debere dubitare, et quo maiore faciant animo, copias se omnes pro castris habiturum et terrori hostibus futurum.' Conclamant equites: 7
sanctissimo iureiurando confirmari oportere, ne tecto recipiatur, ne ad liberos, ne ad parentes, ad uxorem aditum habeat, qui non bis per agmen hostium perequitasset.

Defeat of the Gallic cavalry.

Probata re atque omnibus iureiurando adactis postero **67**
die in tres partes distributo equitatu duae se acies ab duobus lateribus ostendunt, una a primo agmine iter impedire coepit. Qua re nuntiata Caesar suum quoque 2
equitatum tripertito divisum contra hostem ire iubet. Pugnatur una omnibus in partibus. Consistit agmen; 3
impedimenta inter legiones recipiuntur. Si qua in parte 4
nostri laborare aut gravius premi videbantur, eo signa inferri Caesar aciemque constitui iubebat; quae res et hostes ad insequendum tardabat et nostros spe auxilii confirmabat. Tandem Germani ab dextro latere sum- 5
mum iugum nancti hostes loco depellunt; fugientes usque ad flumen, ubi Vercingetorix cum pedestribus copiis consederat, persequuntur compluresque interficiunt. Qua re animadversa reliqui, ne circumirentur, 6
veriti se fugae mandant. Omnibus locis fit caedes.

Three noble Æduan captives.

Tres nobilissimi Aedui capti ad Caesarem perducuntur: 7
Cotus, praefectus equitum, qui controversiam cum Convictolitavi proximis comitiis habuerat, et Cavarillus, qui post defectionem Litavicci pedestribus copiis praefuerat,

66. § 6. **et ipsos . . . et.** Hoffmann, following Nipperdey, has substituted the second 'et' for the 'id' of the MSS., which begins a new sentence.

§ 7. **equites**, i.e. 'praefecti equitum,' § 3.

67. § 7. **defectionem.** 40, § 7.

et Eporedorix, quo duce ante adventum Caesaris Aedui cum Sequanis bello contenderant.

Vercingetorix takes refuge in Alesia.

68 Fugato omni equitatu Vercingetorix copias, ut pro castris collocaverat, reduxit protinusque Alesiam, quod est oppidum Mandubiorum, iter facere coepit celeriterque impedimenta ex castris educi et se subsequi iussit.
2 Caesar impedimentis in proximum collem deductis, duabus legionibus praesidio relictis, secutus quantum diei tempus est passum, circiter tribus milibus hostium ex novissimo agmine interfectis altero die ad Alesiam
3 castra fecit. Perspecto urbis situ perterritisque hostibus, quod equitatu, qua maxime parte exercitus confidebant, erant pulsi, adhortatus ad laborem milites circumvallare instituit.

Caesar proceeds to invest it.

69 Ipsum erat oppidum Alesia in colle summo admodum edito loco, ut nisi obsidione expugnari non posse vide-
2 retur; cuius collis radices duo duabus ex partibus

quo duce. To distinguish him from his younger namesake (39, § 1).

68. § 1. **Alesia.** The modern Alise Ste Reine, a quaint hillside village in the Côte-d'Or, 64 kilomètres by road to the north-west of Dijon, and a couple of kilomètres from Les Laumes, a small country station on the P.L.M. railway. As you mount the hill from the plain of Laumes, you come to a beautiful statue of Ste Reine d'Alise. The story runs that she was a Christian saint of the third century, who was martyred by the then governor of Alesia because she refused his overtures. But archaeologists hint a doubt as to her ever having existed at all, and suggest that the gathering, which has taken place from time immemorial at Ste Reine d'Alise on the 7th of September, is really a vestige of the annual mourning of the Gauls over the defeat of Vercingetorix. Archaeology however has its romance as well as religion, and we need not stop to decide between the two. Alesia may claim to be the oldest town in France, as the legend is that it was founded by Hercules (D. S. v. 24, § 2).

69. § 1. **in colle summo.** Mont Auxois. The ancient town was on the elliptical plateau at the top; the modern village is on the steep slope of the hill. The summit is now crowned by a majestic statue of Vercingetorix, erected by Napoleon the Third. It has the following inscription, 'La Gaule unie formant une seule nation animée d'un même esprit peut défier l'univers. Vercingetorix aux Gaulois assemblés. César, De Bell. Gall. l. vii. c. xxix. Napoleon III, Empereur des Français, à la mémoire de Vercingetorix.'

§ 2. **duo . . . flumina.** The

flumina subluebant. Ante id oppidum planicies circiter 3
milia passuum tria in longitudinem patebat; reliquis ex 4
omnibus partibus colles mediocri interiecto spatio pari altitudinis fastigio oppidum cingebant. Sub muro, quae 5
pars collis ad orientem solem spectabat, hunc omnem locum copiae Gallorum compleverant fossamque et maceriam sex in altitudinem pedum praeduxerant.
Eius munitionis, quae ab Romanis instituebatur, circuitus 6
XI milia passuum tenebat. Castra opportunis locis erant 7
posita ibique castella viginti tria facta; quibus in castellis interdiu stationes ponebantur, ne qua subito eruptio fieret; haec eadem noctu excubitoribus ac firmis praesidiis tenebantur.

The Gallic cavalry again defeated by the Germans.

Opere instituto fit equestre proelium in ea planicie, **70**
quam intermissam collibus tria milia passuum in longitudinem patere supra demonstravimus. Summa vi ab utrisque contenditur. Laborantibus nostris Caesar Ger- 2

Ose and the Oserain, two streams which run into the river Brenne. They both flow westward, the Ose to the north and the Oserain to the south of Mont Auxois.

§ 3. **planicies.** The plain of Laumes to the west of Mont Auxois.

§ 5. **quae pars . . . hunc omnem locum.** For this substitution of one equivalent expression for another cp. vii. 28, § 6.

§ 7. **castra.** Two of the infantry camps are supposed by Napoleon III to have been pitched on the Montagne de Flavigny. Under the kind escort of Dr. Epery of Les Laumes I started up the mountain one day in July 1895 to try to discover them. On our way we impressed into our service a half-naked vine-dresser, who said he knew where to find the camp of Caesar. After some aberrations he brought us to a stone marked 'Camp de César.' In the ground round about it, especially on the west side, there was a ridge discernible, which might be construed into the remains of a 'vallum.' It was in the position corresponding to Camp B in Napoleon's plan (Plate 25 of Jules César). Of Camp A we could discover no trace at all. But I fancy that our labour in this direction was vain from the first, since the Emperor himself speaks of Camp B as 'the only known example of visible traces of a camp made by Caesar.' This is a tacit admission that the other camp was discovered by a latent process, which has played a large part in the construction of these plans. The fact seems to be that the military eye, especially when quickened by the prospect of imperial favour, can discern things which would for ever escape the gaze of the civilian.

70. § 1. **supra.** 69, § 3.

manos submittit legionesque pro castris constituit, ne
3 qua subito irruptio ab hostium peditatu fiat. Praesidio
legionum addito nostris animus augetur; hostes in fugam
coniecti se ipsi multitudine impediunt atque angustiori-
4 bus portis relictis coacervantur. Germani acrius usque
5 ad munitiones sequuntur. Fit magna caedes; nonnulli
relictis equis fossam transire et maceriam transcendere
conantur. Paulum legiones Caesar, quas pro vallo con-
6 stituerat, promoveri iubet. Non minus, qui intra muni-
tiones erant, perturbantur Galli; veniri ad se confestim
existimantes ad arma conclamant; nonnulli perterriti in
7 oppidum irrumpunt. Vercingetorix iubet portas claudi,
ne castra nudentur. Multis interfectis, compluribus equis
captis Germani sese recipiunt.

Vercingetorix dismisses his cavalry with orders to bring reinforcements.

71 Vercingetorix, priusquam munitiones ab Romanis per-
ficiantur, consilium capit omnem ab se equitatum noctu
2 dimittere. Discedentibus mandat, 'ut suam quisque eo-
rum civitatem adeat omnesque, qui per aetatem arma
3 ferre possint, ad bellum cogant.' Sua in illos merita pro-
ponit obtestaturque, ut 'suae salutis rationem habeant,
neu se optime de communi libertate meritum hostibus in
cruciatum dedant. Quod si indiligentiores fuerint, milia
hominum delecta octoginta una secum interitura demon-
4 strat. Ratione inita exigue dierum se habere XXX fru-
mentum, sed paulo etiam longius tolerari posse parcendo.'
5 His datis mandatis, qua opus erat intermissum, secunda
6 vigilia silentio equitatum dimittit. Frumentum omne
ad se referri iubet; capitis poenam iis, qui non paruerint,
7 constituit; pecus, cuius magna erat copia ab Mandubiis
compulsa, viritim distribuit; frumentum parce et paula-
8 tim metiri instituit. Copias omnes, quas pro oppido
9 collocaverat, in oppidum recepit. His rationibus auxilia
Galliae exspectare et bellum parat administrare.

He prepares for siege.

Caesar's works at Alesia—(1) The countervallation.

Quibus rebus cognitis ex perfugis et captivis Caesar **72**
haec genera munitionis instituit. Fossam pedum viginti directis lateribus duxit, ut eius fossae solum tantundem pateret, quantum summae fossae labra distarent. Reli- 2
quas omnes munitiones ab ea fossa pedes quadringentos reduxit, id hoc consilio, quoniam tantum esset necessario spatium complexus, nec facile totum corpus corona militum cingeretur, ne de improviso aut noctu ad munitiones hostium multitudo advolaret, aut interdiu tela in nostros operi destinatos conicere possent. Hoc intermisso spatio 3
duas fossas quindecim pedes latas, eadem altitudine perduxit; quarum interiorem campestribus ac demissis locis aqua ex flumine derivata complevit. Post eas aggerem 4
ac vallum XXII pedum exstruxit. Huic loricam pinnasque adiecit grandibus cervis eminentibus ad commissuras pluteorum atque aggeris, qui ascensum hostium tardarent, et turres toto operi circumdedit, quae pedes LXXX inter se distarent.

Erat eodem tempore et materiari et frumentari et **73**

72. § 1. **haec genera munitionis instituit.** Cp. iv. 17, § 1 'Rationem pontis hanc instituit.'

Fossam, &c. This means that he dug a trench 20 feet broad with perpendicular sides, so that the bottom ('solum') was as broad as the top. We may infer that ordinarily the sides were shelving and the bottom was narrower than the top ('angustiore ad infimum fastigio,' 73, § 5).

§ 2. **pedes quadringentos.** Kampen suggests that we should here read 'passus cccc,' an emendation to which the Emperor Napoleon indirectly lends his sanction, for after following the statement in the text (vol. ii. p. 369) he adds in the remarks at the end of the same chapter (p. 389)—'It was not exactly 20 feet in length, as stated in the Commentaries, neither was it everywhere 400 paces distant from the circumvallation.'

totum corpus. Another reading is 'totum opus.'

§ 3. **eadem altitudine,** 'of the same depth as the other,' the depth of which has not been mentioned.

§ 4. **cervis.** A kind of chevaux-de-frise. Sil. It. x. 414—

'cervorum ambustis imitantur
cornua ramis.'

73. § 1. **materiari.** Only here. 'Materia' is properly wood for building as in iv. 17, § 8, but the verb here is no doubt meant to cover 'lignum' too. Cp. Tac. Ann. i. 35 'materiae, lignorum adgestus.' The passage from the active sense in 'materiari' and 'frumentari' to the passive in 'fieri' is facilitated by the similarity of form.

tantas munitiones fieri necesse deminutis nostris copiis,
quae longius ab castris progrediebantur; ac nonnum-
quam opera nostra Galli temptare atque eruptionem ex
oppido pluribus portis summa vi facere conabantur.
2 Quare ad haec rursus opera addendum Caesar putavit,
quo minore numero militum munitiones defendi possent.
Itaque truncis arborum admodum firmis ramis abscisis
atque horum delibratis ac praeacutis cacuminibus per-
3 petuae fossae quinos pedes altae ducebantur. Huc illi
stipites demissi et ab infimo revincti, ne revelli possent,
4 ab ramis eminebant. Quini erant ordines coniuncti inter
se atque implicati; quo qui intraverant, se ipsi acutissi-
5 mis vallis induebant. Hos cippos appellabant. Ante
quos obliquis ordinibus in quincuncem dispositis scrobes
tres in altitudinem pedes fodiebantur paulatim angustiore
6 ad infimum fastigio. Huc teretes stipites feminis crassi-
tudine ab summo praeacuti et praeusti demittebantur, ita
ut non amplius digitis quattuor ex terra eminerent;
7 simul confirmandi et stabiliendi causa singuli ab infimo
solo pedes terra exculcabantur, reliqua pars scrobis ad
occultandas insidias viminibus ac virgultis integebatur.
8 Huius generis octoni ordines ducti ternos inter se pedes
distabant. Id ex similitudine floris lilium appellabant.
9 Ante haec taleae pedem longae ferreis hamis infixis
totae in terram infodiebantur mediocribusque inter-
missis spatiis omnibus locis disserebantur; quos stimulos
nominabant.

74 His rebus perfectis regiones secutus quam potuit
aequissimas pro loci natura quattuordecim milia passuum

(2) The circumvallation.

§ 2. **truncis . . . abscisis.** 'Truncis' is to be taken with 'abscisis,' while 'firmis ramis' is an abl. of description.

delibratis. 'Delibrata, id est, decorticata.' Asconius on Verr. Div. § 3.

complexus pares eiusdem generis munitiones, diversas ab his, contra exteriorem hostem perfecit, ut ne magna quidem multitudine, si ita accidat, discessu munitionum praesidia circumfundi possent; ne autem cum periculo 2
ex castris egredi cogatur, dierum triginta pabulum frumentumque habere omnes convectum iubet.

Levy among the Gauls.

Dum haec apud Alesiam geruntur, Galli concilio prin- 75
cipum indicto non omnes eos, qui arma ferre possent, ut censuit Vercingetorix, convocandos statuunt, sed certum numerum cuique ex civitate imperandum, ne tanta multitudine confusa nec moderari nec discernere suos nec frumentandi rationem habere possent. Imperant 2
Aeduis atque eorum clientibus, Segusiavis, Ambivaretis, Aulercis Brannovicibus, Brannoviis, milia XXXV; parem numerum Arvernis adiunctis Eleutetis, Cadurcis, Gabalis, Vellaviis, qui sub imperio Arvernorum esse consuerunt; Sequanis, Senonibus, Biturigibus, Santonis, Rutenis, 3
Carnutibus duodena milia; Bellovacis X; totidem Lemovicibus; octona Pictonibus et Turonis et Parisiis et Helvetiis; sena Andibus, Ambianis, Mediomatricis, Petrocoriis, Nerviis, Morinis, Nitiobrogibus; V milia

74. § 1. **discessu.** The MSS. have here 'eius discessu.' Hoffmann takes 'discessu munitionum' together in the sense apparently of 'the remoteness of the works.'

75. § 1. **cuique**: sc. 'principi.'

§ 2. **Ambivareti.** These Celtic Ambivareti between the Allier and the Loire are not to be confounded with the Belgian Ambivariti on the left bank of the Meuse. See iv. 9, § 3.

Brannoviis. Of the Brannovii, or Blannovii, nothing is known but what may be gathered from this passage.

Eleutetis. Of the Eleutcti nothing is known. There is a variant here, 'Eleutheris Cadurcis.'

Vellaviis. The name of this tribe is sometimes written 'Vellavi.' It survives in the Monts du Velay of the Haute Loire.

§ 3. **duodena milia.** The distributive is to be taken strictly. They were each to contribute 12,000 men.

sena Andibus. Hoffmann's conjecture in place of the 'Senonibus' of the MSS. By bringing the subsequent numbers to the front it has the advantage of supplying a number to the Rauraci and Boii, who are otherwise left without one.

Petrocoriis. Now represented by Périgueux, the chief town of the department of Dordogne.

Aulercis Cenomanis; totidem Atrebatibus; quaterna
4 Veliocassis et Aulercis Eburovicibus; terna Rauracis et Boiis; XXX universis civitatibus, quae Oceanum attingunt quaeque eorum consuetudine Armoricae appellantur, quo sunt in numero Curiosolites, Redones,
5 Ambibarii, Caletes, Osismi, Lexovii, Venelli. Ex his Bellovaci suum numerum non compleverunt, quod se suo nomine atque arbitrio cum Romanis bellum gesturos dicebant neque cuiusquam imperio obtemperaturos; rogati tamen ab Commio pro eius hospitio duo milia una miserunt.

Defection of Commius.

76 Huius opera Commii, ut antea demonstravimus, fideli atque utili superioribus annis erat usus in Britannia Caesar; quibus ille pro meritis civitatem eius immunem esse iusserat, iura legesque reddiderat atque ipsi Morinos
2 attribuerat. Tamen tanta universae Galliae consensio fuit libertatis vindicandae et pristinae belli laudis recuperandae, ut neque beneficiis neque amicitiae memoria moverentur, omnesque et animo et opibus in id bellum
3 incumberent. Coactis equitum VIII milibus et peditum circiter CCL, haec in Aeduorum finibus recensebantur, numerusque inibatur, praefecti constituebantur. Commio Atrebati, Viridomaro et Eporedorigi Aeduis, Vercassivellauno Arverno, consobrino Vercingetorigis, summa
4 imperii traditur. His delecti ex civitatibus attribuuntur,
5 quorum consilio bellum administraretur. Omnes alacres

Review of the levy.

Its commanders.

§ 4. **Ambibarii.** Locality uncertain.

Lexovii. An emendation for 'Lemovices.'

76. § 3. **circiter ccl.** The sum total in ch. 75 amounts to 282,000 with the reduced contingent of the Bellovaci. But what more likely than that there should have been other defaulters on a lesser scale? Strabo (iv. 2, § 3) makes a gross misstatement when he says that the Arverni fought against Caesar under Vercingetorix with 400,000 men. Plutarch (Caes. 27) says that 300,000 men came in arms to Alesia and that there were 170,000 within its walls. The latter number is more than double that mentioned by Caesar (77, § 8).

Confidence of the Gauls.

et fiduciae pleni ad Alesiam proficiscuntur, neque erat 6
omnium quisquam, qui aspectum modo tantae multitu-
dinis sustineri posse arbitraretur, praesertim ancipiti
proelio, cum ex oppido eruptione pugnaretur, foris tantae
copiae equitatus peditatusque cernerentur.

Council among the besieged.

At ii, qui Alesiae obsidebantur, praeterita die, qua 77
auxilia suorum exspectaverant, consumpto omni fru-
mento inscii, quid in Aeduis gereretur, concilio coacto
de exitu suarum fortunarum consultabant. Ac variis 2
dictis sententiis, quarum pars deditionem, pars, dum
vires suppeterent, eruptionem censebat, non praetereunda

Speech of Critognatus.

oratio Critognati videtur propter eius singularem et ne-
fariam crudelitatem. Hic summo in Arvernis ortus loco 3
et magnae habitus auctoritatis, 'nihil,' inquit, 'de
eorum sententia dicturus sum, qui turpissimam servi-
tutem deditionis nomine appellant, neque hos habendos
civium loco neque ad consilium adhibendos censeo.
Cum his mihi res sit, qui eruptionem probant; quorum 4
in consilio omnium vestrum consensu pristinae residere
virtutis memoria videtur. Animi est ista mollitia, non 5
virtus, paulisper inopiam ferre non posse. Qui se ultro
morti offerant, facilius reperiuntur, quam qui dolorem
patienter ferant. Atque ego hanc sententiam probarem 6
(tantum apud me dignitas potest), si nullam praeterquam
vitae nostrae iacturam fieri viderem; sed in consilio 7
capiendo omnem Galliam respiciamus, quam ad nostrum
auxilium concitavimus. Quid hominum milibus LXXX 8
uno loco interfectis propinquis consanguineisque nostris
animi fore existimatis, si paene in ipsis cadaveribus
proelio decertare cogentur? Nolite hos vestro auxilio 9

77. § 5. **Qui se ultro, &c.** This remark was especially true of the countrymen of Critognatus, who were brave, but impatient of suffering. See iii. 19, § 6 'animus . . . mens.'

exspoliare, qui vestrae salutis causa suum periculum neglexerunt, nec stultitia ac temeritate vestra aut animi imbecillitate omnem Galliam prosternere et perpetuae
10 servituti subicere. An, quod ad diem non venerunt, de eorum fide constantiaque dubitatis? Quid ergo? Romanos in illis ulterioribus munitionibus animine causa
11 cotidie exerceri putatis? Si illorum nuntiis confirmari non potestis omni aditu praesaepto, his utimini testibus appropinquare eorum adventum; cuius rei timore exter-
12 riti diem noctemque in opere versantur. Quid ergo mei consilii est? Facere, quod nostri maiores nequaquam pari bello Cimbrorum Teutonumque fecerunt; qui in oppida compulsi ac simili inopia subacti eorum corporibus, qui aetate ad bellum inutiles videbantur, vitam to-
13 leraverunt neque se hostibus tradiderunt. Cuius rei si exemplum non haberemus, tamen libertatis causa institui
14 et posteris prodi pulcherrimum iudicarem. Nam quid illi simile bello fuit? Depopulata Gallia Cimbri magnaque illata calamitate finibus quidem nostris aliquando excesserunt atque alias terras petierunt; iura, leges,
15 agros, libertatem nobis reliquerunt. Romani vero quid petunt aliud aut quid volunt, nisi invidia adducti, quos fama nobiles potentesque bello cognoverunt, horum in agris civitatibusque considere atque his aeternam iniungere servitutem? Neque enim ulla alia condicione

§ 10. **animine causa.** v. 12, § 6.

§ 12. **Teutonumque.** Everywhere else Caesar has employed the form 'Teutoni,' so that this may be a contracted genitive.

eorum corporibus, &c. Strabo (iv. 5, § 4) may have had this passage in view when he wrote—*Καίτοι τό γε τῆς ἀνθρωποφαγίας καὶ Σκυθικὸν εἶναι λέγεται, καὶ ἐν ἀνάγκαις πολιορκητικαῖς καὶ Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἴβηρες καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους ποιῆσαι τοῦτο λέγονται.*

vitam toleraverunt. Cp. C. iii. 49, § 3 'equos . . . tolerari,' 'that the horses were kept alive': 58, § 4 'equitatum tolerare.'

§ 14. **quid illi simile, &c.,** 'what was there in that war that was like this?'

§ 15. **iniungere servitutem.** Cp. C. i. 4, § 4 'inimicos . . . iniungere': Al. 44, § 4 'moram necessitatemque iniungebat.'

bella gesserunt. Quod si ea, quae in longinquis nationi- 16
bus geruntur, ignoratis, respicite finitimam Galliam, quae
in provinciam redacta iure et legibus commutatis securi-
bus subiecta perpetua premitur servitute.'

Fate of the Mandubii.

Sententiis dictis constituunt, ut 'ii, qui valetudine aut 78
aetate inutiles sunt bello, oppido excedant, atque omnia
prius experiantur, quam ad Critognati sententiam de-
scendant; illo tamen potius utendum consilio, si res 2
cogat atque auxilia morentur, quam aut deditionis aut
pacis subeundam condicionem.' Mandubii, qui eos op- 3
pido receperant, cum liberis atque uxoribus exire
coguntur. Hi, cum ad munitiones Romanorum acces- 4
sissent, flentes omnibus precibus orabant, ut se in servi-
tutem receptos cibo iuvarent. At Caesar dispositis in 5
vallo custodibus recipi prohibebat.

Arrival of the relieving army.

Interea Commius reliquique duces, quibus summa im- 79
perii permissa erat, cum omnibus copiis ad Alesiam
perveniunt et colle exteriore occupato non longius mille
passibus ab nostris munitionibus considunt. Postero die 2
equitatu ex castris educto omnem eam planiciem, quam
in longitudinem tria milia passuum patere demonstravi-
mus, complent pedestresque copias paulum ab eo loco
abditas in locis superioribus constituunt. Erat ex oppido 3
Alesia despectus in campum. Concurrunt his auxiliis
visis; fit gratulatio inter eos, atque omnium animi ad
laetitiam excitantur. Itaque productis copiis ante oppi- 4
dum considunt et proximam fossam cratibus integunt
atque aggere explent seque ad eruptionem atque omnes
casus comparant.

Caesar repels

Caesar omni exercitu ad utramque partem munitionum 80

78. § 1. qui . . . sunt. Kraner here reads 'sint' on the authority of one MS. But cp. Sall. Jug. 54, § 1 'hortatur ad cetera, quae levia sunt, parem animum gerant,' and see i. 40, § 5 'cum . . . videbatur.'

disposito, ut, si usus veniat, suum quisque locum teneat
et noverit, equitatum ex castris educi et proelium com-
2 mitti iubet. Erat ex omnibus castris, quae summum
undique iugum tenebant, despectus, atque omnes milites
3 intenti pugnae proventum exspectabant. Galli inter
equites raros sagittarios expeditosque levis armaturae
interiecerant, qui suis cedentibus auxilio succurrerent et
nostrorum equitum impetus sustinerent. Ab his com-
4 plures de improviso vulnerati proelio excedebant. Cum
suos pugna superiores esse Galli confiderent et nostros
multitudine premi viderent, ex omnibus partibus et ii,
qui munitionibus continebantur, et hi, qui ad auxilium
convenerant, clamore et ululatu suorum animos con-
5 firmabant. Quod in conspectu omnium res gerebatur
neque recte ac turpiter factum celari poterat, utrosque et
laudis cupiditas et timor ignominiae ad virtutem excita-
6 bat. Cum a meridie prope ad solis occasum dubia
victoria pugnaretur, Germani una in parte confertis
turmis in hostes impetum fecerunt eosque propulerunt;
quibus in fugam coniectis sagittarii circumventi inter-
7 fectique sunt. Item ex reliquis partibus nostri cedentes
usque ad castra insecuti sui colligendi facultatem non
9 dederunt. At ii, qui ab Alesia processerant, maesti
prope victoria desperata se in oppidum receperunt.

a double attack, first by day,

81 Uno die intermisso Galli atque hoc spatio magno
cratium, scalarum, harpagonum numero effecto media

and then by night.

80. § 9. ab Alesia. The use of 'ab' with the name of a town is frequent in Livy, e.g. xxvii. 16, § 15 'priusquam egrederetur ab Tarento'; 17, § 8 'ab Tarracone egressus; redierat ab Roma.' In 43, § 5 and 59, § 1 we had 'a Gergovia' coupled with 'discedere': cp C. iii 24, § 4 'discessit a Brundisio.' The idea that the preposition is used when only the neighbourhood of the town is referred to will not stand examination.

81. § 1. harpagonum, 'grappling-hooks.' C. i. 57, § 2 'Hi manus ferreas atque harpagones paraverant.' Veget. ii. 25 'Habet (legio) ferreos harpagonas, quos lupos vocant.' They were also used in naval warfare. Liv. xxx. 10, § 16 'Postremo

nocte silentio ex castris egressi ad campestres munitiones accedunt. Subito clamore sublato, qua significa- 2
tione qui in oppido obsidebantur de suo adventu cognoscere possent, crates proicere, fundis, sagittis, lapidibus nostros de vallo proturbare reliquaque, quae ad oppugnationem pertinent, parant administrare. Eodem 3
tempore clamore exaudito dat tuba signum suis Vercingetorix atque ex oppido educit. Nostri ut superioribus 4
diebus, ut cuique erat locus attributus, ad munitiones accedunt; fundis librilibus sudibusque, quas in opere disposuerant, ac glandibus Gallos proterrent. Prospectu 5
tenebris adempto multa utrimque vulnera accipiuntur. Complura tormentis tela coniciuntur. At Marcus An- 6
tonius et Gaius Trebonius legati, quibus hae partes ad defendendum obvenerant, qua ex parte nostros premi intellexerant, his auxilio ex ulterioribus castellis deductos submittebant.

asseres ferreo unco praefixi (harpagones vocant) ex Punicis navibus inici in Romanas coepti.'

§ 4. **fundis librilibus.** Authorities seem to be agreed in taking 'librilibus' as an adj. meaning 'discharging stones of a pound weight.' It is possible however that 'librilia' may be here used as a substantive. In that case what does the word mean? Vegetius (ii. 23), after speaking of slings, goes on to say: 'Sed et manu sola omnes milites meditabantur libralia saxa iactare, qui usus paratior creditur, quia non desiderat fundam.' Festus (Müll. p. 116) has 'Librilla appellantur instrumenta bellica, saxa scilicet ad brachii crassitudinem in modum flagellorum loris revincta.' Here Scaliger has conjectured that the true reading is 'Librilia.' Tac. Ann. ii. 20 and xiii. 39 has 'libritores' or 'libratores,' each time in connexion with 'funditores.' We may conjecture then that the 'librilia' of Caesar are the same as the 'libralia saxa' of Vegetius, and that both were the instruments used by the 'libritores' or 'libratores,' being stones which were *swung* at the enemy by means of a thong attached to them. The thong would be discharged along with the stone, whereas the sling was retained in the hand.

§ 6. **Marcus Antonius.** The celebrated triumvir. He was quaestor in this year (B.C. 52), and was chosen irregularly by Caesar. Cic. ad Att. vi. 6, § 4 'Pompeius . . . Q. Cassium sine sorte delegit, Caesar Antonium': Phil. ii. § 50 'Quaestor es factus: deinde continuo sine senatus consulto, sine sorte, sine lege ad Caesarem cucurristi; id enim unum in terris egestatis, aeris alieni, nequitiae perditis vitae rationibus perfugium esse ducebas.'

82 Dum longius ab munitione aberant Galli, plus multi-
tudine telorum proficiebant; posteaquam propius suc-
cesserunt, aut se stimulis inopinantes induebant aut in
scrobes delati transfodiebantur aut ex vallo ac turribus
2 traiecti pilis muralibus interibant. Multis undique vul-
neribus acceptis nulla munitione perrupta, cum lux
appeteret, veriti, ne ab latere aperto ex superioribus
castris eruptione circumvenirentur, se ad suos receperunt.
3 At interiores, dum ea, quae a Vercingetorige ad erup-
4 tionem praeparata erant, proferunt, priores fossas ex-
plent, diutius in his rebus administrandis morati prius
suos discessisse cognoverunt, quam munitionibus appro-
pinquarent. Ita re infecta in oppidum reverterunt.

83 Bis magno cum detrimento repulsi Galli, quid agant, Vercassivellaunus sent to attack a weak point in the lines.
consulunt; locorum peritos adhibent; ex his superiorum
2 castrorum situs munitionesque cognoscunt. Erat a sep-
tentrionibus collis, quem propter magnitudinem circuitus
opere circumplecti non potuerant nostri; necessario
3 paene iniquo loco et leniter declivi castra fecerant. Haec
Gaius Antistius Reginus et Gaius Caninius Rebilus
4 legati cum duabus legionibus obtinebant. Cognitis per
exploratores regionibus duces hostium LX milia ex omni
numero deligunt earum civitatum, quae maximam vir-
5 tutis opinionem habebant; quid quoque pacto agi
placeat, occulte inter se constituunt; adeundi tempus
6 definiunt, cum meridies esse videatur. His copiis Ver-
cassivellaunum Arvernum, unum ex quattuor ducibus,
7 propinquum Vercingetorigis, praeficiunt. Ille ex castris

82. § 1. **pilis muralibus**: v. 40, § 6 'muralium pilorum.'

83. § 3. **Gaius Caninius Rebilus.** This lieutenant of Caesar's comes into greater prominence in the eighth book and in the Civil War. He was given the honour of the consulship for a few hours by Caesar, which gave Cicero scope for witticisms (Cic. ad Fam. vii. 30, § 1: Plut. Caes. 58: Suet. J. C. 76: D. C. xliii. 46).

prima vigilia egressus prope confecto sub lucem itinere post montem se occultavit militesque ex nocturno labore sese reficere iussit. Cum iam meridies appropinquare 8
videretur, ad ea castra, quae supra demonstravimus, contendit; eodemque tempore equitatus ad campestres munitiones accedere et reliquae copiae pro castris sese ostendere coeperunt.

Simultaneous movement on the part of the rest of the relieving army and of the besieged.

Vercingetorix ex arce Alesiae suos conspicatus ex 84
oppido egreditur; crates, longurios, musculos, falces reliquaque, quae eruptionis causa paraverat, profert.
Pugnatur uno tempore omnibus locis, atque omnia 2
temptantur; quae minime visa pars firma est, huc concurritur. Romanorum manus tantis munitionibus disti- 3
netur nec facile pluribus locis occurrit. Multum ad 4
terrendos nostros valet clamor, qui post tergum pugnantibus exstitit, quod suum periculum in aliena vident salute constare; omnia enim plerumque, quae absunt, vehementius hominum mentes perturbant.

Desperate struggle.

Caesar idoneum locum nactus, quid quaque ex parte 85
geratur, cognoscit; laborantibus submittit. Utrisque 2
ad animum occurrit unum esse illud tempus, quo maxime contendi conveniat: Galli, nisi perfregerint munitiones, 3
de omni salute desperant; Romani, si rem obtinuerint, finem laborum omnium exspectant. Maxime ad supe- 4
riores munitiones laboratur, quo Vercassivellaunum missum demonstravimus. Iniquum loci ad declivitatem

84. § 1. **musculos**, 'wooden galleries.' The mode of their construction is described in C. ii. 10.

85. § 4. **Iniquum loci**, &c. 'The unfavourable downward slope of the ground is a matter that tells heavily.' The ground told against the Romans, being higher than that on which their camp stood. See 83, § 2. 'Subeunt' below in § 5 does not mean that the Gauls came up hill, but only that they approached the Roman lines. Caesar had in this instance unavoidably offended against one of the rules of fortification, 'Cavendum etiam, ne mons sit vicinus aut collis altior, qui ab adversariis captus possit officere' (Veget. i. 22).

5 fastigium magnum habet momentum. Alii tela coni-
ciunt, alii testudine facta subeunt; defatigatis in vicem
6 integri succedunt. Agger ab universis in munitionem
coniectus et ascensum dat Gallis et ea, quae in terra
occultaverant Romani, contegit; nec iam arma nostris
nec vires suppetunt.

Labienus sent to the aid with orders to sally as a last resource.

86 His rebus cognitis Caesar Labienum cum cohortibus
2 sex subsidio laborantibus mittit; imperat, si sustinere
non posset, deductis cohortibus eruptione pugnaret; id
3 nisi necessario ne faciat. Ipse adit reliquos, cohortatur,
'ne labori succumbant; omnium superiorum dimicationum
4 fructum in eo die atque hora' docet 'consistere.' Interiores
desperatis campestribus locis propter magnitudinem
munitionum loca praerupta ex ascensu temptant; huc
5 ea, quae paraverant, conferunt. Multitudine telorum
ex turribus propugnantes deturbant, aggere et cratibus
fossas explent, falcibus vallum ac loricam rescindunt.

87 Mittit primo Brutum adulescentem cum cohortibus
2 Caesar, post cum aliis Gaium Fabium legatum; postremo
ipse, cum vehementius pugnaretur, integros subsidio
3 adducit. Restituto proelio ac repulsis hostibus eo, quo
4 Labienum miserat, contendit; cohortes quattuor ex
proximo castello deducit, equitum partem sequi, partem
circumire exteriores munitiones et ab tergo hostes ado-
5 riri iubet. Labienus, postquam neque aggeres neque
fossae vim hostium sustinere poterant, coactis una XL
cohortibus, quas ex proximis praesidiis deductas fors
obtulit, Caesarem per nuntios facit certiorem, quid
faciendum existimet. Accelerat Caesar, ut proelio
intersit.

Victory of the Romans.

88 Eius adventu ex colore vestitus cognito, quo insigni

88. § 1. **eius adventu, &c.** The frequent use of asyndeton in this chapter is remarkable. Perhaps Caesar was pressed for time or was

in proeliis uti consuerat, turmisque equitum et cohorti-
bus visis, quas se sequi iusserat, ut de locis superioribus
haec declivia et devexa cernebantur, hostes proelium
committunt. Utrimque clamore sublato excipit rursus 2
ex vallo atque omnibus munitionibus clamor. Nostri 3
omissis pilis gladiis rem gerunt. Repente post tergum
equitatus cernitur; cohortes aliae appropinquant. Hostes
terga vertunt; fugientibus equites occurrunt. Fit magna
caedes. Sedulius, dux et princeps Lemovicum, occidi- 4
tur; Vercassivellaunus Arvernus vivus in fuga com-
prehenditur; signa militaria septuaginta quattuor ad
Caesarem referuntur; pauci ex tanto numero se inco-
lumes in castra recipiunt. Conspicati ex oppido caedem 5
et fugam suorum desperata salute copias a munitionibus
reducunt. Fit protinus hac re audita ex castris Gal-
lorum fuga. Quod nisi crebris subsidiis ac totius diei 6
labore milites essent defessi, omnes hostium copiae
deleri potuissent. De media nocte missus equitatus 7
novissimum agmen consequitur: magnus numerus capitur
atque interficitur; reliqui ex fuga in civitates discedunt.

Surrender of Vercingetorix.

Postero die Vercingetorix concilio convocato 'id bellum **89**
se suscepisse non suarum necessitatum, sed communis
libertatis causa' demonstrat, 'et quoniam sit fortunae
cedendum, ad utramque rem se illis offerre, seu morte 2
sua Romanis satisfacere seu vivum tradere velint.' Mit- 3
tuntur de his rebus ad Caesarem legati. Iubet arma
tradi, principes produci. Ipse in munitione pro castris 4
consedit; eo duces producuntur; Vercingetorix deditur,
arma proiciuntur. Reservatis Aeduis atque Arvernis, 5
si per eos civitates recuperare posset, ex reliquis cap-

getting tired of detailed narrative. Moberly says, 'In fact many circumstances must have been omitted in this rapid and somewhat theatrical close with the characters grouped, as it were, round Caesar's scarlet cloak.'

tivis toto exercitui capita singula praedae nomine distribuit.

90 His rebus confectis in Aeduos proficiscitur; civitatem
2 recipit. Eo legati ab Arvernis missi quae imperaret se
3 facturos pollicentur. Imperat magnum numerum ob-
4 sidum. Legiones in hiberna mittit. Captivorum circiter
5 viginti milia Aeduis Arvernisque reddit. Titum Labienum
duabus cum legionibus et equitatu in Sequanos proficisci
iubet; huic Marcum Sempronium Rutilum attribuit.
6 Gaium Fabium legatum et Lucium Minucium Basilum
cum legionibus duabus in Remis collocat, ne quam ab
7 finitimis Bellovacis calamitatem accipiant. Gaium An-
tistium Reginum in Ambivaretos, Titum Sextium in
Bituriges, Gaium Caninium Rebilum in Rutenos cum
8 singulis legionibus mittit. Quintum Tullium Ciceronem
et Publium Sulpicium Cabilloni et Matiscone in Aeduis
9 ad Ararim rei frumentariae causa collocat. Ipse Bibracte
hiemare constituit. His *ex* litteris cognitis Romae dierum
viginti supplicatio editur.

Recovery of the Ædui.

Submission of the Arverni.

Arrangements for the winter.

Thanksgiving of twenty days.

89. § 5. **toto exercitui**: v. 27, § 5 'alterae.' Hirtius (viii. 34, § 4) has the same form of the dative, 'toto oppido munitiones circumdare.'

90. § 8. **Matiscone.** Mâcon in the Saône-et-Loire.

§ 9. **dierum viginti.** Dio Cassius (xl. 50) says sixty days, which is possibly a mistake of the copyists.

NOTE A

CAESAR'S LEGIONS

I. B. G. viii. 54. 2, lent by Pompeius.
VI. —— vii. 90. 8 cpd. with viii. 4. 3, wintered on the Arar in 52–51 B.C.
VII. —— ii. 23. 4; 34, sent to Armorica: iii. 7. 2, wintered in Anjou, 56–55: iv. 32. 1, Britain: v. 9. 7, Britain: vii. 62. 3, with Labienus at Paris: viii. 8. 2, 3.
VIII. —— ii. 23. 3: vii. 47. 7; 50. 4, at Gergovia: viii. 8. 3.
IX. —— ii. 23. 1: viii. 8. 3.
VII, VIII, IX. —— viii. 8. 2, veterrimae legiones.
X. —— i. 40. 15; 42. 5; 46. 3, legionis delectae: ii. 21. 1; 23. 1; 26. 4: iv. 25. 3, Britain: vii. 47. 1; 51. 1, Gergovia.
XI. —— ii. 23. 3: vii. 90. 7 cpd. with viii. 2. 1, wintered among the Ambivareti under C. Antistius Reginus: viii. 8. 2, summae spei delectaeque iuventutis . . . octavo iam stipendio (B.C. 58–51); 3; 6. 3.
XII. —— ii. 23. 4: iii. 1. 1, Martigny: vii. 62. 3, with Labienus at Paris: vii. 90. 9: viii. 2. 1; 24. 2, wintered at Bibracte under M. Antonius.
XIII. —— v. 24. 2 cpd. with 53. 6, wintered in 54–3 among the Esuvii under Lucius Roscius: vii. 90. 7: viii. 2. 1; 11. 1, wintered at Bourges under T. Sextius: 54. 3, sent

into Cisalpine Gaul : C. i. 7. 6, the only legion with Caesar at the outbreak of the Civil War.

XIV. B. G. ii. 2. 1 : v. 24. 4, levied in Cisalpine Gaul during the winter of 58–7 : vii. 90. 8 cpd. with viii. 4. 3, called out from winter-quarters on the Arar : 6. 1, quartered at Genabum under C. Trebonius.

XV. —— vii. 90. 5 cpd. with viii. 24. 3, wintered in 52–1 with Labienus among the Sequani : viii. 24. 3, sent into Cisalpine Gaul ; 54. 3, passed on to Pompeius : C. iii. 88. 1, became III in his army.

NOTE B

THE BRIDGE

The difficulty of the passage about the bridge (iv. 17, §§ 3–10) is mainly one of translation. For the benefit of those who may require it a literal translation is here appended :—

'The plan of the bridge which he adopted was as follows. He began by joining to one another at an interval of two feet pairs of logs, half a yard thick, sharpened a little way from the bottom and measured to suit the depth of the water. When he had let these down by machinery into the river and had driven them home with rammers, not perpendicularly like an ordinary pile, but with a slope like the roof of a house, so that they might lie with the current, he proceeded also to set up two opposite to these joined in like manner at an interval of forty feet at the lower end and set against the strong sweep of the river. Beams two feet thick were then let in from above, occupying just the same space as the fastening of the logs, and the two sets (of logs) were kept apart at the end by a pair of braces on either side ; and thus being sundered and yet bound back in the opposite direction, such was

the strength and nature of the work that, the more strongly the stream flowed, the more tightly they were held together. This structure was connected by timber laid on straight and was strewn over with poles and hurdles; and nevertheless piles were driven in slantwise at the lower part of the river, so that, being set as a buttress and connected with the whole work, they might withstand the force of the stream, and others too a little way above the bridge, so that, in case trunks of trees or ships should be sent by the barbarians to overthrow the work, the force of those things might be diminished by these defences, and they might not damage the bridge.'

NOTE C

GERGOVIA

Gergovia is universally identified with the place known at the present day as Gergovie.

This is a flat-topped hill lying full in view to the south from the Place de Jaude in the picturesque town of Clermont-Ferrand. One reaches it from there by a walk of about six kilomètres between Beaumont on the right and Aubière on the left. The most direct way of climbing the hill is at the corner to the west after passing through Romagnac. By following a small ravine one gains what Caesar speaks of in vii. 44, § 3 as 'dorsum eius iugi silvestre et angustum.' From this there is an easy ascent to the plateau, which is much larger than it appears when viewed from below. It is covered with stones, which are heaped together in rows and often laid out in squares so as to suggest the four walls of a house. But I was assured by persons well acquainted with the locality that this was done by the peasants to get the stones out of the way. The earthen ramparts of the old Gallic town however are plainly marked, and across the plateau from north to south there runs a paved way, which must have been at one time a principal thoroughfare. According to Napoleon III, Caesar's main camp was pitched to the south-east of Gergovia, on the left side of the

high road from Paris to Perpignan. The spot is near the present railway station of Le Cendre-Orget. The Emperor has registered his opinion on a stone with the inscription—

'Camp occupé par Jules César
l'an 52 avant J. C.'

The exact dimensions of the camp even are indicated by arrows on the two convergent sides of the stone marked 467 mètres and 646·20 m. respectively. According to the same authority the hill which Caesar captured (36, § 5), and where he established his smaller camp, was La Roche Blanche, which lies nearly due south of Gergovia.

But against this view there are certain objections that may be urged.

In the first place, as Caesar approached Gergovia from the north, marching up the bank of the Allier (34, § 2), it is perhaps natural to suppose that he attacked the town from that quarter, unless we are told something to the contrary. In the next place Caesar tells us that the hill he captured was 'e regione oppidi' (36, § 5). Now as a straight line can be drawn from any one point to any other, this description could not be employed intelligibly by Caesar except in reference to some third point, which would presumably be his own camp. We are therefore led to infer that the hill captured lay in a straight line between Caesar's camp and the town. Napoleon's plan however makes the small camp form the apex of a triangle with a line between the *oppidum* and the large camp for its base. Again, Caesar speaks of the hill in question as being 'egregie munitus atque ex omni parte circumcisus,' a description which is not applicable to La Roche Blanche; for, though on the south side, where it overhangs the village, it is extremely precipitous, yet on the north side it presents an easy slope. Further, if Caesar stood on La Roche Blanche, he could see for himself any operations that were taking place on the 'dorsum silvestre et angustum,' whereas it is evident from the account in 44 that he could not discern these from the smaller camp.

I found that M. Vimont, the librarian of Clermont-Ferrand, who is specially familiar with the topography of Auvergne, and who was already librarian when Napoleon sent Baron Stoffel to explore Gergovia, has all along been of opinion that the attack was

delivered from the north. He believes the water from which the enemy were cut off to have been the Artières. That the conclusions in 'Jules César' were arrived at on purely *a priori* grounds is indicated by the Emperor himself, who says in a note (vol. ii. p. 328), 'It is by seeking the essential conditions required for the placing of troops that Commandant Baron Stoffel succeeded in finding the camps.' In venturing to regard the too liberal application of this high *a priori* method to the study of history as the characteristic defect of 'Jules César,' I hope I shall not be thought blind to the great services rendered by the late Emperor of the French to the study of Caesar, or to be in any way undervaluing the great work of a great man.

Apart from Caesar's description, which might be applied to other places, the great argument for the identity of Gergovie with Caesar's Gergovia is the perpetuity of the name in connexion with the hill and a farm on the south side of it. An Italian writer of the sixteenth century uses this argument against the view which appears to have been current in his time that Caesar's Gergovia was on the site of St. Fleur. His words in the French translation[1] run as follows:—'Mais quel autre argument pourrions nous desirer plus grand, pour nous faire entendre que la fust la ville de Gergoye, quand au pied de celle montaigne on void encores les ruines d'une Tour en forme d'Eglisette, que vulgairement on appelle Gergoye?' In a grant of lands made in 1140 by William Count of Clermont and Dauphin of Auvergne to the Praemonstratensian Order, which had then recently been instituted, the name Gergobia is employed in a context which allows no doubt to rest upon its meaning. But the earliest document of all which contains the name (in the form Girgia) is one dated 958. Of this I was allowed to make a transcript through the kindness of M. Rouchon, the keeper of the Archives at Clermont-Ferrand. It appears from it that a certain Calistius, who is designated as one of the 'principes Arvernorum,' had seized during a period of turmoil upon this farm of Girgia, which belonged of right to a canon named Amblardus, but that he had been compelled through the influence of Stephen, Bishop of Clermont, to relinquish his ill-gotten gains.

[1] Description de La Limagne d' Auvergne en Forme de Dialogue. Traduit du livre Italien de Gabriel Symeon en langue Françoyse par Antoine Chappuys du Dauphiné. A Lyon, par Guillaume Roville, 1561.

NOTE D

BIBRACTE

BIBRACTE is not an easy place to find. In the July of 1895 I started from Dijon on a bicycle to explore it. My companion was Mr. (now the Rev.) John Willis of Queen's College, Oxford. As far as Beaune we enjoyed the society of a French gentleman and his family, who had been on wheels since February. The family consisted of his wife, his daughter, and his dog. As soon as we got outside the town, our companions stopped, we knew not why, but the reason was soon apparent. The petticoats of the ladies had disappeared, and they were now in 'rationals,' until we neared Beaune. One of the pictures most vividly engraved on my memory is that of our French friend and his wife mounted on a tandem with a basket in front containing their favourite fox-terrier. This triune equipage presented a most comical appearance from the front—first the dog, then the wife, lastly the husband towering over all. On the way the dog fell out, and there was 'une grande émotion.' The distance to Beaune is thirty-seven kilomètres, mostly along level ground. On the way one passes the Clos Vougeot and other celebrated vineyards of the Côte d'Or.

The curiosities of the Hôtel-Dieu detained us so long at Beaune that it was quite late in the day before we got started for Autun. After twenty kilomètres of hard work in a hill country, we were glad to put up for the night at Nolay. Next day twenty-seven kilomètres of uphill work brought us to Autun, where we saw the statue erected to Divitiacus. I had never heard of Eumenius, from whom the inscription 'Scuto innixus peroravit' is taken, but that evening at dinner I was informed by one of the company that he was an orator who lived about A.D. 310. I noticed afterwards a street in Autun called the Rue Eumene, and Smith's Dictionary confirms the accuracy of my informant by giving A.D. 310 as the date of his panegyric on Constantine. Neither at that time had I ever heard of M. Bulliot, the celebrated archaeologist, who had conducted all the excavations on Mont Beuvray, but from the

terms in which he was spoken of at table I came to the conclusion that I must by all means make his acquaintance. Accordingly, not trusting myself in French beyond viva voce, I indited a Latin epistle, which an obliging waiter undertook to deliver at M. Bulliot's residence the first thing next morning. The letter however was returned to me with the disappointing intelligence that M. Bulliot was away and was not expected back for a week.

It used to be thought that Autun (the 'Augustodunum' of Tac. Ann. iii. 43) was itself the Bibracte of Caesar. But we had to do twenty kilomètres of very uphill work before we got to St. Leger sous Beuvray, and then five kilomètres more of a still steeper hillside before we began the actual ascent of the mountain. By this time the hind wheel of my bicycle had shed most of its spokes and my companion perceived it to be bending like an S as I mounted[1], so that, with the fatherly care which he took of me in this respect, he judged it best to ride it for the rest of the day himself, thus giving it somewhat less to carry. Leaving our machines hidden under the bracken in a wood we followed a path which was plausible at first, but eventually brought us into a morass, and afterwards into a dense jungle of nettles and brambles. After this things began to improve a little, but the summit seemed unattainable and to be blocked by wood, if we attained it. We were just sitting down to have our lunch when my companion discovered that a most forbidding hedge, which apparently only separated one part of the mountain-side from another, really concealed a deep lane below it. Down into this lane went the satchel containing our luncheon. After this we came; and the lane brought us in due course to the plateau at the real summit. Here we met an old man who dropped unsolicited the remark that M. Bulliot was in the cottage which we had just passed. Here was a reward for perseverance! I wrote him an abbreviated version of the Latin letter on the back of my card, which was taken in to him by the old man. We went on to the edge of the plateau and enjoyed a glorious panorama from a spot where there stands a monument commemorating the passage of St. Martin, the apostle of the Gauls,

[1] Literature of December 25, 1897, gave way to a love of antithesis in describing me as following 'in the track of Caesar mounted on the very latest thing in bicycles.' The fact is the bicycle itself was of an antiquity quite suitable to our enterprise.

to Mont Beuvray in 376 A.D. We had just sat down to enjoy our long-deferred bread and cheese, when a kind-looking old gentleman, with a long nose and a white beard, advanced to greet us. In a few moments we were made welcome to all the hospitality his roof could offer. The cottage may be described in Pliny's phrase as a 'verum secretumque *μουσεῖον*.' A room plain even to bareness, containing a single bed; on a shelf a few books; the walls decorated with paintings some of considerable artistic merit, others less so; to the right of the fire-place there were such amiable inscriptions as the following:—

> Fais bien à tout.
> N'attends pas des reconnaissances.
> Aime tout le monde.

The stands which were set under the bottles on the table were of Gallic manufacture and dug up at Bibracte. If we had wanted an egg, there was an egg-cup ready of the same workmanship. One of the designs on the wall portrayed our host in the costume of a Gallic swineherd driving a pig to market. Another represented him as pointing a revolver at a wolf; for there was still an occasional wolf about the country at the time when he began his researches. Another, and very well executed, design represented a Gallic warrior and his horse. There was also a representation of a moonlight effect done by somebody who had arrived late at the cottage.

After luncheon our host showed us the camp of Antony (viii. 2), of which the 'vallum' is very well marked. He also pointed out the place where a great Gallic fair used to be held and where shops had been discovered; also where the slaughter-house stood. These things had to be taken on trust, as well as the statement that a certain rock, to which he brought us, was the tribunal from which the Gallic princes used to deliver their harangues, while the chiefs stood by on the oval platform which surrounded it. But there could be no doubt about the steep mound, extending, we were told, for five kilomètres and representing the walls of the ancient town of Bibracte.

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